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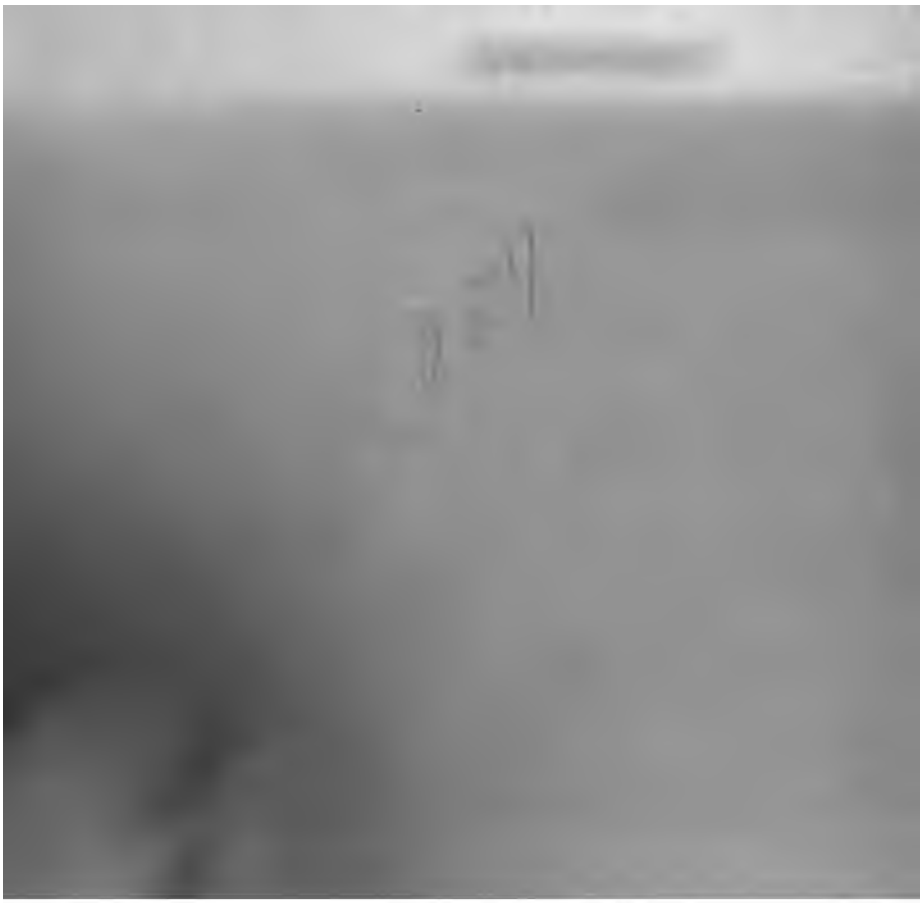
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July 2, 1917



FRONTISPIECE.



Democritus Abderites.

Solitudo.

THE

ANATOMY

OF

MELANCHOLY,

BY

Democritus Junior.

Omne tulit punctum Qui miscuit utile dulci.



Hypocondriacus





Democritus Junior.



Maniacus.

LONDON.
B. BLAKE,
Bell Yard, Lincolns Inn.



Reflector

THE

NATOMY OF MELANCHOLY,

WHAT IT IS,

WITH

LL THE KINDS, CAUSES, SYMPTOMES, PROGNOSTICS, AND SEVERAL CURES OF IT.

IN THREE PARTITIONS.

IR THEIR SEVERAL SECTIONS, MEMBERS, AND SUBSECTIONS, PHILOSOPHICALLY, MEDICINALLY, HISTORICALLY OPENED AND CUT UP.

BY DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SATYRICALL PREFACE,

CONDUCING TO THE FOLLOWING DISCOURSE.

THE SIXTEENTH EDITION.

PRINTED FROM THE AUTHORIZED COPY OF 1651, WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS, &c. &c

LONDON:

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NON MINVS VIRTVTE SVA,

QUAM GENERIS

SPLENDORE,

ILLVSTRISSIMO,

GEORGIO BERKLEIO

MILITI DE BALNEO,

BARONI DE BERKLEY,

MOUBREY, SEGRAVE,

D. DE BRUSE,

DOMINO SVO

Multis Nominibus Observando,

HANC SUAM

MELANCHOLIÆ

ANATOMEN,

JAM SEXTO

REVISAM,

D. D.

DEMOCRITUS Junior.

following address is found at the conclusion of the folio edition, 1651, from which the present is reprinted.

"TO THE READER.

Be pleased to know (Courteous Reader) that since the last Impression of this Book, ingenuous Author of it is deceased, leaving a Copy of it exactly corrected, with al considerable Additions by his own hand; this Copy he committed to my care custody, with directions to have those Additions inserted in the next Edition; h in order to his command, and the Publicke Good, is faithfully performed in this Impression." *H. C.*

(i. e. HENRY CRIPPS.)

COMMENDATIONS.

Tis a book so full of variety of reading, that gentlemen who have lost their time and ut to a push for invention, may furnish themselves with matter for common or astical discourse and writing."—*Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 628. 2nd edit.

f you never saw BURTON upon MELANCHOLY, printed 1676, I pray look into it, and read inth page of his preface, 'Democritus to the Reader.' There is something there which ies the point we are upon; but I mention the author to you as the pleasantest, the learned, and the most full of sterling sense."—*Archbishop Herring's Letters*, 12mo.

. JOHNSON speaks of it as the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours r than he wished to rise.

HE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY is a book which has been universally read and ed. This work is for the most part, what the author himself styles it, 'a cento;' but very ingenious one. His quotations, which abound in every page, are pertinent."—*ger's Biographical History.*

. WARTON, in his edition of Milton, alluding to BURTON, says, "The writer's variety rning, his quotations from scarce and curious books, his pedantry, sparkling with rude id shapeless elegance, miscellaneous matter, intermixture of agreeable tales and ations, and, perhaps above all, the singularities of his feelings, clothed in an uncom- uaintness of style, have contributed to render it even to modern readers, a valuable tory of amusement and information."

et me say a word in praise of this admirable book, which could draw Johnson from d two hours before he was willing to rise. The quaintness of his style, sometimes into strains of wonderful dignity and eloquence,—the fertility of his invention, the of his learning, the multitude of his illustrations,—all contribute to render the my of Melancholy one of the most entertaining books in the language. The inde- nce of his character, I confess, offers an additional attraction to me."—*Coleridge.*

THE ARGUMENT OF THE FRONTISPIECE.

TEN distinct Squares here seen apart,
Are joyn'd in one by Cutter's art.

1. Old Democritus under a tree,
Sits on a stone with book on knee;
About him hang there many features
Of cats, dogs, and such like creatures,
Of which he makes anatomy,
The seat of black choler to see.
Over his head appears the skie,
And Saturn Lord of melancholy.

2. To the left a landscape of Jealousie,
Presents itself unto thine eye.
A kingfisher, a swan, an hern,
Two fighting-cocks you may discern,
Two roaring bulls each other hie,
To assault concerning venery.
Symboles are these; I say no more,
Conceive the rest by that's afore.

3. The next of solitariness,
A portraiture doth well express,
By sleeping dog, cat; buck and do,
Hares, conies in the desart go:
Bats, owls the shady bowers over,
In melancholy darkness hover.
Mark well: If't be not as't it should be,
Blame the bad Cutter, and not me.

4. Ith' under column there doth stand
Inamorato with folded hand;
Down hangs his head, terse and polite,
Some dittie sure he doth indite.
His lute and books about him lie,
As symptomes of his vanity.
If this do not enough disclose,
To paint him, take thyself by th' nose.

5. Hypochondriacus leans on his arm,
Winde in his side doth him much harm,
And troubles him full sore, God knows,
Much pain he hath and many woes.
About him pots and glasses lie,
Newly brought from's Apothecary.
This Saturn's aspects signifie,
You see them portraid in the skie.

6. Beneath them kneeling on his knee,
A superstitious man you see:
He fasts, prays, on his idol fixt,
Tormented hope and feare betwixt;
For hell perhaps he takes more pain,
Then thou dost heaven itself to gain.
Alas poor soule, I pitie thee,
What stars incline thee so to be?

7. But see the madman rage downright
With furious looks, a ghastly sight!
Naked in chains bound doth he lie
And roars amain he knows not why!
Observe him; for as in a glass,
Thine angry portraiture it was.
His picture keep still in thy presence;
'Twixt him and thee there's no difference.

8. 9. Borage and hellebor fill two scenes,
Soveraign plants to purge the veins
Of melancholy, and chear the heart
Of those black fumes which make it smart;
To clear the brain of misty fogs,
Which dull our senses, and soule clogs,
The best medicine that ere God made
For this malady, if well assaid.

10. Now last of all to fill a place,
Presented is the Author's face;
And in that habit which he wears,
His image to the world appears,
His minde no art can well express,
That by his writings you may guess.
It was not pride, nor yet vain glory,
(Though others do it commonly)
Made him do this: if you must know,
The Printer would needs have it so.
Then do not frown or scoffe at it,
Deride not, or detract a whit,
For surely as thou dost by him,
He will do the same again.
Then look upon't, behold and see,
As thou lik'st it, so it likes thee.
And I for it will stand in view,
Thine to command, Reader, adiew.

THE AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT OF MELANCHOLY, Διαλογῶς.

HEN I go musing all alone,
inking of divers things foreknown,
hen I build castles in the ayr,
id of sorrow and void of feare,
asing myself with phantasms sweet,
thinks the time runs very fleet.
All my joyes to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as melancholy.
nen I lie waking all alone,
counting what I have ill done,
thoughts on me then tyrannize,
ire and sorrow me surprise.
nether I tarry still or go,
thinks the time moves very slow.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so sad as melancholy.
nen to myself I act and smile,
th pleasing thoughts the time beguile,
a brook side or wood so green,
heard, unsought for, or unseen,
thousand pleasures do me bless,
d crown my soule with happiness.
All my joyes besides are folly,
None so sweet as melancholy.
hen I lie, sit, or walk alone,
igh, I grieve, making great mone,
a dark grove, or irksome den,
th discontents and Furies then,
housand miseries at once
ne heavy heart and soule ensconce.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so sour as melancholy.
thinks I hear, me thinks I see,
eet musick, wondrous melodie,
wns, palaces, and cities fine;
re now, then there; the world is mine.
re beauties, gallant ladies shine,
hat e'er is lovely or divine.
All other joyes to this are folly,
None so sweet as melancholy.
thinks I hear, methinks I see
osts, goblins, fiends; my phantasie
esents a thousand ugly shapes,
adless bears, black men, and apes,
leful outcries, and fearful sights,
sad and dismall soule affrights.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so damn'd as melancholy.

Me thinks I court, me thinks I kiss,
Me thinks I now embrace my mistriss.
O blessed dayes, O sweet content,
In Paradise my time is spent.
Such thoughts may still my fancy move,
So may I ever be in love.
All my joyes to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as melancholy.
When I recount loves many frights,
My sighs and tears, my waking nights,
My jealous fits; O mine hard fate
I now repent, but tis too late.
No torment is so bad as love,
So bitter to my soule can prove.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so harsh as melancholy.
Friends and companions get you gone,
'Tis my desire to be alone;
Ne'er well but when my thoughts and I
Do domineer in privacie.
No gemm, no treasure like to this,
'Tis my delight, my crown, my bliss.
All my joyes to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as melancholy.
'Tis my sole plague to be alone,
I am a beast, a monster grown,
I will no light nor company,
I finde it now my misery.
The scean is turn'd, my joyes are gone,
Feare, discontent, and sorrows come.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so fierce as melancholy.
I'll not change life with any King,
I ravisht am: can the world bring
More joy, then still to laugh and smile,
In pleasant toyes time to beguile?
Do not, O do not trouble me,
So sweet content I feel and see.
All my joyes to this are folly,
None so divine as melancholy.
I'll change my state with any wretch
Thou canst from gaole or dunghill fetch:
My pain's past cure, another hell,
I may not in this torment dwell,
Now desperate I hate my life,
Lend me a halter or a knife;
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so damn'd as melancholy.

DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR AD LIBRUM SUUM.

VADE liber, qualis, non ausim dicere, fœlix,
Te nisi fœlicem fecerit alma dies.
Vade tamen quocunque lubet, quascunque per oras,
Et Genium Domini fac imitere tui.
I blandas inter Charites, mystamque saluta
Musarum quemvis, si tibi lector erit.
Rura colas, urbem, subeasve palatia regum,
Submisse, placide, te sine dente geras.
Nobilis, aut si quis te forte inspexerit heros,
Da te morigerum, perlegat usque lubet.
Est quod Nobilitas, est quod desideret heros,
Gratior hæc forsan charta placere potest.
Si quis morosus Cato, tetricusque Senator
Hunc etiam librum forte videre velit,
Sive magistratus, tum te reverenter habeto;
Sed nullus; muscas non capiunt aquilæ.
Non vacat his tempus fugitivum impendere nugis,
Nec tales cupio; par mihi lector erit.
Si matrona gravis casu diverterit istuc,
Illustris domina, aut te Comitissa legat:
Est quod displiceat, placeat quod forsitan illis,
Ingerere his noli te modo, pande tamen.
At si virgo tuas dignabitur inclyta chartas
Tangere, sive schedis hæreat illa tuis:
Da modo te facilem, et quædam folia esse memento
Conveniant oculis quæ magis apta suis.
Si generosa ancilla tuos aut alma puella
Visura est ludos, annue, pande lubens.
Dic, Utinam nunc ipse meus* (nam diligit istas)
In præsens esset conspiciendus herus.
Ignotus notusve mihi de gente togatâ
Sive aget in ludis, pulpita sive colet,
Sive in Lycæo, et nugas evolverit istas,
Si quasdam mendas viderit inspiciens,
Da veniam auctori, dices; nam plurima vellet
Expungi, quæ jam displicuisse sciat.
Sive Melancholicus quisquam, seu blandus Amator,
Aulicus aut Civis, seu bene comptus Eques
Huc appellat, age et tuto te crede legenti,
Multa istic forsan non male nata leget.
Quod fugiat, caveat, quodque amplexabitur, ista
Pagina fortassis promere multa potest.

* Hæc comice dicta, cave ne male capias.

At si quis Medicus coram te sistet, amice
Fac circumspecte, et te sine labe geras:
Inveniet namque ipse meis quoque plurima scriptis,
Non leve subsidium quæ sibi forsan erunt.
Si quis Causidicus chartas impingat in istas,
Nil mihi vobiscum, pessima turba vale:
Sit nisi vir bonus, et juris sine fraude peritus;
Tum legat, et forsan doctior inde siet.
Si quis cordatus, facilis, lectorque benignus
Huc oculos vertat, quæ velit ipse legat;
Candidus ignoscet, metuas nil, pande libenter,
Offensus mendis non erit ille tuis,
Laudabit nonnulla. Venit si Rhetor ineptus,
Limata et tersa, et qui bene cocta petit,
Claude citus librum; nulla hîc nisi ferrea verba,
Offendent stomachum quæ minus apta suum.
At si quis non eximius de plebe poëta,
Annue; namque istic plurima ficta leget.
Nos sumus e numero, nullus mihi spirat Apollo,
Grandiloquus Vates quilibet esse nequit.
Si Criticus Lector, tumidus Censorque molestus,
Zoilus et Momus, si rabiosa cohors:
Ringe, freme, et noli tum pandere, turba malignis
Si occurrat sannis invidiosa suis:
Fac fugias; si nulla tibi sit copia eundi,
Contemnes tacite scommata quæque feres.
Frendeat, allatret, vacuas gannitibus auras
Impleat, haud cures; his placuisse nefas.
Verum age si forsan, divertat purior hospes,
Cuique sales, ludi, displiceantque joci,
Objiciatque tibi sordes, lascivaque: dices,
Lasciva est Domino et Musa jocosa tuo,
Nec lasciva tamen, si pensitet omne; sed esto;
Sit lasciva licet pagina, vita proba est.
Barbarus, indoctusque rudis spectator in istam
Si messem intrudat, fuste fugabis eum:
Fungum pelle procul (jubeo); nam quid mihi fungo?
Conveniunt stomacho non minus ista suo.
Sed nec pelle tamen; læto omnes accipe vultu,
Quos, quas, vel quales, inde vel unde viros.
Gratus erit quicunque venit, gratissimus hospes
Quisquis erit, facilis difficilisque mihi.
Nam si culpârit, quædam culpâsse juvabit.
Culpando faciet me meliora sequi
Sed si laudârit, neque laudibus efferar ullis,
Sit satis hisce malis opposuisse bonum.
Hæc sunt quæ nostro placuit mandare libello,
Et quæ dimittens discere jussit Herus.

DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR

TO THE READER.

GENTLE reader, I presume thou wilt be very inquisitive to know what antick or personate actor this is, that so insolently intrudes, upon this common theatre, to the worlds view, arrogating another mans name, whence he is, why he doth it, and what he hath to say. Although, [a] as he said, *Primum, si noluero, non respondebo: quis coacturus est?* (I am a free man born, and may choose whether I will tell: who can compel me?) if I be urged, I will as readily reply as that Egyptian in [b] Plutarch, when a curious fellow would needs know what he had in his basket, *Quum vides velatam, quid inquiris in rem absconditam?* It was therefore covered, because he should not know what was in it. Seek not after that which is hid: if the contents please thee, [c] *and be for thy use, suppose* the man in the moon, *or whom thou wilt, to be the author:* I would not willingly be known. Yet, in some sort to give thee satisfaction, which is more than I need, I will shew a reason, both of this usurped name, title, and subject. And first of the name of Democritus; lest any man, by reason of it, should be deceived, expecting a pasquil, a satyre, some ridiculous treatise (as I my self should have done), some prodigious tenent, or paradox of the earths motion, of infinite worlds, *in infinito vacuo, ex fortuitâ atomorum collisione*, in an infinite waste, so caused by an accidental collision of motes in the sun, all which Democritus held, Epicurus and their master Leucippus of old maintained, and are lately revived by Copernicus, Brunus, and some others. Besides, it hath been alwayes an ordinary custom, as [d] Gellius observes, *for later writers and impostors, to broach many absurd and insolent fictions, under the name of so noble a philosopher as* Democritus, *to get themselves credit, and by that means the more to be respected*, as artificers usually do, *novo qui marmori ascribunt Praxitelem suo.* 'Tis not so with me.

> [e] Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque,
> Invenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.
> No Centaurs here, or Gorgons, look to find:
> My subject is of man and humane kind,

Thou thy self art the subject of my discourse.

> [f] Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
> Gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago libelli.
> Whate'er men do, vows, fears, in ire, in sport,
> Joys, wandrings, are the summ of my report.

¶ My intent is no otherwise to use his name, than Mercurius Gallobelgicus, Mercurius Britannicus, use the name of Mercurie, [g] Democritus Christianus, &c. although there be some other circumstances for which I have masked myself under this visard, and some peculiar respects, which I cannot so well express, until I have set down a brief character of this our Democritus, what he was, with an epitome of his life.

Democritus, as he is described by [h] Hippocrates, and [i] Laërtius, was a little wearish old man, very melancholy by nature, averse from company in his latter dayes, [k] and much given to solitariness, a famous philosopher in

[a] Seneca, in Ludo in mortem Claudii Cæsaris. [b] Lib. de Curiositate. [c] Modo hæc tibi usui sint, quemvis auctorem fingito. Wecker. [d] Lib. 10. c. 12. Multa a male feriatis in Democriti nomine commenta data, nobilitatis, auctoritatisque ejus perfugio utentibus. [e] Martialis, lib. 10. epigr. 14. [f] Juv. Sat. 1. [g] Auth. Pet. Besseo, edit. Coloniæ 1616. [h] Hist. Epist. Damaget. [i] Laërt. lib. 9. [k] Hortato sibi cellulam seligens, ibique seipsum includens, vixit solitarius.

his age, [l] coævous with Socrates, wholly addicted to his studies at the last, and to a private life; writ many excellent works, a great divine, according to the divinity of those times, an expert physician, a politician, an excellent mathematician, as [m] Diacosmus and the rest of his works do witness. He was much delighted with the studies of husbandry, saith [n] Columella; and often I find him cited by [o] Constantinus and others treating of that subject. He knew the natures, differences of all beasts, plants, fishes, birds; and, as some say, could [p] understand the tunes and voices of them. In a word, he was *omnifariam doctus*, a general scholar, a great student; and, to the intent he might better contemplate, [q] I find it related by some, that he put out his eyes, and was in his old age voluntarily blind, yet saw more than all Greece besides, and [r] writ of every subject: *Nihil in toto opificio naturæ, de quo non scripsit*: a man of an excellent wit, profound conceit; and, to attain knowledge the better in his younger years, he travelled to Egypt and [s] Athens, to confer with learned men, [t] *admired of some, despised of others.* After a wandring life, he setled at Abdera, a town in Thrace, and was sent for thither to be their law-maker, recorder, or town-clerk, as some will; or as others, he was there bred and born. Howsoever it was, there he lived at last in a garden in the suburbs, wholly betaking himself to his studies and a private life, [u] *saving that sometimes he would walk down to the haven,* [v] *and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects, which there he saw.* Such a one was Democritus.

But, in the mean time, how doth this concern me, or upon what reference do I usurp this habit? I confess, indeed, that to compare myself unto him for ought I have yet said, were both impudency and arrogancy. I do not presume to make any parallel. *Antistat mihi millibus trecentis:* [x] *parvus sum; nullus sum; altum nec spiro, nec spero.* Yet thus much I will say of my self, and that I hope without all suspicion of pride, or self-conceit, I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi et Musis*, in the university, as long almost as Xenocrates in Athens, *ad senectam fere*, to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study; for I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing college of Europe, [y] *augustissimo collegio*, and can brag with [z] Jovius, almost, *in ed luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi, per* 37 *annos multa opportunaque didici*; for thirty years I have continued (having the use of as good [a] libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be therefore loth, either, by living as a drone, to be an unprofitable or unworthy member of so learned and noble a society, or to write that which should be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation. Something I have done; though by my profession a divine, yet *turbine raptus ingenii*, as [b] he said, out of a running wit, an unconstant, unsettled mind, I had a great desire (not able to attain to a superficial skill in any) to have some smattering in all, to be *aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis*; which [c] Plato commends, out of him [d] Lipsius approves and furthers, *as fit to be imprinted in all curious wits, not to be a slave of one science, or dwell altogether in one subject, as most do, but to rove abroad,* centum puer artium, *to have an oar in every mans boat, to*

[l] Floruit Olympiade 80; 700 annis post Trojam. [m] Diacos. quod cunctis operibus facile excellit. Laërt. [n] Col. l. 1. c. 1. [o] Const. lib. de agric. passim. [p] Volucrum voces et linguas intelligere se dicit Abderitanus. Ep. Hip. [q] Sabellicus, exempl. lib. 10. Oculis se privavit, ut melius contemplationi operam daret, sublimi vir ingenio, profundæ cogitationis, &c. [r] Naturalia, moralia, mathematica, liberales disciplinas, artiumque omnium peritiam, callebat. [s] Veni Athenas; et nemo me novit. [t] Idem contemptui et admirationi habitus. [u] Solebat ad portam ambulare, et inde, &c. Hip. Ep. Dameg. [v] Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat Democritus. Juv. Sat. 7. [x] Non sum dignus præstare matellam. Mart. [y] Christ Church in Oxford. [z] Præfat. hist. [a] Keeper of our college library lately revived by Otho Nicolson, Esquire. [b] Scaliger. [c] In Theæt. [d] Phil. Stoic. li. diff. 8. Dogma cupidis et curiosis ingeniis imprimendum, ut artifices, &c.

[e] *taste of every dish, and to sip of every cup;* which, saith [f] Montaigne, was well performed by Aristotle, and his learned countrey-man Adrian Turnebus. This roving humour (though not with like success) I have ever had, and, like a ranging spaniel, that barks at every bird he sees, leaving his game, I have followed all, saving that which I should, and may justly complain, and truly, *qui ubique est, nusquam est*, which [g] Gesner *did in modesty ;)* that I have read many books, but to little purpose, for want of good method, I have confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our libraries with small profit, for want of art, order, memory, judgement. I never travelled but in map or card, in which my unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever been especially delighted with the study of cosmography. [h] Saturn was lord of my geniture, culminating, &c. and Mars principal significator of manners, in partile conjunction with mine ascendent; both fortunate in their houses, &c. I am not poor, I am not rich; *nihil est, nihil deest;* I have little, I want nothing: all my treasure is in Minerva's tower. Greater preferment as I could never get, so am I not in debt for it. I have a competency (*laus Deo*) from my noble and munificent patrons. Though I live still a collegiate student, as Democritus in his garden, and lead a monastique life, *ipse mihi theatrum*, sequestred from those tumults and troubles of the world, *et tamquam in speculâ positus* ([i] as he said), in some high place above you all, like *Stoïcus sapiens, omnia sæcula præterita præsentiaque videns, uno velut intuitu*, I hear and see what is done abroad, how others [k] run, ride, turmoil, and macerate themselves in court and countrey. Far from those wrangling law-suits, *aulæ vanitatem, fori ambitionem, ridere mecum soleo:* I laugh at all, [l] *only secure, lest my suit go amiss, my ships perish,* corn and cattle miscarry, trade decay, *I have no wife nor children, good or bad, to provide for ;* a meer spectator of other mens fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts, which me thinks are diversely presented unto me, as from a common theatre or scene. I hear new news every day: and those ordinary rumours of war, plagues, fires, inundations, thefts, murders, massacres, meteors, comets, spectrums, prodigies, apparitions, of towns taken, cities besieged in France, Germany, Turky, Persia, Poland, &c. daily musters and preparations, and such like, which these tempestuous times afford, battles fought, so many men slain, monomachies, shipwracks, piracies, and sea-fights, peace, leagues, stratagems, and fresh alarms—a vast confusion of vows, wishes, actions, edicts, petitions, law-suits, pleas, laws, proclamations, complaints, grievances—are daily brought to our ears: new books every day, pamphlets, currantoes, stories, whole catalogues of volumes of all sorts, new paradoxes, opinions, schisms, heresies, controversies in philosophy, religion, &c. Now come tidings of weddings, maskings, mummeries, entertainments, jubiles, embassies, tilts, and tornaments, trophies, triumphs, revels, sports, playes: then again, as in a new shifted scene, treasons, cheating tricks, robberies, enormous villanies, in all kinds, funerals, burials, death of princes, new discoveries, expeditions; now comical, then tragical matters. To day we hear of new lords and officers created, to morrow of some great men deposed, and then again of fresh honours conferred: one is let loose, another imprisoned: one purchaseth, another breaketh: he thrives, his neighbour turns bankrupt; now plenty, then again dearth and famine; one runs, another rides, wrangles, laughs, weeps, &c. Thus I daily hear, and such like, both private and public news.

[e] Delibare gratum de quocunque cibo, et pitissare de quocunque dolio jucundum. [f] Essays, lib. 3. [g] Præfat. bibliothec. [h] Ambo fortes et fortunati. Mars idem magisterii dominus juxta primam Leovitii regulam. [i] Heinsius. [k] Calide ambientes, solicite litigantes, aut misere excidentes, voces, strepitum, contentiones, &c. [l] Cyp. ad Donat. Unice securus, ne excidam in foro, aut in mari Indico bonis eluam, de dote filiæ, patrimonio filii non sum solicitus.

Amidst the gallantry and misery of the world, jollity, pride, perplexities and cares, simplicity and villany, subtlety, knavery, candour and integrity, mutually mixt and offering themselves, I rub on, *privus privatus:* as I have still lived, so I now continue *statu quo prius*, left to a solitary life, and mine own domestick discontents; saving that sometimes, *ne quid mentiar,* as Diogenes went into the city and Democritus to the haven, to see fashions, I did for my recreation now and then walk abroad, look into the world, and could not chuse but make some little observation, *non tam sagax observator, ac simplex recitator*, not, as they did, to scoff or laugh at all, but with a mixt passion: *Bilem, sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus.* [m]

I did sometime laugh and scoff with Lucian, and satyrically tax with Menippus, lament with Heraclitus, sometimes again I was [n] *petulanti splene cachinno*, and then again, [o] *urere bilis jecur*, I was much moved to see that abuse which I could not amend: in which passion howsoever I may sympathize with him or them, 'tis for no such respect I shroud my self under his name, but either, in an unknown habit, to assume a little more liberty and freedom of speech, or if you will needs know, for that reason and only respect which Hippocrates relates at large in his epistle to Damegetus, wherein he doth express, how, coming to visit him one day, he found *Democritus* in his garden at Abdera, in the suburbs, [p] under a shady bower, [q] with a book on his knees, busie at his study, sometime writing, sometime walking. The subject of his book was melancholy and madness: about him lay the carkasses of many several beasts, newly by him cut up and anatomized; not that he did contemn Gods creatures, as he told Hippocrates, but to find out the seat of this *atra bilis*, or melancholy, whence it proceeds, and how it is engendred in mens bodies, to the intent he might better cure it in himself, by his writings and observations [r] teach others how to prevent and avoid it. Which good intent of his Hippocrates highly commended, Democritus Junior is therefore bold to imitate, and, because he left it imperfect, and it is now lost, *quasi succenturiator Democriti*, to revive again, prosecute, and finish in this treatise.

You have had a reason of the name. If the title and inscription offend your gravity, were it a sufficient justification to accuse others, I could produce many sober treatises, even sermons themselves, which in their fronts carry more phantastical names. Howsoever, it is a kind of policy in these dayes, to prefix a phantastical title to a book which is to be sold: for as larks come down to a day-net, many vain readers will tarry and stand gazing, like silly passengers, at an antick picture in a painter's shop, that will not look at a judicious piece. And indeed, as [s] Scaliger observes, *nothing more invites a reader than an argument unlooked for, unthought of, and sells better than a scurrile pamphlet, tum maxime cum novitas excitat palatum.* Many men, saith [t] Gellius, *are very conceited in their inscriptions*, and able, (as [u] Pliny quotes out of Seneca) to make him loyter by the way, *that went in haste to fetch a mid-wife for his daughter, now ready to lie down.* For my part, I have honourable [v] precedents for this I have done: I will cite one for all, Anthonie Zara Pap. Episc. his Anatomy of Wit, in four sections, members, subsections, &c. to be read in our libraries.

If any man except against the matter or manner of treating of this my subject, and will demand a reason of it, I can allege more than one. I write

[m] Hor. [n] Per. [o] Hor. [p] Secundum mœnia locus erat frondosis populis opacus, vitibusque sponte natis: tenuis prope aqua defluebat, placide murmurans, ubi sedile et domus Democriti conspiciebatur. [q] Ipse composite considebat, super genua volumen habens, et utrinque alia patentia parata, dissectaque animalia cumulatim strata, quorum viscera rimabatur. [r] Cum mundus extra se sit, et mente captus sit, et nesciat se languere, ut medelam adhibeat. [s] Scaliger, Ep. ad Patisonem. Nihil magis lectorem invitat quam inopinatum argumentum; neque vendibilior merx est quam petulans liber. [t] Lib. xx. c. 11. Miras sequuntur inscriptionum festivitates. [u] Præfat. Nat. Hist. Patri obstetricem parturienti filiæ accersenti moram injicere possant. [v] Anatomy of Popery. Anatomy of Immortality. Angelus Scalas, Anatomy of Antimony, &c.

of melancholy, by being busie, to avoid melancholy. There is no greater cause of melancholy than idleness, *no better cure than business*, as [x]Rhasis holds: and howbeit, *stultus labor est ineptiarum*, to be busied in toyes is to small purpose, yet hear that divine Seneca, better *aliud agere quam nihil*, better do to no end, than nothing. I writ therefore, and busied my self in this playing labour, *tiosáque diligentiâ ut vitarem torporem feriandi*, with Vectius in Macrobius, *atque otium in utile verterem negotium;*

[y] —Simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitæ
Lectorem delectando simul atque monendo.

To this end I write (like them, saith Lucian, that *recite to trees, and declaim to pillars, for want of auditors;*) as [z]Paulus Ægineta ingenuously confesseth, *not that any thing was unknown or omitted, but to exercise my self* (which course if some took, I think it would be good for their bodies, and much better for their souls); (or peradventure, as others do, for fame to shew my self (*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter*). I might be of Thucydides opinion, [a]*to know a thing and not to express it, is all one as if he knew it not.*) When I first took this task in hand, (*et, quod ait* [b]*ille, impellente genio negotium suscepi*, this) I aimed at, [c]*vel ut lenirem animum scribendo*, to ease my mind by writing, for I had, *gravidum cor, fetum caput,* (a kind of imposthume in my head,) which I was very desirous to be unladen of, and could imagine no fitter evacuation than this. Besides, I might not well refrain; for, *ubi dolor, ibi digitus*, one must needs scratch where it itches. I was not a little offended with this malady (shall I say my mistris *melancholy*, my Egeria, or my *malus genius;* and for that cause, as he that is stung with a scorpion, I would expel, *clavum clavo*, [d]comfort one sorrow with another, idleness with idleness, *ut ex viperâ theriacum*, make an antidote out of that which was the prime cause of my disease. Or as he did, of whom [e]Felix Plater speaks, that thought he had some of Aristophanes frogs in his belly, still crying *Brecc' ekex, coax, oop, oop*, and for that cause studied physick seven years, and travelled over most part of Europe, to ease himself; to do my self good, I turned over such physicians as our libraries would afford, or my [f]private friends impart, and have taken this pains. And why not? Cardan professeth he writ his book *De consolatione* after his sons death, to comfort himself; so did Tully write of the same subject with like intent after his daughters departure, if it be his at least, or some impostors put out in his name, which Lipsius probably suspects. Concerning my self, I can peradventure affirm with Marius in Sallust, [h]*that which others hear or read of, I felt and practised my self: they get their knowledge by books, I mine by melancholizing: experto crede Roberto.* Something I can speak out of experience, *ærumnabilis experientia me docuit;* and with her in the poet, [i]*Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.* I would help others out of a fellow-feeling, and as that vertuous lady did of old, [k]*being a leper her self, bestow all her portion to build an hospital for lepers*, I will spend my time and knowledge, which are my greatest fortunes, for the common good of all. Yea, but you will inferr that this is [l]*actum agere*, an unnecessary work, *cramben bis coctam apponere*, the same again and again in other words. To what purpose? [m]*Nothing is omitted that may well be said:* so thought Lucian in the like theam. How many excellent physicians have written just volumes

[x] Cont. l. 4. c. 9. Non est cura melior quam labor. [y] Hor. [z] Non quod de novo quid addere, aut a veteribus prætermissum, sed propriæ exercitationis causâ. [a] Qui novit, neque id quod sentit exprimit, perinde est ac si nesciret. [b] Jovius, Præf. Hist. [c] Erasmus. [d] Otium otio, dolorem dolore, sum solatus. [e] Observat. l. 1. [f] M. Joh. Rous. our protobib. Oxon. Mr. Hopper, Mr. Guthridge, &c. [h] Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi egomet, alia gessi: quæ illi literis, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate, facta an dicta pluris sint. [i] Dido, Virg. [k] Camden, Ipsa elephantiasi correpta elephantiasis hospitium construxit. [l] Iliada post Homerum. [m] Nihil prætermissum quod a quovis dici possit.

and elaborate tracts of this subject? no news here: that which I have is stoln from others; [n] *dicitque mihi mea pagina, fur es.* If that severe doom of [o] Synesius be true, *it is a greater offence to steal dead mens labours, than their cloaths,* what shall become of most writers? I hold up my hand at the bar amongst others, and am guilty of felony in this kind: *habes confitentem reum,* I am content to be pressed with the rest. 'Tis most true, *tenet insanabile multos scribendi cacoëthes;* and [p] *there is no end of writing of books,* as the wise man found of old, in this [q] scribling age especially, wherein [r] *the number of books is without number,* (as a worthy man saith) *presses be oppressed,* and out of an itching humour, that every man hath to shew himself, [s] desirous of fame and honour, (*scribimus indocti doctique*——) he will write, no matter what, and scrape together, it boots not whence. [t] *Bewitched with this desire of fame, etiam mediis in morbis,* to the disparagement of their health, and scarce able to hold a pen, they must say something, [u] *and get themselves a name,* saith Scaliger, *though it be to the down-fall and ruine of many others.* To be counted writers, *scriptores ut salutentur,* to be thought and held Polymathes, and Polyhistors, *apud imperitum vulgus ob ventosæ nomen artis,* to get a paper kingdom (*nullâ spe quæstûs, sed amplâ famæ,* in this precipitate, ambitious age, *nunc ut est sæculum, inter immaturam eruditionem, ambitiosum et præceps* ('tis [v] Scaligers censure) and they that are scarce auditors, *vix auditores,* must be masters and teachers, before they be capable and fit hearers.) They will rush into all learning, *togatam, armatam,* divine, humane authors, rake over all indexes and pamphlets for notes, as our merchants do strange havens for traffick, write great tomes, *cum non sint reverâ doctiores, sed loquaciores,* when as they are not thereby better scholars, but greater praters. They commonly pretend publick good: but, as Gesner [x] observes, 'tis pride and vanity that eggs them on; no news, or ought worthy of note, but the same in other terms. (*Ne feriarentur fortasse typographi, vel ideo scribendum est aliquid ut se vixisse testentur.*) As apothecaries, we make new mixtures every day, pour out of one vessel into another; (and as those old Romans rob'd all the cities of the world, to set out their bad sited Rome,) we skim off the cream of other mens wits, pick the choice flowers of their till'd gardens to set out our own sterile plots. (*Castrant alios, ut libros suos, per se graciles, alieno adipe suffarciant* (so [y] Jovius inveighs); they lard their lean books with the fat of others works. *Ineruditi fures, &c.*) (a fault that every writer finds, as I do now, and yet faulty themselves) [z] *Trium literarum homines,* all thieves; they pilfer out of old writers to stuff up their new comments, scrape Ennius dunghils, and out of [a] Democritus pit, as I have done. By which means it comes to pass, [b] *that not only libraries and shops are full of our putid papers, but every close-stool and jakes:* (*Scribunt carmina, quæ legunt cacantes;*) they serve to put under pies, to [c] lap spice in, and keep roast meat from burning. With us in France, saith [d] Scaliger, *every man hath liberty to write, but few ability.* [e] *Heretofore learning was graced by judicious scholars, but now noble sciences are vilified by base and illiterate scriblers,* that either write for vain-glory, need to get money, or as parasites to flatter and collogue with some great men: they put out [f] *burras, quisquiliasque, ineptiasque.* [g] *Amongst so many thousand authors you shall scarce find one, by reading of*

[n] Martialis. [o] Magis impium mortuorum lucubrationes quam vestes furari. [p] Eccl. ult. [q] Libros eunuchi gignunt, steriles pariunt. [r] D. King, præfat. lect. Jonas, the late right reverend lord bishop of London. [s] Homines famelici gloriæ ad ostentationem eruditionis undique congerunt. Buchananus. [t] Effascinati etiam laudis amore, &c. Justus Baronius. [u] Ex ruinis alienæ existimationis sibi gradum ad famam struunt. [v] Exercit. 288. [x] Omnes sibi famam quærunt, et quovis modo in orbem spargi contendunt, ut novæ alicujus rei habeantur auctores. Præf. biblioth. [y] Præf. hist. [z] Plautus. [a] E Democriti puteo. [b] Non tam refertæ bibliothecæ quam cloacæ. [c] Et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis. [d] Epist. ad Petas. In regno Franciæ omnibus scribendi datur libertas, paucis facultas. [e] Olim literæ ob homines in pretio, nunc sordent ob homines. [f] Ans. pac. [g] Inter tot mille volumina vix unum a cujus lectione quis melior evadat, immo potius non pejor.

whom you shall be any whit better, but rather much worse, quibus inficitur potius, quam perficitur, by which he is rather infected, than any way perfected.

> [k] ——————— Qui talia legit,
> Quid didicit tandem, quid scit, nisi somnia, nugas?

So that oftentimes it falls out (which Callimachus taxed of old) a great book is a great mischief. [i]Cardan finds fault with Frenchmen and Germans, for their scribling to no purpose: *non, inquit, ab edendo deterreo, modo novum aliquid inveniant:* he doth not bar them to write, so that it be some new invention of their own: but we weave the same web still, twist the same rope again and again: or, if it be a new invention, 'tis but some bauble or toy which idle fellows write, for as idle fellows to read: and who so cannot invent? [k] *He must have a barren wit, that in this scribling age can forge nothing.* [l] *Princes shew their armies, rich men vaunt their buildings, souldiers their manhood, and scholars vent their toyes;* they must read, they must hear, whether they will or no.

> [m] Et quodcunque semel chartis illeverit, omnes
> Gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque,
> Et pueros et anus———.
> What once is said and writ, all men must know,
> Old wives and children as they come and go.

What a company of poets hath this year brought out! as Pliny complains to Sosius Senecio. [n] *This* April, *every day some or other have recited.* What a catalogue of new books all this year, all this age (I say), have our Frank-furt marts, our domestick marts, brought out! twice a year, [o] *proferunt se nova ingenia et ostentant:* we stretch our wits out, and set them to sale: *magno conatu nihil agimus.* So that, which [p] Gesner much desires, if a speedy reformation be not had, by some princes edicts and grave supervisors, to restrain this liberty, it will run on *in infinitum. Quis tam avidus librorum helluo*, who can read them? As already, we shall have a vast chaos and confusion of books: we are [q] oppressed with them; [r] our eyes ake with reading, our fingers with turning. For my part, I am one of the number; *nos numerus sumus:* I do not deny it. I have only this of Macrobius to say for my self, *Omne meum, nihil meum*, 'tis all mine, and none mine. As a good housewife out of divers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth, a bee gathers wax and honey out of many flowers, and makes a new bundle of all, *Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant*, I have laboriously [s] collected this cento out of divers writers, and that *sine injuriâ*: I have wronged no authors, but given every man his own; which [t] Hierom so much commends in Nepotian; he stole not whole verses, pages, tracts, as some do now a days, concealing their authors names; but still said this was Cyprians, that Lactantius, that Hilarius, so said Minutius Felix, so Victorinus, thus far Arnobius: I cite and quote mine authors (which, howsoever some illiterate scriblers account pedantical, as a cloke of ignorance, and opposite to their affected fine stile, I must and will use) *sumpsi, non surripui;* and what Varro, lib. 6. de re rust. speaks of bees, *minime maleficæ, nullius opus vellicantes faciunt deterius*, I can say of my self. Whom have I injured? The matter is theirs most part, and yet mine: *apparet unde sumptum sit* (which Seneca approves); *aliud tamen, quam unde sumptum sit, apparet;* which nature doth with the aliment of our bodies, incorporate, digest, assimilate, I do *concoquere quod hausi*, dispose of what I take:

[k] Palingenius. [i] Lib. 5. de sap. [k] Sterile oportet esse ingenium quod in hoc scripturientum pruritu, &c. [l] Cardan. præf. ad consol. [m] Hor. ser. l. sat. 4. [n] Epist. lib. 1. Magnum poetarum proventum annus hic attulit: mense Aprili nullus fere dies quo non aliquis recitavit. [o] Idem. [p] Principibus et doctoribus deliberandum delinquo, ut arguantur auctorem furta, et millies repetita tollantur, et temere scribendi libido coërceatur, aliter in infinitum progressura. [q] Onerabuntur ingenia, nemo legendis sufficit. [r] Libris obruimur: oculi legendo, manus volitando dolent. Fam. Strada, Momon. Lucretius. [s] Quidquid ubique bene dictum facio meum, et illud nunc meis ad compendium, nunc ad fidem et auctoritatem alienis, exprimo verbis: omnes auctores meos clientes esse arbitror, &c. Sarisburiensis ad Polycrat. prol. [t] In Epitaph. Nep. illud Cyp. hoc Lact. illud Hilar. est, ita Victorinus, in hunc modum loquutus est Arnobius, &c.

I make them pay tribute, to set out this my Maceronicon: the method only is mine own: I must usurp that of [u] *Wecker e Ter. nihil dictum quod non dictum prius: methodus sola artificem ostendit:* we can say nothing but what hath been said, the composition and method is ours only, and shews a scholar. Oribasius, Aëtius, Avicenna, have all out of Galen, but to their own method, *diverso stylo, non diversâ fide.* Our poets steal from Homer; he spews, saith Ælian, they lick it up. Divines use Austins words *verbatim* still, and our story-dressers do as much; he that comes last is commonly best,

——— donec quid grandius ætas
Postera, sorsque ferat melior.——

Though there were many giants of old in physick and philosophy, yet I say with [v] Didacus Stella, *A dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant, may see farther than a giant himself;* I may likely add, alter, and see farther than my predecessors; and it is no greater prejudice for me to indite after others, than for Ælianus Montaltus, that famous physician, to write *de morbis capitis*, after Jason Pratensis, Heurnius, Hildesheim, &c. Many horses to run in a race, one logician, one rhetorician, after another. Oppose then what thou wilt,

Allatres licet usque nos et usque,
Et gannitibus improbis lacessas;

I solve it thus. And for those other faults of barbarism, [x] Dorick dialect, extemporanean style, tautologies, apish imitation, a rhapsody of rags gathered together from several dung-hills, excrements of authors, toyes and fopperies confusedly tumbled out, without art, invention, judgement, wit, learning, harsh, raw, rude, phantastical, absurd, insolent, indiscreet, ill-composed, indigested, vain, scurrile, idle, dull and dry; I confess all ('tis partly affected): thou canst not think worse of me than I do of my self. 'Tis not worth the reading, I yield it: I desire thee not to lose time in perusing so vain a subject; I should be peradventure loth my self to read him or thee so writing; 'tis not *operæ pretium.* All I say, is this, that I have [y] precedents for it, which Isocrates calls *perfugium iis qui peccant*, others as absurd, vain, idle, illiterate, &c. *Nonnulli alii idem fecerunt*, others have done as much, it may be more, and perhaps thou thy self: *Novimus et qui te, &c.* we have all our faults; *scimus et hanc veniam*, &c. [z] thou censurest me, so have I done others, and may do thee: *Cædimus, inque vicem, &c.* 'tis *lex talionis, quid pro quo.* Go now censure, criticise, scoff and rail.

Nasutus sis usque licet sis denique nasus,
Non potes in nugas dicere plura meas,
Ipse ego quam dixi, &c.
Wer'st thou all scoffs and flouts, a very Momus,
Than we our selves, thou canst not say worse of us.

Thus, as when women scold, have I cryed whore first; and, in some mens censures, I am afraid I have overshot my self. *Laudare se vani, vituperare stulti:* as I do not arrogate, I will not derogate. *Primus vestrûm non sum, nec imus*, I am none of the best, I am none of the meanest of you. As I am an inch, or so many feet, so many parasanges, after him or him, I may be peradventure an ace before thee. Be it therefore as it is, well or ill, I have assayed, put my self upon the stage: I must abide the censure; I may not escape it. It is most true, *stylus virum arguit*, our style bewrayes us, and [b] hunters find their game by the trace, so is a mans genius descried by his works: *multo melius ex sermone quam lineamentis, de moribus hominum judicamus;* 'twas old Cato's rule. I have laid my self open (I know it) in this treatise, turned mine inside outward: I shall be censured, I doubt not;

[u] Præf. ad Syntax. med. [v] In Luc. 10. tom. 2. Pygmæi gigantum humeris impositi plus quam ipsi gigantes vident. [x] Nec aranearum textus ideo melior, quia ex se fila gignuntur, nec noster ideo vilior, quia ex alienis libamus ut, apes. Lipsius adversus dialogist. [y] Uno absurdo dato, mille sequuntur. [z] Non dubito multos lectores hic fore stultos. [a] Martial. 13. 2. [b] Ut venatores feram e vestigio impresso, virum scriptiunculâ. Lips.

for, to say truth with Erasmus, *nihil morosius hominum judiciis*, there's nought so pievish as men's judgments: yet this is some comfort—*ut palata, sic judicia*, our censures are as various as our palats.

[a] Tres mihi convivæ prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato, &c.

Our writings are as so many dishes, our readers guests; our books like beauty; that which one admires, another rejects; so are we approved as mens fancies are inclined. *Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.* That which is most pleasing to one is *amaracum sui*, most harsh to another. *Quot homines, tot sententiæ*, so many men, so many minds: that which thou condemnest, he commends. [d] *Quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.* He respects matter: thou art wholly for words: he loves a loose and free stile; thou art all for neat composition, strong lines, hyperboles, allegories: he desires a fine frontispiece, enticing pictures, such as Hieron. Natali [e] the Jesuit hath cut to the Dominicals, to draw on the readers attention, which thou rejectest; that which one admires, another explodes as most absurd and ridiculous. If it be not point-blank to his humour, his method, his conceit, [f] *si quid forsan omissum, quod is animo conceperit, si quæ dictio, &c.* if ought be omitted, or added, which he likes, or dislikes, thou art *mancipium paucæ lectionis*, an ideot, an ass, *nullus es*, or *plagiarius*, a trifler, a trivant, thou art an idle fellow; or else 'tis a thing of meer industry, a collection without wit or invention, a very toy. [g] *Facilia sic putant omnes quæ jam facta, nec de salebris cogitant, ubi via strata*; so men are valued, their labours vilified, by fellows of no worth themselves, as things of nought: who could not have done as much? *unusquisque abundat sensu suo*, every man abounds in his own sense; and whilest each particular party is so affected, how should one please all? [h] *Quid dem? quid non dem? Renuis tu, quod jubet ille.* How shall I hope to express my self to each mans humor and [i] conceit, or to give satisfaction to all? Some understand too little, some too much, ⟨*qui similiter in legendos libros, atque in salutandos homines irruunt, non cogitantes quales, sed quibus vestibus induti sint*, as [j] Austin observes, not regarding what, but who write, [k] *orexin habet auctoris celebritas*, not valuing the mettal, but the stamp that is upon it; *cantharum aspiciunt, non quid in eo.*⟩ If he be not rich, in great place, polite and brave, a great doctor, or full fraught with grand titles, though never so well qualified, he is a dunce. But as [l] Baronius hath it of cardinal Caraffas works, he is a meer hog that rejects any man for his poverty. Some are too partial, as friends to overween; others come with a prejudice to carp, vilifie, detract and scoff; (*qui de me forsan quidquid est, omni contemptu contemptius judicant*) some as bees for honey, some as spiders to gather poyson. What shall I do in this case?⟩ As a Dutch host, if you come to an inn in Germany, and dislike your fare, diet, lodging, &c. replyes in a surly tone, [m] *aliud tibi quæras diversorium*, if you like not this, get you to another inn: I resolve, if you like not my writing, go read something else. I do not much esteem thy censure: take thy course: 'tis not as thou wilt, nor as I will: but when we have both done, that of [n] Plinius Secundus to Trajan will prove true, *Every mans witty labour takes not, except the matter, subject, occasion, and some commending favourite happen to it.* If I be taxed, exploded by thee and some such, I shall haply be approved and commended by others, ⟨and so

[a] Hor. [d] Hor. [e] Antwerp. fol. 1607. [f] Muretus. [g] Lipsius. [h] Hor. [i] Fieri non potest, ut quod quisque, cogitat, dicat unus. Muretus. [j] Lib. 1. de ord. cap. 11. [k] Erasmus. [l] Annal. tom. 3. ad annum 360. Est porcus ille qui sacerdotem ex amplitudine redituum sordide demetitur. [m] Erasm. dial. [n] Epist. 1. 6. Cujusque ingenium non statim emergit, nisi materiæ fautor, occasio, commendatorque contingat.

have been (*expertus loquor*); and may truly say with [o]Jovius in like case (*absit verbo jactantia*) *heroum quorundam, pontificum, et virorum nobilium familiaritatem et amicitiam, gratasque gratias, et multorum* [p]*bene laudatorum laudes sum inde promeritus:* as I have been honoured by some worthy men, so have I been vilified by others, and shall be. At the first publishing of this book, (which [q]Probus of Persius satyrs) *editum librum continuo mirari homines, atque avide deripere cæperunt*, I may in some sort apply to this my work. The first, second, and third edition were suddenly gone, eagerly read, and, as I have said, not so much approved by some, as scornfully rejected by others. But it was Democritus his fortune, *Idem admirationi et* [r]*irrisioni habitus.* 'Twas Seneca's fate: that superintendant of wit, learning, judgment, [s]*ad stuporem doctus*, the best of Greek and Latin writers, in Plutarch's opinion; that *renowned corrector of vice*, as [t]Fabius terms him, *and painful omniscious philosopher that writ so excellently and admirably well*, could not please all parties, or escape censure. How is he vilified by [u]Caligula, Agellius, Fabius, and Lipsius himself, his chief propugner? *In eo pleraque perniciosa*, saith the same Fabius: many childish tracts and sentences he hath, *sermo illaboratus*, too negligent often and remiss, as Agellius observes, *oratio vulgaris et protrita, dicaces et ineptæ sententiæ, eruditio plebeia*, an homely shallow writer as he is. *In partibus spinas et fastidia, habet*, saith [v]Lipsius; and, as in all his other works, so especially in his Epistles, *aliæ in argutiis et ineptiis occupantur: intricatus alicubi, et parum compositus, sine copiâ rerum hoc fecit:* he jumbles up many things together immethodically, after the Stoicks fashion: *parum ordinavit, multa accumulavit, &c.* If Seneca be thus lashed, and many famous men that I could name, what shall I expect? How shall I that am *vix umbra tanti philosophi*, hope to please? *No man so absolute*, [w]Erasmus holds, *to satisfy all, except antiquity, prescription, &c. set a bar.* But as I have proved in Seneca, this will not always take place, how shall I evade? 'Tis the common doom of all writers: I must (I say) abide it: I seek not applause; [x]*Non ego ventosæ venor suffragia plebis;* again, *non sum adeo informis:* I would not be vilified; [y]

> ——— laudatus abunde,
> Non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero.

I fear good men's censures; and to their favourable acceptance I submit my labours,

> ——— et linguas mancipiorum
> Contemno ———

As the barking of a dog, I securely contemn those malicious and scurrile obloquies, flouts, calumnies of railers and detractors; I scorn the rest. What therefore I have said, *pro tenuitate meâ* I have said.

One or two things yet I was desirous to have amended, if I could, concerning the manner of handling this my subject, for which I must apologize, *deprecari*, and upon better advice give the friendly reader notice. It was not mine intent to prostitute my muse in English, or to divulge *secreta Minervæ*, but to have exposed this more contract in Latin, if I could have got it printed. Any scurrile pamphlet is welcome to our mercenary stationers in English: they print all,

> ——— cudunt que libellos,
> In quorum foliis vix simia nuda cacaret:

[o] Præf. hist. [p] Laudari a laudato laus est. [q] Vit. Persii. [r] Minuit præsentia famam. [s] Lipsius, Judic. de Senecâ. [t] Lib. 10. Plurimum studii, multam rerum cognitionem, omnem studiorum materiam, &c. multa in eo probanda, multa admiranda. [u] Suet. Arena sine calce. [v] Introduc. ad Sen. [w] Judic. de Sen. Vix aliquis tam absolutus, ut alteri per omnia satisfaciat, nisi longa temporis præscriptio semotæ judicandi libertate, religione quædam animos occupârit. [x] Hor. Ep. 1. lib. 29. [y] Æque turpe frigide laudari ac insectanter vituperari. Phavorinus. A. Gel. lib. 19. c. 2. [z] Ovid. Trist. 1. eleg. 6. [a] Juven. Sat. 5.

but in Latin they will not deal: which is one of the reasons [b] Nicholas Car, in his Oration of the paucity of English writers, gives, that so many flourishing wits are smothered in oblivion, lye dead and buried, in this our nation. Another main fault is, that I have not revised the copy, and amended the style, which now flows remisly, as it was first conceived: but my leisure would not permit: *Feci nec quod potui, nec quod volui*, I confess it is neither as I would, or as it should be.

> [a] Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,
> Me quoque qua fuerant judice digna lini.
>
> When I peruse this tract which I have writ,
> I am asham'd, and much I hold unfit.

Et quod gravissimum, in the matter it self, many things I disallow at this present, which when I writ, [d] *Non edeam est ætas, non mens.* I would willingly retract much, &c. but 'tis too late. I can only crave pardon now for what is amiss.

I might indeed (had I wisely done) observed that precept of the poet, ——*nonumque prematur in annum*, and have taken more care: or as Alexander the physician would have done by lapis lazuli, fifty times washed before it be used, I should have revised, corrected, and amended this tract; but I had not (as I said) that happy leisure, no amanuenses or assistants. Pancrates in [e] Lucian, wanting a servant as he went from Memphis to Coptus in Ægypt, took a door bar, and, after some superstitious words pronounced, (Eucrates the relator was then present) made it stand up like a serving-man, fetch him water, turn the spit, serve in supper, and what work he would besides; and when he had done that service he desired, turned his man to a stick again. I have no such skill to make new men at my pleasure, or means to hire them, no whistle, to call, like the master of a ship, and bid them run, &c. I have no such authority, no such benefactors, as that noble [f] Ambrosius was to Origen, allowing him six or seven amanuenses to write out his dictates; I must, for that cause, do my business my self, and was therefore enforced, as a bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump: I had not time to lick it into form, as she doth her young ones, but even so to publish it, as it was first written, *quidquid in buccam venit:* in an extemporean style, (as [g] I do commonly all other exercises) *effudi quidquid dictavit genius meus;* out of a confused company of notes, and writ with as small deliberation as I do ordinarily speak, without all affectation of big words, fustian phrases, jingling terms, tropes, strong lines, (that, like [h] Acestes arrows, caught fire as they flew) strains of wit, brave heats, elogies, hyperbolical exornations, elegancies, &c. which many so much affect. I am [i] *aquæ potor*, drink no wine at all, which so much improves our modern wits; a loose, plain, rude writer, *ficum voco ficum, et ligonem ligonem*, and as free, as loose: *idem calamo quod in mente:* [j] I call a spade a spade: *animis hæc scribo, non auribus*, I respect matter, not words; remembering that of Cardan, *verba propter res, non res propter verba;* and seeking with Seneca, *quid scribam, non quemadmodum*, rather what, than how to write. For, as Philo thinks, [k] *he that is conversant about matter, neglects words; and those that excell in this art of speaking, have no profound learning:*

> [l] Verba nitent phaleris; at nullas verba medullas
> Intus habent——

Besides, it was the observation of that wise Seneca, [m] *when you see a fellow*

[b] Aut artis inscii, aut quæstui magis quam literis student. hab. Cantab. et Lond. excus. 1676. [c] Ovid. de Pont. eleg. 1. 6. [d] Hor. [e] Tom. 3. Philopseud. accepto pessulo, quum carmen quoddam dixisset, effecit ut ambularet, aquam hauriret, cœnam pararet, &c. [f] Eusebius, eccles. hist. lib. 6. [g] Stans pede in uno, as he made verses. [h] Virg. [i] Non eadem a summo expectes, minimoque petiti. [j] Stylus hic nullus præter parrhesiam. [k] Qui rebus se exercet, verba negligit; et qui colluit artem dicendi, nullam disciplinam habet recognitam. [l] Palingenius. [m] Cujuscunque ora-

careful about his words, and neat in his speech, know this for a certainty, that mans mind is busied about toyes, there's no solidity in him. Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas: as he said of a nightingale,——*vox es, præterea nihil*, &c. I am therefore in this point a professed disciple of [n] Apollonius, a scholar of Socrates: I neglect phrases, and labour wholly to inform my readers' understanding, not to please his ear; 'tis not my study or intent to compose neatly, which an orator requires, but to express my self readily and plainly as it happens: so that, as a river runs, sometimes precipitate and swift, then dull and slow; now direct, then *per ambages;* now deep, then shallow; now muddy, then clear; now broad, then narrow; doth my style flow—now serious, then light; now comical, then satyrical; now more elaborate, then remiss, as the present subject required, or as at that time I was affected. And if thou vouchsafe to read this treatise, it shall seem no otherwise to thee, than the way to an ordinary traveller, sometimes fair, sometimes foul; here champion, there inclosed; barren in one place, better soil in another. By woods, groves, hills, dales, plains, &c. I shall lead thee *per ardua montium, et lubrica vallium, et roscida cespitum, et* [o] *glebosa camporum*, through variety of objects, that which thou shalt like, and surely dislike.

For the matter it self or method, if it be faulty, consider, I pray you, that of Columella: *nihil perfectum, aut a singulari consummatum industriâ:* no man can observe all; much is defective no doubt, may be justly taxed, altered, and avoided in Galen, Aristotle, those great masters. *Boni venatoris* ([p] one holds) *plures feras capere, non omnes.* He is a good huntsman can catch some, not all: I have done my endeavour. Besides, I dwell not in this study: *non hic sulcos ducimus; non hoc pulvere desudamus:* I am but a smatterer, I confess, a stranger: [q] here and there I pull a flower. I do easily grant, if a rigid censurer should criticize on this which I have writ, he should not find three sole faults, as Scaliger in Terence, but three hundred, so many as he hath done in Cardans Subtleties, as many notable errors as [r] Gul. Laurembergius, a late professor of Rustocke, discovers in that anatomy of Laurentius, or Barocius the Venetian, in Sacroboscus. < And although this be a sixth edition, in which I should have been more accurate, corrected all those former escapes, yet it was *magni laboris opus*, so difficult and tedious, that (as carpenters do find out of experience, 'tis much better build a new sometimes, than repair an old house) I could as soon write as much more, as alter that which is written.> If ought therefore be amiss, (as I grant there is) I require a friendly admonition, no bitter invective: [s] *Sint Musis sociæ Charites; Furia omnis abesto.* Otherwise, as in ordinary controversies, *funem contentionis nectamus: sed cui bono?* We may contend, and likely misuse each other: but to what purpose? We are both scholars, say,

——————— [t] Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.

If we do wrangle, what shall we get by it? Trouble and wrong our selves, make sport to others. If I be convict of an error, I will yield, I will amend. *Si quid bonis moribus, si quid veritati dissentaneum, in sacris vel humanis literis a me dictum sit, id nec dictum esto.* In the mean time I require a favourable censure of all faults omitted, harsh compositions, pleonasmes of words, tautological repetitions, (though Seneca bear me out, *nunquam nimis*

tionem vides politam et solicitam, scito animum in pusillis occupatum, in scriptis nil solidum. Epist. lib. 1. 21. [n] Philostratus, lib. 8. vit. Apol. Negligebat oratoriam facultatem, et penitus aspernabatur ejus professores, quod linguam duntaxat, non autem mentem, redderent eruditiorem. [o] Hic enim, quod Seneca de Ponto, bos herbam, ciconia larisam, canis leporem, virgo florem legat. [p] Pet. Nannius, not. in Hor. [q] Non hic colonus domicilium habeo; sed, topiarii in morem, hinc inde florem vellico, ut canis Nilum lambens. [r] Supra bis mille notabiles errores Laurentii demonstravi, &c. [s] Philo, de Con. [t] Virg.

dicitur, quod nunquam satis dicitur) perturbations of tenses, numbers, printers faults, &c. My translations are sometimes rather paraphrases, than interpretations; *non ad verbum;* but, as an author, I use more liberty, and that's only taken, which was to my purpose. Quotations are often inserted in the text, which make the style more harsh, or in the margent, as it hapned. Greek authors, Plato, Plutarch, Athenæus, &c. I have cited out of their interpreters, because the original was not so ready. I have mingled *sacra profanis*, but I hope not prophaned, and, in repetition of authors names ranked them *per accidens*, not according to chronology; sometimes neotericks before ancients, as my memory suggested. Some things are here altered, expunged in this sixth edition, others amended, much added, because many good [s]authors in all kinds are come to my hands since; and 'tis no prejudice, no such *indecorum*, or oversight.

[t] Nunquam ita *quidquam* bene subducti ratione ad vitam fuit,
Quin res, ætas, usus, semper aliquid apportet novi,
Aliquid moneat; ut illa, quæ scire te credas, nescias,
Et, quæ tibi putâris prima, in experiundo ut repudies.

Ne'er was ought yet at first contriv'd so fit,
But use, age, or something, would alter it;
Advise thee better, and, upon peruse,
Make thee not say, and, what thou tak'st, refuse.

But I am now resolved never to put this treatise out again: *ne quid nimis*, I will not hereafter add, alter, or retract; I have done.

The last and greatest exception is, that I, being a divine, have medled with physick:

——[u] Tantumne est ab re tuâ otii tibi,
Aliena ut cures, eaque nihil quæ ad te attinent?

(which Menedemus objected to Chremes) have I so much leisure or little business of mine own, as to look after other mens matters, which concern me not? What have I to do with physick? *quod medicorum est, promittant medici.* The [v]Lacedæmonians were once in council about state-matters: a debauched fellow spake excellent well, and to the purpose: his speech was generally approved: a grave senator steps up, and by all means would have it repealed, though good, because *dehonestabatur pessimo auctore*, it had no better an author; let some good man relate the same, and then it should pass. This counsel was embraced, *factum est*, and it was registered forthwith; *et sic bona sententia mansit, malus auctor mutatus est.* Thou sayest as much of me, stomachous as thou art, and grantest peradventure this which I have written in physick, not to be amiss, had another done it, a professed physician, or so; but why should I meddle with this tract? Hear me speak: there be many other subjects, I do easily grant, both in humanity and divinity, fit to be treated of, which, had I written *ad ostentationem* only, to shew my self, I should have rather chosen, and in which I have been more conversant, I could have more willingly luxuriated, and better satisfied my self and others; but that at this time I was fatally driven upon this rock of melancholy, and carried away by this by-stream, which, as a rillet, is deducted from the main channel of my studies, in which I have pleased and busied my self at idle hours, as a subject most necessary and commodious:—not that I prefer it before divinity, which I do acknowledge to be the queen of professions, and to which all the rest are as handmaids, but that in divinity I saw no such great need: for, had I written positively, there be so many books in that kind, so many commentators, treatises, pamphlets, expositions, sermons, that whole teems of oxen cannot draw them; and, had I been as forward and ambitious as some others, I might have haply printed a sermon at Pauls Cross, a sermon in St. Maries Oxon, a sermon in Christ Church, or a sermon before the right ho-

[s] Frumbesarius, Sennertus, Ferandus, &c. [t] Ter. Adelph. [u] Heaut. act. 1. scen. 1. [v] Gellius, lib. 18. c. 3.

nourable, right reverend, a sermon before the right worshipful, a sermon in Latine, in English, a sermon with a name, a sermon without, a sermon, a sermon, &c. But I have been ever as desirous to suppress my labours in this kind, as others have been to press and publish theirs. To have written in controversie, had been to cut off an Hydras head: [w] *lis litem generat*; one begets another; so many duplications, triplications, and swarms of questions, *in sacro bello hoc quod styli mucrone agitur*, that, having once begun, I should never make an end. One had much better, as [x] Alexander the Sixth, pope, long since observed, provoke a great prince than a begging friar, a Jesuite, or a seminary priest; I will add, for *inexpugnabile genus hoc hominum:* they are an irrefragable society, they must and will have the last word, and that with such eagerness, impudence, abominable lying, falsifying, and bitterness in their questions they proceed, that, as [y] he said *furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior, an culpa? responsum date.* Blind fury or errour, or rashness, or what it is that eggs them, I know not, I am sure, many times; which [z] Austin perceived long since: *tempestate contentionis, serenitas charitatis obnubilatur:* with this tempest of contention, the serenity of charity is over-clouded; and there be too many spirits conjured up already in this kind in all sciences, and more than we can tell how to lay, which do furiously rage, and keep such a racket, that, as [a] Fabius said, *it had been much better for some of them to have been born dumb, and altogether illiterate, than so far to dote to their own destruction.*

> At melius fuerat non scribere; namque tacere
> Tutum semper erit.

'Tis a general fault—so Severinus the Dane complains—in physick—*unhappy men as we are, we spend our daies in unprofitable questions and disputations*, intricate subtilties, *de lanâ caprinâ*, about moonshine in the water, *leaving in the mean time those chiefest treasures of nature untouched, wherein the best medicines for all manner of diseases are to be found, and do not only neglect them our selves, but hinder, condemn, forbid, and scoff at others, that are willing to enquire after them.* These motives at this present have induced me to make choice of this medicinal subject.

If any physician in the mean time shall infer, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, and find himself grieved that I have intruded into his profession, I will tell him in brief, I do not otherwise by them, than they do by us, if it be for their advantage. I know many of their sect which have taken orders in hope of a benefice: 'tis a common transition: and why may not a melancholy divine, that can get nothing but by simony, profess physick? Drusianus, an Italian, (Crusianus but corruptly, Trithemius calls him) [c] *because he was not fortunate in his practice, forsook his profession, and writ afterwards in divinity.* Marcilius Ficinus was *semel et simul*, a priest and a physician at once; and [d] T. Linacer, in his old age, took orders. The Jesuites profess both at this time: divers of them, *permissu superiorum*, chirurgions, panders, bawds, and midwives, &c. Many poor countrey-vicars, for want of other means, are driven to their shifts; to turn mountebanks, quacksalvers, empiricks: and if our greedy patrons hold us to such hard conditions, as commonly they do, they will make most of us work at some trade, as Paul did—at last turn taskers, maltsters, costermongers, graziers, sell ale, as some have done, or worse. Howsoever in undertaking this task, I hope I

[w] Et inde catena quædam fit, quæ hæredes etiam ligat. Cardan. Heinsius. [x] Malle se bellum cum magno principe gerere, quam cum uno ex fratrum mendicantium ordine. [y] Hor. epod. lib. od. 7. [z] Epist. 86. ad Casulam presb. [a] Lib. 12. cap. 1. Mutos nasci, et omni scientiâ egere, satius fuisset, quam sic in propriam perniciem insanire. [b] Infelix mortalitas! Inutilibus quæstionibus ac disceptationibus vitam traducimus; naturæ principes thesauros, in quibus gravissimæ morborum medicinæ collocatæ sunt, interim intactos relinquimus; nec ipsi solum relinquimus, sed et alios prohibemus, impedimus, condemnamus, ludibriisque afficimus. [c] Quod in praxi minime fortunatus esset, medicinam reliquit, et, ordinibus initiatus, in theologiâ postmodum scripsit. Gesner, Bibliotheca. [d] P. Jovius.

shall commit no great errour, or *indecorum*, if all be considered aright. I can vindicate my self with Georgius Braunus, and Hieronymus Hemingius, those two learned divines, who, (to borrow a line or two of mine [e] elder brother) drawn by a *natural love, the one of pictures and maps, prospectives and chorographical delights, writ that ample Theatre of Cities; the other to the study of genealogies, penned* Theatrum Genealogicum: or else I can excuse my studies with [f] Lessius the Jesuite in like case—It is a disease of the soul, on which I am to treat, and as much appertaining to a divine as to a physician; and who knows not what an agreement there is betwixt these two professions? A good divine either is, or ought to be, a good physician, a spiritual physician at least, as our Saviour calls himself, and was indeed, Mat. 4. 23. Luke 5. 18. Luke 7. 8. They differ but in object, the one of the body, the other of the soul, and use divers medicines to cure; one attends *animam per corpus*, the other *corpus per animam*, as [g] our regius professour of physick well informed us in a learned lecture of his not long since. One helps the vices and passions of the soul, anger, lust, desperation, pride, presumption, &c. by applying that spiritual physick, as the other uses proper remedies in bodily diseases. Now, this being a common infirmity of body and soul, and such a one that hath as much need of a spiritual as a corporal cure, I could not find a fitter task to busie my self about—a more apposite theam, so necessary, so commodious, and generally concerning all sorts of men, that should so equally participate of both, and require a whole physician. A divine, in this compound mixt malady, can do little alone; a physician, in some kinds of melancholy, much less: both make an absolute cure: [h] *Alterius sic altera poscit opem*: and 'tis proper to them both, and, I hope, not unbeseeming me, who am by my profession a divine, and by mine inclination a physician. I had Jupiter in my sixth house; I say, with [i] Beroaldus, *non sum medicus, nec medicinæ prorsus expers*; in the theorick of physick I have taken some pains, not with an intent to practise, but to satisfie my self; which was a cause likewise of the first undertaking of this subject.

If these reasons do not satisfie thee, good reader—as Alexander Munificus, that bountiful prelate, sometime bishop of Lincoln, when he had built six castles, *ad invidiam operis eluendam*, saith [k] Mr. Cambden, to take away the envy of his work, (which very words Nubrigensis hath of Roger the rich bishop of Salisbury, who, in king Stephens time, built Shirburn castle, and that of Devises) to divert the scandal or imputation which might be thence inferred, built so many religious houses—If this my discourse be over medicinal, or savour too much of humanity, I promise thee that I will hereafter make thee amends in some treatise of divinity. But this, I hope, shall suffice, when you have more fully considered (of the matter of this my subject, *rem substratam*, melancholy madness,) and of the reasons following, which were my chief motives—the generality of the disease, the necessity of the cure, and the commodity or common good that will arise to all men by the knowledge of it, as shall at large appear in the ensuing preface. And I doubt not but that in the end you will say with me, that to anatomize this humour aright through all the members of this our *microcosmus*, is as great a task as to reconcile those chronological errours in the Assyrian monarchy, find out the quadrature of a circle, the creeks and sounds of the north-east or north-west passages, and, all out, as good a discovery as that hungry [l] Spaniards of Terra Australis Incognita—as great trouble as to perfect the

[e] M. W. Burton, Preface to his Description of Leicestershire, printed at London by W. Jaggard, for J. White, 1622. [f] In Hygiasticon; neque enim hæc tractatio aliena videri debet a theologo, &c. agitur de morbo animæ. [g] D. Clayton, in comitiis, anno 1621. [h] Hor. [i] Lib. de pestil. [k] In Newark in Nottinghamshire. Cum duo ædificâsset castella, ad tollendam structionis invidiam, et expiandam maculam, duo instituit cœnobia, et collegia religiosis implevit. [l] Ferdinando de Quir. anno 1612. Amstelodami impress.

motion of Mars and Mercury, which so crucifies our astronomers, or to rectifie the Gregorian kalendar. I am so affected, for my part, and hope, as [m] Theophrastus did by his Characters, *that our posterity, friend Polycles, shall be better for this which we have written, by correcting and rectifying what is amiss in themselves by our examples, and applying our precepts and cautions to their own use.* And, as that great captain, Zisca, would have a drum made of his skin when he was dead, because he thought the very noise of it would put his enemies to flight, I doubt not but that these following lines, when they shall be recited, or hereafter read, will drive away melancholy (though I be gone), as much as Zisca's drum could terrifie his foes. Yet one caution let me give by the way to my present or future reader, who is actually melancholy—that he read not the [n] symptomes or prognosticks in the following tract, lest, by applying that which he reads to himself, aggravating, appropriating things generally spoken, to his own person (as melancholy men for the most part do), he trouble or hurt himself, and get, in conclusion, more harm than good. I advise them therefore warily to peruse that tract. *Lapides loquitur* (so said [o] Agrippa, de occ. Phil.) *et caveant lectores ne cerebrum iis excutiat.* The rest, I doubt not, they may securely read, and to their benefit. But I am over-tedious: I proceed.

Of the necessity and generality of this which I have said, if any man doubt, I shall desire him to make a brief survey of the world, as [p] Cyprian adviseth Donate—*Supposing himself to be transported to the top of some high mountain, and thence to behold the tumults and chances of this wavering world, he cannot chuse but either laugh at, or pity it.* St. Hierom, out of a strong imagination, being in the wilderness, conceived with himself that he then saw them dancing in Rome; and if thou shalt either conceive, or climb to see, thou shalt soon perceive that all the world is mad, that it is melancholy, dotes; that it is (which Epichthonius Cosmopolites expressed not many years since in a map) made like a fools head (with that motto, *caput helleboro dignum*) a crased head, *cavea stultorum*, a fools paradise, or (as Apollonius) a common prison of gulls, cheaters, flatterers, &c. and needs to be reformed. Strabo, in the ninth book of his Geography, compares Greece to the picture of a man; which comparison of his Nic. Gerbelius, in his exposition of Sophianus map, approves—The breast lies open from those Acroceraunian hills in Epirus, to the Sunian promontory in Attica; Pagæ and Megara are the two shoulders; that Isthmos of Corinth the neck; and Peloponnesus the head. If this allusion hold, 'tis, sure, a mad head—*Morea* may be *Moria*; and, to speak what I think, the inhabitants of modern Greece swerve as much from reason and true religion at this day, as that Morea doth from the picture of a man. Examine the rest in like sort; and you shall find that kingdoms and provinces are melancholy, cities and families, all creatures, vegetal, sensible, and rational—that all sorts, sects, ages, conditions, are out of tune: as in Cebes table, *omnes errorem bibunt:* before they come into the world, they are intoxicated by errours cup—from the highest to the lowest, have need of physick; and those particular actions in [q] Seneca, where father and son prove one another mad, may be general: Porcius Latro shall plead against us all. For indeed who is not a fool, melancholy, mad?—[r] *Qui nil molitur inepte*; who is not brain-sick? Folly, melancholy, madness, are all one disease: *delirium* is a common

[m] Præfat. ad Characteres. Spero enim, O Polycles, liberos nostros meliores inde futuros, quod istiusmodi memoriæ mandata reliquerimus, ex præceptis et exemplis nostris ad vitam accommodatis, ut se inde corrigant. [n] Part I. sec. 3. [o] Præf. Lectori. [p] Ep. 2. l. 2. ad Donatum. Paullisper te crede subduci in ardui montis verticem celsiorem: speculare inde rerum jacentium facies; et, oculis in diversa porrectis, fluctuantis mundi turbines intuere: jam simul aut ridebis aut misereberis, &c. [q] Controv. l. 2. cont. 7. et l. 6. cont. [r] Horatius.

name to all. Alexander Gordonius, Jason Pratensis, Savanarola, Guianerius, Montaltus, confound them, as differing *secundum magis et minus;* so doth David, Psal. 37. 5. *I said unto the fools, deal not so madly:* and 'twas an old Stoical paradox, *omnes stultos insanire,*—[s]all fools are mad (though some madder than others.) And who is not a fool? who is free from melancholy? who is not touched more or less in habit or disposition? If in disposition, ill dispositions beget habits: if they persevere, saith [t]Plutarch, habits either are or turn to diseases. 'Tis the same which Tully maintains in the second of his Tusculanes, *omnium insipientum animi in morbo sunt, et perturbatorum:* fools are sick, and all that are troubled in mind: for what is sickness, but, as [u]Gregory Tholosansus defines it, *a dissolution or perturbation of the bodily league which health combines?* and who is not sick, or ill disposed? in whom doth not passion, anger, envy, discontent, fear, and sorrow, reign? who labours not of this disease? Give me but a little leave, and you shall see by what testimonies, confessions, arguments, I will evince it, that most men are mad, that they had as much need to go a pilgrimage to the Anticyræ (as in [x]Strabo's time they did), as in our dayes they run to Compostella, our Lady of Sichem or Lauretta, to seek for help—that it is like to be as prosperous a voyage as that of Guiana, and that there is much more need of hellebore than of tobacco.

That men are so misaffected, melancholy, mad, giddy-headed, hear the testimony of Solomon, Eccles. 2. 12. *And I turned to behold wisdom, madness, and folly, &c.* And ver. 23. *All his days are sorrow, his travel grief, and his heart taketh no rest in the night.* So that, take melancholy in what sense you will, properly or improperly, in disposition or habit, for pleasure or for pain, dotage, discontent, fear, sorrow, madness, for part, or all, truly, or metaphorically, 'tis all one. Laughter it self is madness, according to Solomon; and, as St. Paul hath it, *worldly sorrow brings death. The hearts of the sons of men are evil; and madness is in their hearts while they live*, Eccles. 9. 3. *Wise men themselves are no better*, Eccles. 1. 18. *In the multitude of wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth wisdom, increaseth sorrow*, cap. 2. 17. He hated life it self; nothing pleased him; he hated his labour; all, as [y]he concludes, is *sorrow, grief, vanity, vexation of spirit.* And, though he were the wisest man in the world, *sanctuariam sapientiæ*, and had wisdom in abundance, he will not vindicate himself, or justifie his own actions. *Surely I am more foolish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man in me*, Prov. 33. 2. Be they Solomons words, or the words of Agur the son of Jakeh, they are canonical. David, a man after Gods own heart, confesseth as much of himself, Psal. 73. 21, 22. *So foolish was I and ignorant, I was even as a beast before thee*—and condemns all for fools, Psal. 93. and 32. 9. and 49. 20. He compares them to *beasts, horses, and mules, in which there is no understanding.* The Apostle Paul accuseth himself in like sort, 2 Cor. 11. 21. *I would you would suffer a little my foolishness; I speak foolishly. The whole head is sick*, saith Esay; *and the heart is heavy*, cap. 1. 5. and makes lighter of them *than of oxen and asses; the ass knows his owner, &c.* read Deut. 32. 6. Jer. 4. Amos 3. 1. Ephes. 5. 6. *Be not mad, be not deceived: foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?* How often are they branded from this epithet of madness and folly! No word so frequent amongst the fathers of the church and divines. You may see what an opinion they had of the world, and how they valued mens actions.

[s] Idem Hor. l. 2. sat. 3. Damasippus Stoïcus probat omnes stultos insanire. [t] Tom. 2. sympos. lib. 5. c. 6. Animi affectiones, si diutius inhæreant, pravos generant habitus. [u] Lib. 28. cap. 1. Synt. art. mir. Morbus nihil est aliud quam dissolutio quædam ac perturbatio fœderis in corpore existentis, sicut et sanitas est consentientis bene corporis consummatio quædam. [x] Lib. 9. Geogr. Plures olim gentes navigabant illuc sanitatis causâ. [y] Eccles. 1. 24.

I know that we think far otherwise, and hold them, most part, wise men that are in authority—princes, magistrates, [a]rich men—they are wise men born: all politicians and statesmen must needs be so; for who dare speak against them? And on the other, so corrupt is our judgement, we esteem wise and honest men fools; which Democritus well signified in an epistle of his to Hippocrates; [a]*the Abderites account vertue madness*; (and so do most men living. Shall I tell you the reason of it? [b]*Fortune* and *Vertue* (*Wisdom* and *Folly* their seconds) upon a time contended in the Olympicks; every man thought that *Fortune* and *Folly* would have the worst, and pittied their cases. But it fell out otherwise. *Fortune* was blind, and cared not where she stroke, nor whom, without laws, *andabatarum instar, &c. Folly*, rash and inconsiderate, esteemed as little what she said or did. *Vertue* and *Wisdom* gave place, [c]were hissed out, and exploded by the common people—*Folly* and *Fortune* admired; and so are all their followers ever since.) Knaves and fools commonly fare and deserve best in worldlings eyes and opinions. Many good men have no better fate in their ages. Achish, 1 Sam. 21. 14. held David for a madman. [d]Elisha and the rest were no otherwise esteemed. David was derided of the common people, Psal. 9. 7. *I am become a monster to many*. And generally we are accounted fools for Christ, 1 Cor. 14. *We fools thought his life madness, and his end without honour*, Wisd. 5. 4. Christ and his Apostles were censured in like sort, John 10. Mark 3. Acts 26. (And so were all Christians in [e]Plinys time: *fuerunt et alii similis dementiæ, &c.*) and called not long after, [f]*vesaniæ sectatores, eversores hominum, polluti novatores, fanatici, canes, malefici, venefici, Galilæi homunciones, &c.* 'Tis an ordinary thing with us to account honest, devout, orthodox, divine, religious, plain-dealing men, ideots, asses, that cannot or will not lye and dissemble, shift, flatter, *accommodare se ad eum locum ubi nati sunt*, make good bargains, supplant, thrive, *patronis inservire, solennes ascendendi modos apprehendere, leges, mores, consuetudines recte observare, candide laudare, fortiter defendere, sententias amplecti, dubitare de nullis, credere omnia, accipere omnia, nihil reprehendere, cæteraque quæ promotionem ferunt et securitatem, quæ sine ambage felicem reddunt hominem, et vere sapientem apud nos*—that cannot temporize as other men do, [g]hand and take bribes, &c. —but fear God, and make a conscience of their doings. But the Holy Ghost, that knows better how to judge—he calls them fools. *The fool hath said in his heart*, Psal. 53. 1. *And their wayes utter their folly*, Psal. 49. 14. [h]*For what can be more mad, than, for a little worldly pleasure, to procure unto themselves eternal punishment?* as Gregory and others inculcate unto us.

Yea even all those great philosophers the world hath ever had in admiration, whose works we do so much esteem, that gave precepts of wisdom to others, inventers of arts and sciences—Socrates, the wisest man of his time by the oracle of Apollo, whom his two scholars [i]Plato and [j]Xenophon so much extol and magnifie with those honourable titles, *best and wisest of all mortal men, the happiest, and most just*; and as [k]Alcibiades incomparably commends him; "Achilles was a worthy man, but Brasidas and others were as worthy as himself; Antenor and Nestor were as good as Pericles; and so of the rest: but none present, before, or after Socrates, *nemo veterum neque*

[a] Jure hæreditario sapere jubentur. Euphormio, Satyr. [a] Apud quos virtus, insania et furor esse dicitur. [b] Calcagninus, Apol. Omnes mirabantur, putantes illisum iri Stultitiam. Sed præter expectationem res evenit. - Audax Stultitia in eam irruit, &c. illa cedit irrisa; et plures hinc habet sectatores Stultitia. [c] Non est respondendum stulto secundum stultitiam. [d] 2 Reg. 7. [e] Lib. 10. ep. 97. [f] Aug. ep. 178. [g] Quis, nisi mentis inops, &c. [h] Quid insanius quam pro momentaneâ felicitate æternis te mancipare suppliciis? [i] In fine Phædonis. Hic finis fuit amici nostri, o Eucrates, nostro quidem judicio, omnium quos experti sumus optimi et apprime sapientissimi, et justissimi. [j] Xenop. l. 4. de dictis Socratis, ad finem. Talis fuit Socrates, quem omnium optimum et *felicissimum* statuam. [k] Lib. 25. Platonis Convivio.

eorum qui nunc sunt, were ever such, will match, or come near him"—those seven wise men of Greece, those Britain Druids, Indian Brachmanni, Æthiopian Gymnosophists, Magi of the Persians—Apollonius, of whom Philostratus, *non doctus, sed natus sapiens*, wise from his cradle—Epicurus, so much admired by his scholar Lucretius;

Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes
Perstrinxit, stellas exortus ut aetherius Sol——

Whose wit excell'd the wit of men as far,
As the Sun rising doth obscure a star——

or that so much renowned Empedocles, [l] *Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus*—all those, of whom we read such [m] hyperbolical eulogiums; as of Aristotle, that he was wisdom itself in the abstract, [n] a miracle of nature, breathing libraries, (as Eunapius of Longinus) lights of nature, gyants for wit, quintessence of wit, divine spirits, eagles in the clouds, fallen from heaven, gods, spirits, lamps of the world, dictators (*Nulla ferant talem ecla futura virum*) monarchs, miracles, superintendents of wit and learning, *Oceanus, phœnix, Atlas, monstrum, portentum hominis, orbis universi musæum, ultimus humanæ naturæ conatus, naturæ maritus,*

——merito cui doctior orbis
Submissis defert fascibus imperium.

as Ælian writ of Protagoras and Gorgias—we may say of them all, *tantum a sapientibus abfuerunt, quantum a viris pueri*, they were children in respect, infants, not eagles but kites, novices, illiterate, *eunuchi sapientiæ*. And, although they were the wisest, and most admired in their age, as he censured Alexander, I do them: there were 10,000 in his army as worthy captains (had they been in place of command), as valiant as himself; there were myriads of men wiser in those dayes, and yet all short of what they ought to be. [o] Lactantius, in his book of Wisdom, proves them to be dizards, fools, asses, mad-men, so full of absurd and ridiculous tenents and brain-sick positions, that, to his thinking, never any old woman or sick person doted worse. [p] Democritus took all from Leucippus, and left, saith he, *the inheritance of his folly to* Epicurus: [q] *insanienti dum sapientiæ, &c.* The like he holds of Plato, Aristippus, and the rest, making no difference [r] *betwixt them and beasts, saving that they could speak.* [s] Theodoret, in his tract *De Cur. Græc. Affect.* manifestly evinces as much of Socrates, whom though that oracle of Apollo confirmed to be the wisest man then living, and saved him from the plague, whom 2000 years have admired, of whom some will as soon speak evil as of Christ, yet *re verâ*, he was an illiterate ideot, as [t] Aristophanes calls him—*irrisor et ambitiosus*, as his master Aristotle terms him, *scurra Atticus*, as Zeno, an [u] enemy to all arts and sciences, as Athenæus, to philosophers and travellers, an opinionative asse, a caviller, a kind of pedant; for his manners, (as Theod. Cyrensis describes him) a [v] Sodomite, an atheist, (so convict by Anytus) *iracundus et ebrius, dicax, &c.* a pot-companion, by Plato's own confession, a sturdy drinker; and that of all others he was most sottish, a very mad-man in his actions and opinions. Pythagoras was part philosopher, part magician, or part witch. If you desire to hear more of Apollonius, a great wise man, sometime parallel'd by Julian the apostate, to Christ, I refer you to that learned

[l] Lucretius. [m] Anaxagoras olim Mens dictus ab antiquis. [n] Regula naturæ, naturæ miraculum, ipsa eruditio, dæmonium hominis, sol scientiarum, mare, sophia, antistes literarum et sapientiæ, ut Scioppius olim de Scal. et Heinsius. Aquila in nubibus, imperator literatorum, columen literarum, abyssus eruditionis, ocellus Europæ, Scaliger. [o] Lib. 3. de sap. c. 17. et 20. Omnes philosophi aut stulti aut insani: nulla anus, nullus æger, ineptius deliravit. [p] Democritus, a Leucippo doctus, hereditatem stultitiæ reliquit Epicuro. [q] Hor. car. lib. 1. od. 34. [r] Nihil interest inter hos et bestias, nisi quod loquantur. De sa. l. 25. c. 8. [s] Cap. de virt. [t] Neb. et Ranis. [u] Omnium disciplinarum ignarus. [v] Pulchrorum adolescentum causâ frequenter gymnasium obibat, &c.

tract of Eusebius against Hierocles—and, for them all, to Lucian's *Piscator, Icaromenippus, Necyomantia.* Their actions, opinions in general, were so prodigious, absurd, ridiculous, which they broached and maintained; their books and elaborate treatises were full of dotage; which Tully (*ad Atticum*) long since observed—*delirant plerumque scriptores in libris suis*—their lives being opposite to their words, they commended poverty to others, and were most covetous themselves, extolled love and peace, and yet persecuted one another with virulent hate and malice. They could give precepts for verse and prose; but not a man of them (as [w]Seneca tells them home) could moderate his affections. Their musick did shew us *flebiles modos, &c.* how to rise and fall; but they could not so contain themselves, as in adversity not to make a lamentable tone. They will measure ground by geometry, set down limits, divide and subdivide, but cannot yet prescribe *quantum homini satis,* or keep within compass of reason and discretion. They can square circles, but understand not the state of their own souls—describe right lines, and crooked, &c. but know not what is right in this life—*quid in vitâ rectum sit, ignorant:* so that, as he said, *Nescio, an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.* I think all the Anticyræ will not restore them to their wits. [x]If those men now, that held [y]Zenodotus heart, Crates liver, Epictetus lanthorn, were so sottish, and had no more brains than so many beetles, what shall we think of the commonalty? what of the rest?

Yea, but (will you infer) that is true of heathens, if they be conferred with Christians, 1 Cor. 3. 19. *The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, earthly and devilish,* as James calls it, 3. 15. *They were vain in their imaginations; and their foolish heart was full of darkness.* Rom. 1. 21, 22. *When they professed themselves wise, became fools.* Their witty works are admired here on earth, whilst their souls are tormented in hell fire. In some sense, *Christiani Crassiani,* Christians are Crassians, and, if compared to that wisdom, no better than fools. *Quis est sapiens? Solus Deus,* [z]Pythagoras replies; *God is only wise.*—Rom. 16. Paul determines, *only good,* as Austin well contends; *and no man living can be justified in his sight. God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if any did understand,* Psalm 53. 2, 3. but all are corrupt, erre. Rom. 3. 12. *None doth good, no not one.* Job aggravates this, 4. 18. *Behold, he found no stedfastness in his servants, and laid folly upon his angels,* 19. *How much more on them that dwell in houses of clay!* In this sense, we are all as fools; and the [a]Scripture alone is *arx Minervæ;* we and our writings are shallow and imperfect. But I do not so mean; even in our ordinary dealings, we are no better than fools. All our actions, as [b]Pliny told Trajan, *upbraid us of folly:* our whole course of life is but matter of laughter: we are not soberly wise; and the world it self, which ought at least to be wise by reason of his antiquity, as [c]Hugo de Prato Florido will have it, *semper stultizat, is every day more foolish than other: the more it is whipped, the worse it is; and, as a child, will still be crowned with roses and flowers.* We are apish in it, *asini bipedes;* and every place is full *inversorum Apuleiorum* of metamorphosed and two-legged asses, *inversorum Silenorum,* childish, *pueri instar bimuli, tremulâ patris dormientis in ulnâ.* Jovianus Pontanus (Antonio Dial.) brings in some laughing at an old man, that by reason of his age was a little fond: but, as he admonisheth there, *ne mireris, mi hospes, de hoc sene,* marvel not at him only; for *tota hæc civitas delirium,*

[w] Seneca. Scis rotunda metiri, sed non tuum animum. [x] Ab uberibus sapientiâ lactati, cæcutire non possunt. [y] Cor Zenodoti, et jecur Cratetis. [z] Lib. de nat. boni. [a] Hic profundissimæ sophiæ fodinæ. [b] Panegyr. Trajano. Omnes actiones exprobrare stultitiam videntur. [c] Ser. 4. in domi Pal. Mundus, qui ob antiquitatem deberet esse sapiens, semper stultizat, et nullis flagellis alteratur; sed, ut puer, vult rosis et floribus coronari.

all our town dotes in like sort; [d] we are a company of fools. Ask not, with him in the poet, [e] *Larvæ hunc, intemperiæ, insaniæque, agitant senem?* What madness ghosts this old man; but what madness ghosts us all? For we are, *ad unum omnes*, all mad; *semel insanivimus omnes:* not once, but alway so, *et semel, et simul, et semper*, ever and altogether as bad as he; and not *senex bis puer, delira anus;* but say it of us all, *semper pueri*; young and old, all dote, as Lactantius proves out of Seneca; and no difference betwixt us and children, saving that *majora ludimus, et grandioribus pupis*, they play with babies of clouts, and such toys, we sport with greater babies. We cannot accuse or condemn one another, being faulty ourselves, *deliramenta loqueris*, you talk idly, or, as [f] Micio upbraided Demea, *insanis? aufer;* for we are as mad our own selves; and it is hard to say which is the worst. Nay, 'tis universally so. [g] *Vitam regit fortuna, non sapientia.* 3

When [h] Socrates had taken great pains to find out a wise man, and, to that purpose, had consulted with philosophers, poets, artificers, he concludes all men were fools; and, though it procured him both anger and much envy, yet in all companies he would openly profess it. When [i] Supputius in Pontanus had travelled all over Europe to conferr with a wise man, he returned at last without his errand, and could find none. [j] Cardan concurs with him: *Few there are (for ought I can perceive) well in their wits.* So doth [k] Tully: *I see every thing to be done foolishly and unadvisedly.* 4

> Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit: unus utrique
> Error; sed variis illudit partibus omnes.
>
> One reels to this, another to that wall;
> 'Tis the same errour that deludes them all.

[l] They dote all, but not alike, Μανια γ'ου πασιν ὁμοια, not in the same kind. *One is covetous, a second lascivious, a third ambitious, a fourth envious, &c.* as Damasippus the Stoick hath well illustrated in the poet, [m] *Desipiunt omnes æque ac tu.* 'Tis an inbred maladie: in every one of us, there is *seminarium stultitiæ*, a seminary of folly, *which, if it be stirred up, or get a head, will run* in infinitum, *and infinitely varies, as we ourselves are severally addicted,* (saith [n] Balthazar Castilio) and cannot so easily be rooted out; it takes such fast hold, as Tully holds, *altæ radices stultitiæ;* [o] so we are bred, and so we continue. Some say there be two main defects of wit—errour and ignorance—to which all others are reduced. By ignorance we know not things necessary; by errour we know them falsly. Ignorance is a privation, errour a positive act. From ignorance comes vice, from errour heresie, &c. But make how many kinds you will, divide and subdivide; few men are free, or that do not impinge on some one kind or other. [p] *Sic plerumque agitat stultos inscitia*, as he that examines his own and other mens actions, shall find.

[q] Charon, in Lucian, (as he wittily feigns) was conducted by Mercury to such a place, where he might see all the world at once. After he had sufficiently viewed, and looked about, Mercury would needs know of him what he had observed. He told him, that he saw a vast multitude, and a promiscuous; their habitations like mole-hills; the men as emmets: *he could discern cities like so many hives of bees, wherein every bee had a sting; and they did nought else but sting one another; some domineering like hornets, bigger than the rest, some like filching wasps, others as drones.* Over their heads were hovering a confused company of perturbations, hope,

[d] Insanum te omnes pueri, clamantque puellæ. Hor. [e] Plautus, Aulular. [f] Adelph. act. 5. scen. 8. [g] Tully, Tusc. 5. [h] Plato, Apologia Socratis. [i] Ant. Dial. [j] Lib. 3. de sap. Paucis ut video, sanæ mentis sunt. [k] Stulte et incaute omnia agi video. [l] Insania non omnibus eadem. Erasm. chil. 3. cent. 10. Nemo mortalium qui non aliquâ in re desipit, licet alius alio morbo laboret, hic libidinis, ille avaritiæ, ambitionis, invidiæ. [m] Hor. l. 2. sat. 3. [n] Lib. 1. de aulico. Est in unoquoque nostrûm seminarium aliquod stultitiæ, quod si quando excitetur, in infinitum facile excrescit. [o] Primaque lux vitæ prima furoris erat. [p] Tibullus. Stulti prætereunt dies; their wits are a wool-gathering. So fools commonly dote. [q] Dial. contemplantes, tom. 2.

fear, anger, avarice, ignorance, &c. and a multitude of diseases hanging, which they still pulled on their pates. Some were brawling, some fighting, riding, running, *solicite ambientes, callide litigantes*, for toyes, and trifles, and such momentary things—their towns and provinces meer factions, rich against poor, poor against rich, nobles against artificers, they against nobles, and so the rest. In conclusion, he condemned them all for mad-men, fools, ideots, asses—*O stulti! quænam hæc est amentia?* O fools! O mad-men! he exclaims, *insana studia, insani labores, &c.* Mad endeavours! mad actions! mad! mad! mad! [r] *O seclum insipiens et inficetum!* a giddy-headed age. Heraclitus the philosopher, out of a serious meditation of mens lives, fell a weeping, and with continual tears bewailed their misery, madness, and folly. Democritus, on the other side, burst out a laughing; their whole life seemed to him so ridiculous: and he was so far carried with this ironical passion, that the citizens of Abdera took him to be mad, and sent therefore embassadors to Hippocrates the physician, that he would exercise his skill upon him. But the story is set down at large by Hippocrates, in his Epistle to Damagetus, which, because it is not impertinent to this discourse, I will insert *verbatim* almost, as it is delivered by Hippocrates himself, with all the circumstances belonging unto it.

When Hippocrates was come to Abdera, the people of the city came flocking about him, some weeping, some intreating of him that he would do his best. After some little repast, he went to see Democritus, the people following him, whom he found (as before) in his garden in the suburbs, all alone, [s] *sitting upon a stone under a plane tree, without hose or shoes, with a book on his knees, cutting up several beasts, and busie at his study.* The multitude stood gazing round about, to see the congress. Hippocrates, after a little pause, saluted him by his name, whom he re-saluted, ashamed almost that he could not call him likewise by his, or that he had forgot it. Hippocrates demanded of him what he was doing. He told him that he was [t] *busie in cutting up several beasts, to find out the cause of madness and melancholy.* Hippocrates commended his work, admiring his happiness and leisure. And why, quoth Democritus, have not you that leisure? Because, replyed Hippocrates, domestical affairs hinder, necessary to be done, for our selves, neighbours, friends—expences, diseases, frailties and mortalities which happen—wife, children, servants, and such businesses, which deprive us of our time. At this speech Democritus profusely laughed (his friends, and the people standing by, weeping in the mean time, and lamenting his madness.) Hippocrates asked the reason why he laughed. He told him, at the vanities and fopperies of the time, to see men so empty of all virtuous actions, to hunt so far after gold, having no end of ambition—to take such infinite pains for a little glory, to be favoured of men—to make such deep mines into the earth for gold, and many times to find nothing, with loss of their lives and fortunes—some to love dogs, others horses, some to desire to be obeyed in many provinces, [u] and yet themselves will know no obedience —[v] some to love their wives dearly at first, and, after a while, to forsake and hate them—begetting children, with much care and cost for their education, yet, when they grow to mans estate, [w] to despise, neglect, and leave them naked to the worlds mercy. [x] Do not these behaviours express their intolerable folly? When men live in peace, they covet war, detesting

[r] Catullus. [s] Sub ramosâ platano sedentem, solum, discalceatum, super lapidem, valde pallidum ac macilentum, promissâ barbâ, librum super genib us habentem. [t] De furore, maniâ, melancholiâ scribo, ut sciam quo pacto in hominibus gignatur, fiat, crescat, cumuletur, minuatur. Hæc (inquit) animalia, quæ vides, propterea seco, non Dei opera perosus, sed fellis bilisque naturam disquirens. [u] Aust. l. 1. in Gen. Jumenti et servi tui obsequium rigide postulas; et tu nullum *præstas* aliis, nec ipsi Deo. [v] Uxores ducunt, mox foras ejiciunt. [w] Pueros amant, mox fastidiunt. [x] *Quid hoc ab insaniâ deest?*

quietness, [y] deposing kings, and advancing others in their stead, murdering some men, to beget children of their wives. How many strange humours are in men! When they are poor and needy, they seek riches; and, when they have them, they do not enjoy them, but hide them under ground, or else wastefully spend them. O wise Hippocrates! I laugh at such things being done, but much more when no good comes of them, and when they are done to so ill purpose. There is no truth or justice found amongst them: for they daily plead one against another, [z] the son against the father and the mother, brother against brother, kindred and friends of the same quality; and all this for riches, whereof, after death, they cannot be possessors. And yet—notwithstanding they will defame and kill one another, commit all unlawful actions, contemn God and men, friends and countrey—they make great account of many useless things, esteeming them as a great part of their treasure, statues, pictures, and such like moveables, dear bought, and so cunningly wrought, [a] as nothing but speech wanteth in them; [b] and yet they hate living persons speaking to them. Others affect difficult things: if they dwell on firm land, they will remove to an island, thence to land again, being no way constant to their desires. They commend courage and strength in wars, and let themselves be conquered by lust and avarice. They are, in brief, as disordered in their minds, as Thersites was in his body. And now me thinks, O most worthy Hippocrates! you should not reprehend my laughing, perceiving so many fooleries in men; [c] for no man will mock his own folly, but that which he seeth in a second; and so they justly mock one another. The drunkard calls him a glutton, whom he knows to be sober. Many men love the sea, others husbandry: briefly, they cannot agree in their own trades and professions, much less in their lives and actions.

When Hippocrates heard these words so readily uttered, without premeditation, to declare the worlds vanity, full of ridiculous contrariety, he made answer, that necessity compelled men to many such actions, and divers wills ensuing from divine permission, that we might not be idle, being nothing is so odious to them as sloth and negligence. Besides, men cannot foresee future events, in the uncertainty of humane affairs: they would not so marry, if they could foretell the causes of their dislike and separation; or parents, if they knew the hour of their childrens death, so tenderly provide for them; or an husbandman sow, if he thought there would be no increase; or a merchant adventure to sea, if he foresaw shipwrack; or be a magistrate, if presently to be deposed, Alas! worthy Democritus, every man hopes the best; and to that end he doth it; and therefore no such cause, or ridiculous occasion of laughter.

Democritus, hearing this poor excuse, laughed again aloud, perceiving he wholly mistook him, and did not well understand what he had said concerning perturbations, and tranquillity of the mind—insomuch, that, if men would govern their actions by discretion and providence, they would not declare themselves fools, as now they do; and he should have no cause of laughter: but (quoth he) they swell in this life, as if they were immortal, and demi-gods, for want of understanding. It were enough to make them wise, if they would but consider the mutability of this world, and how it wheels about, nothing being firm and sure. He that is now above, to-morrow is beneath; he that sate on this side to day, to morrow is hurled on the other: and, not considering these matters, they fall into many inconveniences and troubles, coveting things of no profit, and thirsting after them, tumbling headlong into many

[y] Reges eligunt, deponunt. [z] Contra parentes, fratres, cives, perpetuo rixantur, et inimicitias gerunt. [a] Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus. [b] Idola inanimata amant; animata odio habent; sic pontificii. [c] Suam stultitiam perspicit nemo, sed alter alterum deridet.

calamities—so that, if men would attempt no more than what they can bear, they should lead contented lives—and, learning to know themselves, would limit their ambition, [d] they would perceive then that nature hath enough, without seeking such superfluities, and unprofitable things, which bring nothing with them but grief and molestation. As a fat body is more subject to diseases, so are rich men to absurdities and fooleries, to many casualties and cross inconveniences. There are many that take no heed what happeneth to others by bad conversation, and therefore overthrow themselves in the same manner through their own fault, not foreseeing dangers manifest. These are things (O more than mad! quoth he) that gave me matter of laughter, by suffering the pains of your impieties, as your avarice, envy, malice, enormous villanies, mutinies, unsatiable desires, conspiracies, and other incurable vices—besides your [e] dissimulation and hypocrisie, bearing deadly hatred one to the other, and yet shadowing it with a good face—flying out into all filthy lusts, and transgressions of all laws, both of nature and civility. Many things, which they have left off, after a while they fall to again—husbandry, navigation—and leave again, fickle and unconstant as they are. When they are young, they would be old, and old, young. [f] Princes commend a private life; private men itch after honour: a magistrate commends a quiet life; a quiet man would be in his office, and obeyed as he is: and what is the cause of all this, but that they know not themselves? Some delight to destroy, [g] one to build, another to spoil one countrey to enrich another and himself. [h] In all these things they are like children, in whom is no judgement or counsel, and resemble beasts, saving that beasts are better than they, as being contented with nature. [i] When shall you see a lion hide gold in the ground, or a bull contend for a better pasture? When a boar is thirsty, he drinks what will serve him, and no more: and, when his belly is full, he ceaseth to eat: but men are immoderate in both, as in lust—they covet carnal copulation at set times; men always, ruinating thereby the health of their bodies. And doth it not deserve laughter, to see an amorous fool torment himself for a wench, weep, howl for a mis-shapen slut, a dowdy sometimes, that might have his choice of the finest beauties? Is there any remedy for this in physick? [j] I do anatomize and cut up these poor beasts, to see these distempers, vanities, and follies: yet such proof were better made on mans body, (if my kind nature would endure it) [k] who, from the hour of his birth, is most miserable, weak, and sickly: when he sucks, he is guided by others, when he is grown great, practiseth unhappiness, [l] and is sturdy, and, when old, a child again, and repenteth him of his past life. And here being interrupted by one that brought books, he fell to it again, that all were mad, careless, stupid. To prove my former speeches, look into courts, or private houses. [m] Judges give judgement according to their own advantage, doing manifest wrong to poor innocents to please others. Notaries alter sentences, and, for money, lose their deeds. Some make false moneys: others counterfeit false weights. Some abuse their parents, yea corrupt their own sisters; others make long libels and pasquils, defaming men of good life, and extol

[d] Denique sit finis quærendi: cumque habeas plus, Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem Incipias, parto, quod avebas; utere. Hor. [e] Astutam vapido servat sub pectore vulpem.—Et, cum vulpe positus, pariter vulpinarier.—Cretizandum cum Crete. [f] Qui fit, Mæcenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem Seu ratio dederit, seu sors objecerit, illâ Contentus vivat? &c. Hor. [g] Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis—Trajanus pontem struxit super Danubium, quem successor ejus Adrianus statim demolitus. [h] Quâ quid in re ab infantibus differunt, quibus mens et sensus sine ratione inest? Quidquid sese his offert, volupe est. [i] Idem Plut. [j] Ut insaniæ caussam disquiram, bruta macto et seco, cum hoc potius in hominibus investigandum esset. [k] Totus a nativitate morbus est. [l] In vigore furibundus, quum decrescit insanabilis. [m] Cyprian. ad Donatum. Qui sedet, crimina judicaturus, &c.

such as are lewd and vicious. Some rob one, some another: [n]magistrates make laws against thieves, and are the veriest thieves themselves. Some kill themselves, others despair, not obtaining their desires. Some dance, sing, laugh, feast, and banquet, whilest others sigh, languish, mourn, and lament, having neither meat, drink, nor clothes. [o]Some prank up their bodies, and have their minds full of execrable vices. Some trot about, [p]to bear false witness, and say any thing for money: and though judges know of it, yet for a bribe they wink at it, and suffer false contracts to prevail against equity. Women are all day a dressing, to pleasure other men abroad, and go like sluts at home, not caring to please their own husbands, whom they should. Seeing men are so fickle, so sottish, so intemperate, why should not I laugh at those, to whom [q]folly seems wisdom, will not be cured, and perceive it not?

It grew late: Hippocrates left him; and no sooner was he come away, but all the citizens came about flocking, to know how he liked him. He told them in brief, that, notwithstanding those small neglects of his attire, body, diet, [r]the world had not a wiser, a more learned, a more honest man; and they were much deceived, to say that he was mad.

Thus Democritus esteemed of the world in his time; and this was the cause of his laughter: and good cause he had.

> [s]Olim jure quidem, nunc plus, Democrite, ride.
> Quin rides? vita hæc nunc mage ridicula est.
>
> Democritus did well to laugh of old:
> Good cause he had, but now much more:
> This life of ours is more ridiculous
> Than that of his, or long before.

Never so much cause of laughter, as now; never so many fools and mad men. 'Tis not one [t]Democritus will serve turn to laugh in these days: we have now need of a *Democritus to laugh at Democritus*, one jester to flout at another, one fool to flear at another—a great Stentorian Democritus, as big as that Rhodian Colossus; for now, as [u]Salisburiensis said in his time, *totus mundus histrionem agit*—the whole world playes the fool: we have a new theatre, a new scene, a new comedy of errours, a new company of personate actors: *Volupiæ sacræ* (as Calcagninus wittily feigns in his Apologues) are celebrated all the world over, [v]where all the actors were mad men and fools, and every hour changed habits, or took that which came next. He that was a mariner to day, is an apothecary to morrow, a smith one while, a philosopher another, *in his Volupiæ ludis*—a king now with his crown, robes, scepter, attendants, by and by drove a loaded asse before him like a carter, &c. If Democritus were alive now, he should see strange alterations, a new company of counterfeit vizards, whiflers, Cumane asses, maskers, mummers, painted puppets, outsides, phantastick shadows, guls, monsters, giddy-heads, butter-flies: and so many of them are indeed ([w]if all be true that I have read); for, when Jupiter and Junos wedding was solemnized of old, the gods were all invited to the feast, and many noble

[n]Tu pessimus omnium latro es, as a thief told Alexander in Curtius.—Damnat foras judex, quod intus operatur, Cyprian. [o]Vultus magna cura; magna animi incuria. Am. Marcel. [p]Horrenda res est! vix duo verba sine mendacio proferuntur: et, quamvis solenniter homines ad veritatem dicendam invitentur, pejerare tamen non dubitant; ut ex decem testibus vix unus verum dicat. Calv. in 8. Joh. Serm. 1. [q]Sapientiam insaniam esse dicunt. [r]Siquidem sapientiæ suæ admiratione me complevit; offendi sapientissimum virum, qui salvos potest omnes homines reddere. [s]E. Græc. epig. [t]Plures Democriti nunc non sufficiunt. Opus Democrito, qui Democritum rideat. Eras. Moria. [u]Polycrat. lib. 3. cap. 8. e Petron. [v]Ubi omnes delirabant, omnes insani, &c. hodie nauta, cras philosophus; hodie faber, cras pharmacopola; hic modo regem agebat multo satellitio, tiarâ, et sceptro ornatus, nunc vili amictus centiculo, asinum clitellarium impellit. [w]Calcagninus, Apol. Chrysalus e cæteris, auro dives, manicato peplo et tiarâ conspicuus, levis alioquin et nullius consilii, &c. Magno fastu ingredienti assurgunt, Dii, &c.

men besides; amongst the rest came Chrysalus, a Persian prince, bravely attended, rich in golden attires, in gay robes, with a majestical presence, but otherwise an asse. The gods, seeing him come in such pomp and state, rose up to give him place, *ex habitu hominem metientes;* [x] but Jupiter, perceiving what he was—a light, phantastick, idle fellow—turned him and his proud followers into butter-flies: and so they continue still (for ought I know to the contrary), roving about in pied-coats, and are called Chrysalides by the wiser sort of men—that is, golden outsides, drones, flies, and things of no worth. Multitudes of such, &c.

> ——————ubique invenies
> Stultos avaros, sycophantas prodigos.

Many additions, much increase of madness, folly, vanity, should Democritus observe, were he now to travel, or could get leave of Pluto to come see fashions, (as Charon did in Lucian) to visit our cities of Moronia Pia, and Moronia Felix—sure I think he would break the rim of his belly with laughing. [y] *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu, &c.*

A satyrical Roman, in his time, thought all vice, folly, and madness, were all at full sea, [z] *omne in præcipiti vitium stetit.*——

[a] Josephus the historian taxeth his countreymen Jews for bragging of their vices, publishing their follies, and that they did contend amongst themselves, who should be most notorious in villanies; but we flow higher in madness, far beyond them, [b] *Mox daturi progeniem vitiosiorem;* and the latter end (you know, whose oracle it is) is like to be worst. 'Tis not to be denied; the world alters every day. *Ruunt urbes, regna transferuntur, &c. variantur habitus, leges innovantur,* as [c] Petrarch observes—we change language, habits, laws, customs, manners, but not vices, not diseases, not the symptoms of folly and madness; they are still the same. And, as a river (we see) keeps the like name and place, but not water, and yet ever runs, [d] (*Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum*) our times and persons alter, vices are the same, and ever will be. Look how nightingals sang of old, cocks crowed, kine lowed, sheep bleated, sparrows chirped, dogs barked; so they do still: we keep our madness still, play the fools still, *nec dum finitus Orestes;* we are of the same humours and inclinations as our predecessors were; you shall find us all alike, much at one, we and our sons, *Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis;* and so shall our posterity continue to the last. But, to speak of times present—

If Democritus were alive now, and should but see the superstition of our age, our [e] religious madness, as [f] Meteran calls it, *religiosam insaniam*—so many professed Christians, yet so few imitators of Christ, so much talk of religion, so much science, so little conscience, so much knowledge, so many preachers, so little practice—such variety of sects, such have and hold of all sides, [g] ——*obvia signis signa, &c.*—such absurd and ridiculous traditions and ceremonies—if he should meet a [h] Capouchin, a Franciscan, a pharisaical Jesuite, a man-serpent, a shave-crowned monk in his robes, a begging frier, or see their three-crowned soveraign lord the pope, poor Peter's successour, *servus servorum Dei*, to depose kings with his foot, to tread on emperours necks, make them barefoot and bare-legg'd at his gates, hold his bridle and stirrup, &c. (O that

[x] Sed hominis levitatem Jupiter perspiciens, at tu (inquit) esto bombilio, &c. protinusque vestis illa manicata in alas versa est; et mortales inde Chrysalides vocant hujusmodi homines. [y] Juven. [z] Juven. [a] De bello Jud. l. 8. c. 11. Iniquitates vestræ neminem latent; inque dies singulos certamen habetis, quis pejor sit. [b] Hor. [c] Lib. 5. Epist. 8. [d] Hor. [e] Superstitio est insanus error. [f] Lib. 8. hist. Belg. [g] Lucan. [h] Father Angelo, the Duke of Joyeuse, going bare-foot over the Alps to Rome, &c.

Peter and Paul were alive to see this!)—if he should observe a [i] prince creep so devoutly to kiss his toe, and those redcap cardinals, poor parish priests of old, now princes companions—what would he say? *Cœlum ipsum petitur stultitiâ.* Had he met some of our devout pilgrims going bare-foot to Jerusalem, our lady of Lauretto, Rome, St. Iago, S. Thomas shrine, to creep to those counterfeit and maggot-eaten reliques—had he been present at a masse, and seen such kissing of paxes, crucifixes, cringes, duckings, their several attires and ceremonies, pictures of saints, [j] indulgencies, pardons, vigils, fasting, feasts, crossing, knocking, kneeling at *Ave Maries*, bells, with many such ——*jucunda rudi spectacula plebi*, praying in gibberish, and mumbling of beads—had he heard an old woman say her prayers in Latine, their sprinkling of holy water, and going a procession,

(——[k] monachorum incedunt agmina mille;
Quid memorem vexilla, cruces, idolaque culta, &c.)

their breviaries, bulls, hallowed beads, exorcisms, pictures, curious crosses, fables, and bables—had he read the Golden Legend, the Turks Alcoran, or Jews Talmud, the Rabbins Comments, what would he have thought? How dost thou think he might have been affected? Had he more particularly examined a Jesuites life amongst the rest, he should have seen an hypocrite profess poverty, [l] and yet possess more goods and lands than many princes, to have infinite treasures and revenues—teach others to fast, and play the gluttons themselves;—like watermen, that rowe one way and look another—[m] vow virginity, talk of holiness, and yet indeed a notorious bawd, and famous fornicator,—*lascivum pecus*, a very goat—monks by profession,[n] such as give over the world, and the vanities of it, and yet a *Machiavellian* rout [o] interested in all matters of state—holy men, peace-makers, and yet composed of envy, lust, ambition, hatred and malice, fire-brands, *adulta patriæ pestis*, traitours, assassinates—*hac itur ad astra;* and this is to supererogate, and merit heaven for themselves and others! Had he seen, on the adverse side, some of our nice and curious schismaticks, in another extream, abhor all ceremonies, and rather lose their lives and livings, than do or admit any thing papists have formerly used, though in things indifferent—(they alone are the true church, *sal terræ, cum sint omnium insulsissimi*)—formalists, out of fear and base flattery, like so many weather-cocks, turn round—a rout of temporisers, ready to embrace and maintain all that is or shall be proposed, in hope of preferment—another Epicurean company, lying at lurch as so many vultures, watching for a prey of church goods, and ready to rise by the down-fall of any—as [p] Lucian said in like case, what dost thou think Democritus would have done, had he been a spectatour of these things—or, had he but observed the common people follow like so many sheep one of their fellows drawn by the horns over a gap, some for zeal, some for fear,—*quo se cumque rapit tempestas*,—to credit all, examine nothing, and yet ready to dye before they will abjure any of those ceremonies, to which they have been accustomed—others out of hypocrisie frequent sermons, knock their breasts, turn up their eyes, pretend zeal, desire

[i] Si cui intueri vacet quæ patiuntur superstitiosi, invenies tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit, dubitaturus furere eos, si cum paucioribus furerent. Senec. [j] Quid dicam de eorum indulgentiis, oblationibus, votis, solutionibus, jejuniis, cœnobiis, vigiliis, somniis, horis, organis, cantilenis, campanis, simulacris, missis, purgatoriis, mitris, breviariis, bullis, lustralibus aquis, rasuris, unctionibus, candelis, calicibus, crucibus, mappis, cereis, thuribulis, incantationibus, exorcismis, sputis, legendis, &c. Baleus, de actis Rom. Pont. [k] Th. Nauger. [l] Dum simulant spernere, acquisiverunt sibi 30 annorum spatio bis centena millia librarum annua. Arnold. [m] Et quum interdiu de virtute loquuti sunt, sero in latibulis clunes agitant labore nocturno. Agrippa. [n] 2 Tim. 3. 13.—But they shall prevail no longer: their madness shall be evident to all men. [o] Benignitatis sinus solebat esse, nunc litium officina, curia Romana. Budæus. [p] Quid tibi videtur facturus Democritus, si horum spectator contigisset?

reformation, and yet professed usurers, gripers, monsters of men, harpies, devils, in their lives, to express nothing less?

What would he have said, to see, hear, and read so many bloody battels, so many thousands slain at once, such streams of blood able to turn mills, *unius ob noxam furiasque*, or to make sport for princes, without any just cause, *for vain titles* (saith Austin) *precedency, some wench, or such like toy, or out of desire of domineering, vain-glory, malice, revenge, folly, madness*, goodly causes all, *ob quas universus orbis bellis et cædibus misceatur*) whilest statesmen themselves in the mean time are secure at home, pampered with all delights and pleasures, take their ease, and follow their lust, not considering what intolerable misery poor souldiers endure, their often wounds, hunger, thirst, &c.? The lamentable cares, torments, calamities and oppressions, that accompany such proceedings, they feel not, take no notice of it. *So wars are begun, by the perswasion of debauched, hair-brained, poor, dissolute, hungry captains, parasitical fawners, unquiet hot-spurs, restless innovators, green heads, to satisfie one mans private spleen, lust, ambition, avarice, &c. tales rapiunt scelerata in prœlia caussæ. Flos hominum*, proper men, well proportioned, carefully brought up, able both in body and mind, sound, led like so many [r] beasts to the slaughter in the flower of their years, pride, and full strength, without all remorse and pitty, sacrificed to Pluto, killed up as so many sheep, for devils food, 40000 at once. At once, said I?—that were tolerable: but these wars last alwayes; and for many ages, nothing so familiar as this hacking and hewing, massacres, murders, desolations (——*ignoto cælum clangore remugit*) they care not what mischief they procure, so that they may enrich themselves for the present: they will so long blow the coals of contention, till all the world be consumed with fire. The [s] siege of Troy lasted ten years, eight months: there died 870000 Grecians, 670000 Trojans: at the taking of the city, and after, were slain 276000 men, women, and children, of all sorts. Cæsar killed a million, Mahomet the [t] Second Turk 300000 persons: Sicinius Dentatus fought in an hundred battels; eight times in single combat he overcame, had forty wounds before, was rewarded with 140 crowns, triumphed nine times for his good service. M. Sergius had 32 wounds; Scæva the centurion, I know not how many; every nation hath their Hectors, Scipios, Cæsars, and Alexanders. Our [u] Edward the Fourth was in 26 battles afoot: and, as they do all, he glories in it; 'tis related to his honour. At the siege of Hierusalem, 1100000 died with sword and famine. At the battel of Cannas, 70000 men were slain, [v] as Polybius records, and as many at Battle Abbye with us; and 'tis no news to fight from sun to sun, as they did, as Constantine and Licinius, &c. At the siege of Ostend, (the devils academy) a poor town in respect, a small fort, but a great grave, 120000 men lost their lives, besides whole towns, dorpes, and hospitals, full of maimed souldiers. There were engines, fire-works, and whatsoever the devil could invent to do mischief, with 2500000 iron bullets shot of 40 pounds weight, three or four millions of gold consumed. [w] *Who* (saith mine author) *can be sufficiently amazed at their flinty hearts, obstinacy, fury, blindness, who, without any likelyhood of good success, hazard poor souldiers, and lead them without pitty to the slaughter, which may justly be called the rage of furious beasts, that run without reason upon their own deaths?* [x] *quis malus genius, quæ Furia, quæ pestis*, &c. what plague, what

[q] Ob inanes ditionum titulos, ob præreptum locum, ob interceptam mulierculam, vel quod e stultitiâ natum, vel e malitiâ, quod cupido dominandi, libido nocendi, &c. [r] Bellum rem plane belluinam vocat Morus, Utop. lib. 2. [s] Munster. Cosmog. l. 5. c. 3. E Dict. Cretens. [t] Jovius, vit. ejus. [u] Comineus. [v] Lib. 3. [w] Hist. of the Siege of Ostend, fol. 23. [x] Erasmus de bello. Ut placidum illud animal benevolentiæ natum tam ferinâ vecordiâ in mutuam rueret perniciem.

Fury, brought so devillish, so bruitish a thing as war first into mens minds? Who made so soft and peaceable a creature, born to love, mercy, meekness, so to rave, rage like beasts, and run on to their own destruction? how may Nature expostulate with mankind, *Ego te divinum animal finxi*, &c. I made thee an harmless, quiet, a divine creature! how may God expostulate, and all good men! yet, *horum facta* (as [y] one condoles) *tantum admirantur, et heroum numero habent*: these are the brave spirits, the gallants of the world, these admired alone, triumph alone, have statues, crowns, pyramids, obelisks to their eternal fame, that immortal genius attends on them: *hac itur ad astra.* When Rhodes was besieged, [z] *fossæ urbis cadaveribus repletæ sunt*, the ditches were full of dead carcases; and (as when the said Solyman great Turk beleagred Vienna) they lay level with the top of the walls. This they make a sport of, and will do it to their friends and confederates, against oaths, vows, promises, by treachery or otherwise—[a] *dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?* leagues and laws of arms, ([b] *silent leges inter arma*: for their advantage, *omnia jura, divina, humana, proculcata plerumque sunt*) Gods and mens laws, are trampled under foot; the sword alone determines all; to satisfie their lust and spleen, they care not what they attempt, say, or do:—[c] *Rara fides, probitasque, viris qui castra sequuntur.* Nothing so common as to have [d] *father fight against the son, brother against brother, kinsman against kinsman, kingdom against kingdom, province against province, Christians against Christians, a quibus nec usquam cogitatione fuerunt læsi*, of whom they never had offence in thought, word, or deed. Infinite treasures consumed, towns burned, flourishing cities sacked and ruinated, *quodque animus meminisse horret*, goodly countries depopulated and left desolate, old inhabitants expelled, trade and traffick decayed, maids defloured,

> Virgines nondum thalamis jugatæ,
> Et comis nondum positis ephebi;

chast matrons cry out with Andromache, [e] *Concubitum mox cogar pati ejus, qui interemit Hectorem*, they shall be compelled peradventure to lye with them that erst killed their husbands—to see rich, poor, sick, sound, lords, servants, *eodem omnes incommodo mactati*, consumed all or maimed, &c. *et quidquid gaudens scelere animus audet, et perversa mens*, saith Cyprian, and whatsoever torment, misery, mischief, hell it self, the devil, [f] fury and rage can invent to their own ruine and destruction: so abominable a thing [g] is war, as Gerbelius concludes—*adeo fœda et abominanda res est bellum, ex quo hominum cædes, vastationes, &c.* the scourge of God, cause, effect, fruit and punishment of sin, and not *tonsura humani generis*, as Tertullian calls it, but *ruina*. Had Democritus been present at the late civil wars in France, those abominable wars, (—*bellaque matribus detestata*) [h] *where, in less than ten years, ten hundred thousand men were consumed*, saith Colligny, 20 thousand churches overthrown, nay the whole kingdom subverted (as [i] Richard Dinoth adds) so many myriades of the commons were butchered up, with sword, famine, war, *tanto odio utrinque, ut barbari ad abhorrendam lanienam obstupescerent*, with such feral hatred, the world was amazed at it—or at our late Pharsalian fields in the time of Henry the Sixth,

[y] Rich. Dinoth. præfat. Belli civilis Gal. [z] Jovius. [a] Dolus, asperitas, injustitia, propria bellorum negotia. Tertul. [b] Tully. [c] Lucan. [d] Pater in filium, affinis in affinem, amicus in amicum, &c. Regio enim regione, regnum regno colliditur, populus populo, in mutuam perniciem, belluarum more sanguinolente ruentium. [e] Libanii declam. [f] Ira enim et furor Bellonæ consultores, &c. demones sacerdotes sunt. [g] Bellum quasi bellua, et ad omnia scelera furor immissus. [h] Gallorum decies centum millia ceciderunt, ecclesiarum 20 millia fundamentis excisa. [i] Belli civilis Gal. i. hac feruli bello et cædibus omnia repleverunt, et regnum amplissimum a fundamentis pene everterunt; plebis tot myriades gladio, bello, fame miserabiliter perierunt.

betwixt the houses of Lancaster and York, an hundred thousand men slain, [j] one writes, [k] another, ten thousand families were rooted out, *that no man can but marvel,* (saith Comineus,) *at that barbarous immanity, feral madness, committed betwixt men of the same nation, language, and religion.* [l] *Quis furor, O cives? Why do the gentiles so furiously rage?* saith the prophet David, Psal. 2. 1. But we may ask, why do the Christians so furiously rage? (2 [m] *Arma volunt, quare, poscunt, rapiuntque juventus?*) Unfit for gentiles, much less for us, so to tyrannize, as the Spaniards in the West Indies, that killed up in 42 years (if we may believe [n] Bartholomæus a Casu their own bishop) 12 millions of men, with stupend and exquisite torments; neither should I lye (said he) if I said 50 millions. I omit those French massacres, Sicilian evensongs, [o] the duke of Alva's tyrannies, our gun-powder machinations, and that fourth Fury (as [p] one calls it), the Spanish inquisition, which quite obscures those ten persecutions—(2 [q] *sævit toto Mars impius orbe.*) Is not this [r] *mundus furiosus,* a mad world, as he terms it, *insanum bellum*? are not these mad men, as [s] Scaliger concludes, *qui in prælio, acerbâ morte, insaniæ suæ memoriam pro perpetuo teste relinquunt posteritati* —which leave so frequent battels, as perpetual memorials of their madness to all succeeding ages? Would this, think you, have enforced our Democritus to laughter, or rather made him turn his tune, alter his tone, and weep with [t] Heraclitus, or rather howl, [u] roar, and tear his hair, in commiseration—stand amazed; or as the poets faign, that Niobe was for grief quite stupified, and turned to a stone? I have not yet said the worst. That which is more absurd and [v] mad—in their tumults, seditions, civil and unjust wars,—(2 *quod stulte suscipitur, impie geritur, misere finitur*—) such wars, I mean; for all are not to be condemned, as those phantastical Anabaptists vainly conceive. Our Christian tacticks are, all out, as necessary as the Roman *acies,* or Grecian *phalanx.* To be a souldier is a most noble and honourable profession, (as the world is) not to be spared. They are our best walls and bulwarks; and I do therefore acknowledge that of [x] Tully to be most true, *All our civil affairs, all our studies, all our pleading, industry, and commendation, lies under the protection of warlike vertues; and, whensoever there is any suspicion of tumult, all our arts cease:* ware are most behoveful; *et bellatores agricolis civitati sunt utiliores,* as [y] Tyrius defends: and valour is much to be commended in a wise man: but they mistake most part; *auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus virtutem vocant,* &c. ('Twas Galgacus observation in Tacitus) they term theft, murder, and rapine, vertue, by a wrong name (rapes, slaughters, massacres, &c. *jocus et ludus,* are pretty pastimes, as Ludovicus Vives notes.) [z] *They commonly call the most hair-brain blood-suckers, strongest thieves, the most desperate villains, trecherous rogues, inhumane murderers, rash, cruel and dissolute caitiffs, couragious and generous spirits, heroical and worthy captains,* [a] *brave men at arms, valiant and renowned souldiers,—possessed with a brute perswasion of false honour,* as Pontus Huter in his Burgundian history complains (2 by means of which, it comes to pass that daily so many

[j] Pont. Huterus. [k] Comineus. Ut nullus non execretur et admiretur crudelitatem et barbaram insaniam, quæ inter homines eodem sub cœlo natos, ejusdem linguæ, sanguinis, religionis, exercebatur. [l] Lucan. [m] Virg. [n] Bishop of Cusco, an eye witness. [o] Read Meteran, of his stupend cruelties. [p] Heinsius, Austriac. [q] Virg. Georg. [r] Jansenius Gallobelgicus, 1596. Mundus furiosus, inscriptio libri. [s] Exercitat. 250. serm. 4. [t] Fleat Heraclitus, an rideat Democritus? [u] Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. [v] Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis. [x] Erasmus [y] Pro Murænâ. Omnes Urbanæ res, omnia studia, omnis forensis laus et industria latet in tutelâ et præsidio bellicæ virtutis; et, simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus, artes illico nostræ conticescunt. [z] Ser. 13. [a] Crudelissimos sævissimosque latrones, fortissimos propugnatores, fidelissimos duces, habent brutâ persuasione donati. [b] Eobanus Hessus. Quibus omnis in armis Vita placet, nun ulla juvat, nisi morte; nec ullam Esse putant vitam, quæ non assueverit armis.

voluntaries offer themselves, leaving their sweet wives, children, friends,—for sixpence (if they can get it) a day, prostitute their lives and limbs, desire to enter upon breaches, lye sentinel, perdue, give the first onset, stand in the fore-front of the battel, marching bravely on, with a cheerful noise of drums and trumpets, such vigour and alacrity, so many banners streaming in the ayr, glittering armours, motions of plumes, woods of pikes, and swords, variety of colours, cost and magnificence, as if they went in triumph, now victors, to the Capitol, and with such pomp, as when Darius army marched to meet Alexander at Issus. Void of all fear, they run into eminent dangers, canons mouths, &c. *ut vulneribus suis ferrum hostium hebetent*, saith [b] Barletius, to get a name of valour, honour and applause, which lasts not neither; for it is but a mere flash, this fame, and, like a rose, *intra diem unum extinguitur*, 'tis gone in an instant. Of 15000 proletaries slain in a battel, scarce fifteen are recorded in history, or one alone, the general perhaps; and, after a while, his and their names are likewise blotted out; the whole battel it self is forgotten. Those Grecian orators, *summâ vi ingenii et eloquentiæ*, set out the renowned overthrows at *Thermopylæ*, *Salamine*, *Marathon*, *Mycale*, *Mantinea*, *Chæronea*, *Platea:* the Romans record their battel at Cannas, and Pharsalian fields; but they do but record; and we scarce hear of them. And yet this supposed honour, popular applause, desire of immortality by this means, pride and vain-glory, spurs them on many times rashly and unadvisedly to make away themselves and multitudes of others. Alexander was sorry, because there were no more worlds for him to conquer: he is admired by some for it: *animosa vox videtur, et regia:* 'twas spoken like a prince: but (as wise [c] Seneca censures him) 'twas *vox iniquissima et stultissima:* 'twas spoken like a bedlam fool; and that sentence which the same [d] Seneca appropriates to his father Philip and him, I apply to them all—*Non minores fuere pestes mortalium quam inundatio, quam conflagratio, quibus, &c.* they did as much mischief to mortal men, as fire and water, those merciless elements when they rage. [e] Which is yet more to be lamented, they persuade them this hellish course of life is holy: they promise heaven to such as venture their lives *bello sacro*, and that, by these bloody wars, (as Persians, Greeks, and Romans of old, as modern Turks do now their commons, to encourage them to fight, *ut cadant infeliciter,*) *if they die in the field, they go directly to heaven, and shall be canonized for saints.* (O diabolical invention!) put in the chronicles, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, to their eternal memory; when, as in truth, as [f] some hold it, it were much better (since wars are the scourge of God for sin, by which he punisheth mortal mens pievishness and folly) such brutish stories were suppressed, because *ad morum institutionem nihil habent*, they conduce not at all to manners, or good life. But they will have it thus nevertheless; and so they put a note of [g] *divinity upon the most cruel and pernicious plague of human kind*, adorn such men with grand titles, degrees, statues, images—[h] honour, applaud and highly reward them for their good service—no greater glory than to dye in the field! So Africanus is extolled by Ennius: and Mars, and [i] Hercules, and I know not how many besides, of old were deified, went this way to heaven, that were indeed bloody

[b] Lib. 10. vit. Scanderbeg. [c] Nulli beatiores habiti, quam qui in prœlijs cecidissent. Brisonius, de rep. Persarum. l. 3. fol. 3. 44. Idem Lactantius de Romanis et Græcis. Idem Ammianus, lib. 23. de Parthis. Judicatur is solus beatus apud eos, qui in prœlio fuderit animam. De Benef. lib. 2. c. 1. [d] Nat. quæst. lib. 3. [e] Boterus Amphitridrion. Busbequius, Turc. hist. Per cædes et sanguinem patere hominibus accessum in cœlum putant. Lactant. de falsâ relig. l. 1. cap. 8. [f] Quoniam bella sæcerbissima Dei flagella sunt, quibus hominum pertinaciam punit, ea perpetuâ oblivione sepelienda potius quam memoriæ mandanda plerique judicant. Rich. Dinoth. præf. hist. Gall. [g] Cruentam humani generis pestem et perniciem divinitatis notâ insigniunt. [h] Et (quod dolendum) applausum habent et occursum viri tales. [i] Hercules eadem porta ad cœlum patuit, qui magnam generis humani partem perdidit.

butchers, wicked destroyers, and troublers of the world, prodigious monsters, hell-hounds, feral plagues, devourers, common executioners of humane kind, (as Lactantius truly proves, and Cyprian to Donat) such as were desperate in wars, and precipitately made away themselves, like those Celtes in Damascen, with ridiculous valour, *ut dedecorosum putarent muro ruenti se subducere*, a disgrace to run away from a rotten wall, now ready to fall on their heads. Such as will not rush on a swords point, or seek to shun a canons shot, are base cowards, and no valiant men. By which means, *Madet orbis mutuo sanguine*, the earth wallows in her own blood: [j] *Sævit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli;* and for that, which if it be done in private, a man shall be rigorously executed, [k] *and which is no less than murder it self, if the same fact be done in publick in wars, it is called manhood, and the party is honoured for it*——[l] *prosperum et felix scelus virtus vocatur*——We measure all, as Turks do, by the event; and, most part, as Cyprian notes, in all ages, countreys, places, *sævitiæ magnitudo impunitatem sceleris acquirit* —the foulness of the fact vindicates the offender. [m] One is crowned for that which another is tormented, (*Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema*) made a knight, a lord, an earl, a great duke, (as [n] Agrippa notes) for which another should have hung in gibbets, as a terror to the rest—

> ——— ———[o] et tamen alter
> Si fecisset idem, caderet sub judice morum.

A poor sheep-stealer is hanged for stealing of victuals, compelled peradventure by necessity of that intolerable cold, hunger, and thirst, to save himself from starving: but a [p] great man in office may securely rob whole provinces, undo thousands, pill and pole, oppress *ad libitum*, fley, grind, tyrannize, enrich himself by spoils of the commons, be uncontrollable in his actions, and, after all, be recompensed with turgent titles, honoured for his good service; and no man dare find fault, or [q] mutter at it.

How would our Democritus have been affected, to see a wicked caitiff, or [r] *fool, a very ideot, a funge, a golden ass, a monster of man, to have many good men, wise men, learned men to attend upon him with all submission, as an appendix to his riches, for that respect alone, because he hath more wealth and money,* [s] *and to honour him with divine titles, and bumbast epithets,* to smother him with fumes and eulogies, whom they knew to be a dizard, a fool, a covetous wretch, a beast, &c. *because he is rich!*—to see *sub exuviis leonis onagrum,* a filthy loathsome carkass, a Gorgons head puffed up by parasites, assume thus unto himself glorious titles, in worth an infant, a Cuman ass, a painted sepulchre, an Egyptian temple!—to see a withered face, a diseased, deformed, cankered complexion, a rotten carkass, a viperous mind, and Epicurean soul, set out with orient pearls, jewels, diadems, perfumes, curious, elaborate works, (as proud of his clothes as a child of his new coats)—and a goodly person, of an angelick divine countenance, a saint, an humble mind, a meek spirit, clothed in rags, beg, and now ready to be starved!—to see a silly contemptible sloven in apparel, ragged in his coat, polite in speech, of a divine spirit, wise! another neat in clothes, spruce, full of courtesie, empty of grace, wit, talk non-sense!

To see so many lawyers, advocates, so many tribunals, so little justice: so many magistrates, so little care of common good; so many laws, yet

[j] Virg. Æneïd. 7. [k] Homicidium quum committunt singuli, crimen est, quum publice geritur, virtus vocatur. Cyprianus. [l] Seneca. [m] Juven. [n] De vanit. scient. de princip. nobilitatis. [o] Juven. Sat. 4. [p] Pansa rapit, quod Natta reliquit.—Tu pessimus omnium latro es, as Demetrius the pyrat told Alexander, in Curtius. [q] Non ausi mutire, &c. Æsop. [r] Improbum et stultum, si divitem, multos bonos viros in servitute habentem, (ob id duntaxat quod ei contingat aureorum numismatum cumulus) ut appendices et additamenta numismatum. Morus, Utopia. [s] Eorumque detestantur Utopienses insaniam, qui divinos honores iis impendunt, quos sordidos et avaros agnoscunt; *non alio respectu* honorantes, quam quod dites sint. Idem, lib. 2.

never more disorders→*tribunal litium segetem*, the tribunal a labyrinth—so many thousand suits in one court sometimes, so violently followed;—to see *injustissimum sæpe juri præsidentem, impium religioni, imperitissimum eruditioni, otiosissimum labori, monstrosum humanitati!* To see a lamb [t] executed, a woolf pronounce sentence, *Latro* arraigned, and *Fur* sit on the bench, the judge severely punish others, and do worse himself, [u] *eundem furtum facere et punire,* [v] *rapinam plectere, quum sit ipse raptor!*—Laws altered, misconstrued, interpreted *pro* and *con*, as the [w] judge is made by friends, bribed, or otherwise affected as a nose of wax, good to day, none to morrow; or firm in his opinion, cast in his! Sentence prolonged, changed, *ad arbitrium judicis;* still the same case, [x] *one thrust out of his inheritance, another falsly put in by favour, false forged deeds or wills. Incisæ leges negliguntur*, laws are made and not kept; or, if put in execution, [y] they be some silly ones that are punished. As, put case it be fornication, the father will disinherit or abdicate his child, quite casheer him (out, villain! be gone! come no more in my sight): a poor man is miserably tormented with loss of his estate perhaps, goods, fortunes, good name, for ever disgraced, forsaken, and must do penance to the utmost:—a mortal sin! and yet, make the worst of it, *numquid aliud fecit,* (saith Tranio in the [a] poet, *nisi quod faciunt summis nati generibus;* he hath done no more than what gentlemen usually do→([b] *Neque novum, neque mirum, neque secus quam alii solent*) for, in a great person, right worshipful sir, a right honourable grandee, 'tis not a venial sin, no not a *peccadillo:* 'tis no offence at all, a common and ordinary thing: no man takes notice of it; he justifies it in publick, and peradventure brags of it;

> [c] Nam quod turpe bonis, Titio, Seioque, decebat
> Crispinum———

[d] many poor men, younger brothers, &c. by reason of bad policy, and idle education (for they are, likely, brought up in no calling), are compelled to beg or steal, and then hanged for theft; than which, what can be more ignominious? *non minus enim turpe principi multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera:* 'tis the governours fault. *Libentius verberant quam docent*, as school-masters do rather correct their pupils, than teach them when they do amiss. [e] *They had more need provide there should be no more thieves and beggars, as they ought with good policy, and take away the occasions, than let them run on, as they do, to their own destruction*—root out likewise those causes of wrangling, a multitude of lawyers, and compose controversies, *lites lustrales et seculares*, by some more compendious means; whereas now, for every toy and trifle, they go to law, ([f] *Mugit litibus insanum forum, et sævit invicem discordantium rabies*) they are ready to pull out one anothers throats; and, for commodity [g] *to squeeze blood* (saith Hierom) *out of their brothers hearts*, defame, lye, disgrace, backbite, rail, bear false witness, swear, forswear, fight and wrangle, spend their goods, lives, fortunes, friends, undo one another, to enrich an *harpy* advocate, that preys upon them both, and cryes, *Eia, Socrates! Eia, Xanthippe!* or some corrupt judge, that like the [h] kite in Æsop, while the mouse and frog fought, carryed both away. Generally they prey one upon another, as so many ravenous birds, brute beasts, devouring fishes: no *medium; omnes* [i] *hîc aut captantur*

[t] Cyp. 2. ad Donat. ep. ut reus innocens perest, fit nocens. Judex damnat foris, quod intus operatur. [u] Sidonius Apo. [v] Salvianus, l. 3. de provid. [w] Ergo judicium nihil est nisi publica merces. Petronius. Quid faciant leges, ubi sola pecunia regnat? Idem. [x] Hic arcentur hæreditatibus liberi, hic donatur bonis alienis; falsum consulit; alter testamentum corrumpit, &c. Idem. [y] Vexat censura columbas. [a] Plaut. Mostel. [b] Idem. [c] Juven. Sat. 4. [d] Quod tot sint fures et mendici; magistratuum culpâ fit, qui malos imitantur præceptores, qui discipulos libentius verberant quam docent. Morus, Utop. lib. 1. [e] Decernuntur furi gravia et horrenda supplicia, quum potius providendum multo foret ne fures sint, ne cuiquam tam dira furandi aut pereundi sit necessitas. Idem. [f] Ennius, de anguem. urb. lib. 3 cap. 3. [g] E fraterno corde sanguinem eliciunt. [h] Milvus rapit ac degutabit. [i] Petronius, de Crotone civit.

aut captant; aut caduvera quæ lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant—either deceive or be deceived—tear others, or be torn in pieces themselves; like so many buckets in a well, as one riseth, another falleth; one's empty, another's full; his ruine is a ladder to the third; such are our ordinary proceedings. What's the market? a place (according to [j] Anacharsis) wherein they cozen one another, a trap; nay, what's the world it self? [k] a vast *chaos*, a confusion of manners, as fickle as the air, *domicilium insanorum*, a turbulent troop full of impurities, a mart of walking spirits, goblins, the theatre of hypocrisie, a shop of knavery, flattery, a nursery of villany, the scene of babling, the school of giddiness, the academy of vice; a warfare *ubi (velis, nolis) pugnandum; aut vincas aut succumbas;* in which kill or be killed; wherein every man is for himself, his private ends, and stands upon his own guard. No charity, [l] love, friendship, fear of God, alliance, affinity, consanguinity, christianity, can contain them; but if they be any wayes offended, or that string of commodity be touched, they fall foul. Old friends become bitter enemies on a suddain, for toyes and small offences; and they that erst were willing to do all mutual offices of love and kindness, now revile, and persecute one another to death, with more than Vatinian hatred, and will not be reconciled. So long as they are behoveful, they love, or may bestead each other; but, when there is no more good to be expected, as they do by an old dog, hang him up or casheer him; which [m] Cato counts a great *indecorum*, to use men like old shoos or broken glasses, which are flung to the dunghil: he could not find in his heart to sell an old ox, much less, to turn away an old servant: but they in stead of recompence, revile him; and when they have made him an instrument of their villany (as [n] Bajazet the second, emperor of the Turks, did by Acomethes Bassa) make him away, or, in stead of [o] reward, hate him to death, as Silius was served by Tiberius. In a word, every man for his own ends. Our *summum bonum* is commodity; and the goddess we adore, *Dea moneta*, queen money, to whom we daily offer sacrifice; which steers our hearts, hands, [p] affections, all—that most powerful goddess, by whom we are reared, depressed, elevated, [q] esteemed the sole commandress of our actions—for which we pray, run, ride, go, come, labour, and contend as fishes do for a crum that falleth into the water. It's not worth, vertue, (that's *bonum theatrale*) wisdom, valour, learning, honesty, religion, or any sufficiency, for which we are respected, but [r] money, greatness, office, honour, authority. Honesty is accounted folly; knavery, policy; [s] men admired out of opinion, not as they are, but as they seem to be: such shifting, lying, cogging, plotting, counterplotting, temporizing, flattering, cozening, dissembling, [t] *that of necessity one must highly offend God, if he be conformable to the world*, (Cretizare cum Crete) *or else live in contempt, disgrace, and misery*. One takes upon him temperance, holiness; another, austerity; a third, an affected kind of simplicity; when as indeed he, and he, and he, and the rest, are [u] hypocrites, ambodexters, out-sides, so many turning pictures, a [v] lion on the one side, a lamb on the other. How would Democritus been affected to see these things?

[j] Quid forum? locus quo alius alium circumvenit. [k] Vastum chaos, larvarum emporium, theatrum hypocrisios, &c. [l] Nemo cœlum, nemo jusjurandum, nemo Jovem, pluris facit; sed omnes apertis oculis bona sua computant. Petron. [m] Plutarch. vit. ejus. Indecorum animatis ut calceis uti aut vitris, quæ, ubi fracta, abjicimus; nam, ut de meipso dicam, nec bovem senem vendiderim, nedum hominem natu grandem, laboris socium. [n] Jovius. Cum innumera illius beneficia rependere non posset aliter, interfici jussit. [o] Beneficia eousque lata sunt, dum videntur solvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratiâ odium redditur. Tac. [p] Paucis carior est fides quam pecunia. Sallust. [q] Prima fere vota et cunctis, &c. [r] Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat. Quantam quisque suâ nummorum servat in arcâ, Tantum habet et fidei. [s] Non a peritiâ, sed ab ornatu et vulgi vocibus, habemur excellentes. Cardan. l. 2. de cons. [t] Perjurata suo postponit numina lucro Mercator.—Ut necessarium sit vel Deo displicere, vel ab hominibus contemni, vexari *negligi*. [u] Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt. [v] Tragelapho similes vel Centauris sursum homines, deorsum equi.

To see a man turn himself into all shapes like a camelion, or, as Proteus, *omnia transformans sese in miracula rerum*, to act twenty parts and persons at once, for his advantage—to temporize and vary like Mercury the planet, good with good, bad with bad; having a several face, garb, and character for every one he meets—of all religions, humours, inclinations—to fawn like a spaniel, *mentitis et mimicis obsequiis*, rage like a lion, bark like a cur, fight like a dragon, sting like a serpent, as meek as a lamb, and yet again grin like a tygre, weep like a crocodile, insult over some, and yet others domineer over him, here command, there crouch; tyrannize in one place, be baffled in another; a wise man at home, a fool abroad to make others merry.

To see so much difference betwixt words and deeds, so many parasanges betwixt tongue and heart—men, like stage-players, act variety of parts, [w] give good precepts to others to soar aloft, whilest they themselves grovel on the ground.

To see a man protest friendship, kiss his hand, [f] *quem mallet truncatum videre*, [y] smile with an intent to do mischief, or cozen him whom he salutes, [z] magnifie his friend unworthy with hyperbolical elogiums—his enemy albeit a good man, to vilifie and disgrace him, yea, all his actions, with the utmost livor and malice he can invent.

To see a [a] servant able to buy out his master, him that carries the mace more worth than the magistrate; which Plato (*lib.* 11. *de leg.*) absolutely forbids, Epictetus abhors. An horse that tills the [b] land fed with chaff, an idle jade have provender in abundance; him that makes shoos go bare-foot himself, him that sells meat almost pined; a toiling drudge starve, a drone flourish.

To see men buy smoke for wares, castles built with fools heads, men like apes follow the fashions, in tires, gestures, actions: if the king laugh, all laugh;

> [c] ——————Rides? majore cachinno
> Concutitur: flet, si lacrymas conspexit amici.

[d] Alexander stooped; so did his courtiers: Alphonsus turned his head; and so did his parasites. [e] Sabina Poppæa, Neros wife, wore amber-colour'd hair; so did all the Roman ladies in an instant; her fashion was theirs.

To see men wholly led by affection, admired and censured out of opinion without judgement: an inconsiderate multitude, like so many dogs in a village, if one bark, all bark without a cause: as fortunes fan turns, if a man be in favour, or commended by some great one, all the world applauds him: [f] if in disgrace, in an instant all hate him, and as at the sun when he is eclipsed, that erst took no notice, now gaze, and stare upon him.

To see a [g] man wear his brains in his belly, his guts in his head, an hundred oaks on his back, to devour an hundred oxen at a meal; nay more, to devour houses and towns, or as those anthropophagi, [h] to eat one another.

To see a man roll himself up, like a snow-ball, from base beggary to right worshipful and right honourable titles, unjustly to screw himself into honours and offices; another to starve his *genius*, damn his soul, to gather wealth, which he shall not enjoy, which his prodigal [i] son melts and consumes in an instant.

[a] Præceptis suis cœlum promittunt, ipsi interim pulveris terreni vilia mancipia. [x] Æneas Sylv. [y] Arridere homines, ut sæviant: blandiri ut fallant. Cyp. ad Donatum. [z] Love and hate are like the two ends of a perspective glass: the one multiplies; the other makes less. [a] Ministri locupletiores iis quibus ministratur; servus majores opes habens quam patronus. [b] Qui terram colunt, equi paleis pascuntur; qui otiantur, caballi avenâ saginantur: discalceatus discurrit, qui calceos aliis facit. [c] Juven. [d] Bodin. lib. 4. de repub. c. 6. [e] Plinius, l. 37. c. 3. Capillos habuit succineos: exinde factum ut omnes puellæ Romanæ colorem illum affectarent [f] Odit damnatos. Juv. [g] Agrippa ep. 38. l. 7. Quorum cerebrum est in ventre, ingenium in patinis. [h] Psal. They eat up my people as bread [i] Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior servata centum clavibus, et mero distinguet pavimentum superbis pontificum potiore cœnis. Hor.

To see the κακοζηλίαν of our times, a man bend all his forces, means, time, fortunes, to be a favourites favourites favourite, &c. a parasites parasites parasite, that may scorn the servile world, as having enough already.

To see an hirsute beggars brat, that lately fed on scraps, crept and whin'd, crying to all, and for an old jerkin ran of errands, now ruffle in silk and satten, bravely mounted, jovial and polite, now scorn his old friends and familiars, neglect his kindred, insult over his betters, domineer over all.

To see a scholar crouch and creep to an illiterate peasant for a meals meat; a scrivener better paid for an obligation, a faulkner receive greater wages, than a student; a lawyer get more in a day, than a philosopher in a year; better reward for an hour, than a scholar for a twelve moneths study; him that can [j] paint Thaïs, play on a fiddle, curl hair, &c. sooner get preferment than a philologer or a poet.

To see a fond mother, like Æsops ape, hug her child to death, a [k] wittal wink at his wifes honesty, and too perspicuous in all other affairs; one stumble at a straw, and leap over a block; rob Peter, and pay Paul; scrape unjust summs with one hand, purchase great mannors by corruption, fraud, and cozenage, and liberally to distribute to the poor with the other, give a remnant to pious uses, &c.—penny wise, pound foolish; blind men judge of colours; wise men silent, fools talk; [l] find fault with others, and do worse themselves; [m] denounce that in publick which he doth in secret; and (which Aurelius Victor gives out of Augustus) severely censures that in a third, of which he is most guilty himself.

To see a poor fellow, or an hired servant, venture his life for his new master, that will scarce give him his wages at years end; a countrey colone toil and moil, till and drudge for a prodigal idle drone, that devours all the gain, or lasciviously consumes with phantastical expences; a noble man in a bravado to encounter death, and, for a small flash of honour, to cast away himself; a worldling tremble at an executer, and yet not fear hell-fire; to wish and hope for immortality, desire to be happy, and yet by all means avoid death, a necessary passage to bring him to it.

To see a fool-hardy fellow, like those old Danes, *qui decollari malunt quam verberari*, dye rather than be punished, in a sottish humour imbrace death with alacrity, [n] yet scorn to lament his own sins and miseries, or his dearest friends departures.

To see wise men degraded, fools preferred; one govern towns and cities, and yet a silly woman over-rules him at home; command a province, and yet his own [o] servants or children prescribe laws to him, as Themistocles son did in Greece; [p] *What I will* (said he) *my mother will, and what my mother will, my father doth.* To see horses ride in a coach, men draw it; dogs devour their masters; towers build masons; children rule; old men go to school; women wear the breeches; [q] sheep demolish towns, devour men, &c. and in a word, the world turned upside downward. *O! viveret Democritus!*

[r] To insist in every particular, were one of Hercules labours; there's so many ridiculous instances, as motes in the sun. *Quantum est in rebus inane!* And who can speak of all? *Crimine ab uno disce omnes;* take this for a taste.

[j] Qui Thaïdem pingere, inflare tibiam, crispare crines. [k] Doctus spectare lacunar. [l] Tullius. Est enim proprium stultitiæ aliorum cernere vitia oblivisci suorum. Idem Aristippus Charidemo apud Lucianum. Omnino stultitiæ cujusdam esse puto, &c. [m] Execrari publice quod occulte agat. Salvianus, lib. de pro. Acres ulciscendis vitiis quibus ipsi vehementer indulgent. [n] Adamus, eccl. hist. cap. 212. Siquis damnatus fuerit, lætus esse gloria est; nam lacrymas, et planctum, cæteraque compunctionum genera, quæ nos salubria censemus, ita abominantur Dani, ut nec pro peccatis nec pro defunctis amicis ulli flere liceat. [o] Orbi dat leges foris, vix famulum regit sine strepitu domi. [p] Quidquid ego volo, hoc vult mater mea, et quod mater vult, facit pater. [q] Oves, olim mite pecus, *nunc tam indomitum* et edax, ut homines devorent, &c. Morus, Utop. lib. 1. [r] Diversos variis tribuit natura furores.

But these are obvious to sense, trivial and well known, easie to be discerned. How would Democritus have been moved, had he seen [s] the secrets of their hearts! if every man had a window in his breast, which Momus would have had in Vulcan's man, or (that which Tully so much wisht) it were written in every mans forehead, *Quid quisque de republicâ sentiret*, what he thought; or that it could be effected in an instant, which Mercury did by Charon in Lucian, by touching of his eyes, to make him discern *semel et simul rumores et susurros,*

> Spes hominum cæcas, morbos, votumque labores,
> Et passim toto volitantes æthere curas—
>
> Blind hopes and wishes, their thoughts and affairs,
> Whispers and rumours, and those flying cares—

that he could *cubiculorum obductas fores recludere, et secreta cordium penetrare*, (which [t] Cyprian desired) open doors and locks, shoot bolts, as Lucians Gallus did with a feather of his tail; or Gyges invisible ring, or some rare perspective glass, or *otacousticon*, which would so multiply species, that a man might hear and see all at once (as [u] Martianus Capellas Jupiter did in a spear, which he held in his hand, which did present unto him all that was daily done upon the face of the earth) observe cuckolds horns, forgeries of alchymists, the philosophers stone, new projectors, &c. and all those works of darkness, foolish vows, hopes, fears, and wishes, what a deal of laughter would it have afforded! He should have seen wind-mills in one mans head, an hornets nest in an other. Or, had he been present with Icaromenippus in Lucian at Jupiters whispering place, [y] and heard one pray for rain, another for fair weather; one for his wives, another for his fathers death, &c. *to ask that at Gods hand, which they are abashed any man should hear*;) how would he have been confounded! would he, think you, or any man else, say that these men were well in their wits? *Hæc sani esse hominis qui sanus juret Orestes?* Can all the hellebore in the Anticyræ cure these men? No sure, [w] *an acre of hellebore will not do it.*

That which is more to be lamented, they are mad like Senecas blind woman, and will not acknowledge, or [x] seek for any cure of it; for *pauci vident morbum suum omnes amant.* If our [y] leg or arm offend us, we covet by all means possible to redress it; [z] and, if we labour of a bodily disease, we send for a physician; but, for the diseases of the mind, we take no notice of them. Lust harrows us on the one side, envy, anger, ambition on the other. We are torn in pieces by our passions, as so many wild horses, one in disposition, another in habit; one is melancholy, another mad; [a] and which of us all seeks for help, doth acknowledge his error, or knows he is sick? As that stupid fellow put out the candle, because the biting fleas should not find him; he shrouds himself in an unknown habit, borrowed titles, because no body should discern him. Every man thinks with himself, *egomet videor mihi sanus*, I am well, I am wise, and laughs at others. And 'tis a general fault amongst them all, that [b] which our forefathers have approved, diet, apparel,

[s] Democrit. ep. præd. Hos dejerantes et potantes deprehendet, hos vomentes, illos litigantes, insidias molientes, suffragantes, venena miscentes, in amicorum accusationem subscribentes, hos gloriâ, illos ambitione cupiditate, mente captos, &c. [t] Ad Donat. ep. 2. lib. 1. O si posses in speculâ sublimi constitutus, &c. [u] Lib. 1. de nup. Philol. in quâ, quid singuli nationum populi quotidianis motibus agitarent, relucebat. [y] O Jupiter! contingat mihi aurum, hæreditas, &c. Multos da, Jupiter, annos! Dementia quanta est hominum! turpissima vota Diis insusurrant: si quis admoverit aurem, conticescunt; et quod scire homines nolunt, Deo narrant. Senec. ep. 10. lib. 1. [w] Plautus, Menæch. Non potest hæc res hellebori jugere obtinerier. [x] Eoque gravior morbus, quo ignotior periclitanti. [y] Quæ lædunt oculos, festinas demere; si quid Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum. Hor. [z] Si caput, crus dolet, brachium, &c. medicum accersimus, recte et honeste, si par etiam industria in animi morbis poneretur. Joh. Peletius Jesuita. lib. 2. de hum. affec. morborumque curâ. [a] Et quotusquisque tamen est, qui contra tot pestes medicum requirat, vel ægrotare se agnoscat? ebullit ira, &c. Et nos tamen ægros esse negamus. Incolumes medicum recusant. [b] Præsens ætas stultitiam priscis exprobrat. Bud. de affec. lib. 5.

opinions, humours, customs, manners, we deride and reject in our time as absurd. [c] Old men account juniors all fools, when they are meer dizards; and (as, to sailers,——*terræque urbesque recedunt*——they move; the land stands still) the world hath much more wit; they dote themselves. Turks deride us, we them; Italians Frenchmen, accounting them light headed fellows; the French scoff again at Italians, and at their several customs: Greeks have condemned all the world but themselves of barbarism; the world as much vilifies them now: we account Germans heavy, dull fellows, explode many of their fashions; they as contemptibly think of us; Spaniards laugh at all, and all again at them. So are we fools and ridiculous, absurd in our actions, carriages, dyet, apparel, customs and consultations; [d] we scoff and point one at another, when as, in conclusion, all are fools, [e] *and they the veriest asses that hide their ears most.* A private man, if he be resolved with himself, set on an opinion, accounts all ideots and asses that are not affected as he is, [f] ——(*nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducit*) that are not so minded, (*quodque volunt homines, se bene velle putant*) all fools that think not as he doth. He will not say with Atticus, *suam quisque sponsam, mihi meam,* let every man enjoy his own spouse; but his alone is fair, *suus amor, &c.* and scorns all in respect of himself, [h] will imitate none, hear none [i] but himself, as Pliny said, a law and example to himself. And that which Hippocrates, in his epistle to Dionysius, reprehended of old, is verified in our times, *Quisque in alio superfluum esse censet, ipse quod non habet, nec curat;* that which he hath not himself or doth not esteem, he accounts superfluity, an idle quality, a mere foppery in another; like Æsops fox, when he had lost his tail, would have all his fellow foxes cut off theirs. The Chineses say, that we Europeans have one eye, they themselves two, all the world else is blind, (though [j] Scaliger accounts them brutes too, *merum pecus*): so thou and thy sectaries are only wise, others indifferent; the rest, beside themselves, meer ideots and asses. Thus not acknowledging our own errors and imperfections, we securely deride others, as if we alone were free, and spectators of the rest, accounting it an excellent thing, as indeed it is, *alienâ optimum frui insaniâ,* to make our selves merry with other mens obliquities, when as he himself is more faulty than the rest: *mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur:* he may take himself by the nose for a fool; and, which one calls *maximum stultitiæ specimen,* to be ridiculous to others, and not to perceive or take notice of it, as Marsyas when he contended with Apollo, *non intelligens se deridiculo haberi,* saith [k] Apuleius; 'tis his own cause; he is a convict madman, as [l] Austin well infers: *In the eyes of wise men and angels he seems like one, that to our thinking walks with his heels upward.* So thou laughest at me, and I at thee, both at a third; and he returns that of the poet upon us again, [m] *Hei mihi! insanire me aiunt, quum ipsi ultro insaniant.* We accuse others of madness, of folly, and are the veriest dizards our selves: for it is a great sign and property of a fool (which Eccl. 10. 3. points at), out of pride and self-conceit, to insult, vilifie, condemn, censure, and call other men fools (*Non videmus manticæ quod a tergo est*), to tax that in others, of which we are most faulty; teach that which we follow not our selves; for an inconstant man to write of constancy, a prophane liver prescribe rules of sanctity and piety, a dizard himself make a treatise of wisdom,

[c] Senes pro stultis habent juvenes. Balth. Cast. [d] Clodius accusat mœchos. [e] Omnium stultissimi qui auriculas studiose tegunt. Sat. Menip. [f] Hor. Epist. 2. [g] Prosper. [h] Statim sapiunt, statim sciunt, neminem reverentur, neminem imitantur, ipsi sibi exemplo. Plin. ep. lib. 8. [i] Nulli alteri sapere concedit, ne desipere videatur. Agrip. [j] Omnis orbis . . . . . a Persis ad Lusitaniam. [k] 2 Florid. [l] August. Qualis in oculis hominum qui inversis pedibus ambulat, talis in oculis sapientum et angelorum qui sibi placet, aut cui passiones dominantur. [m] Plautus, Menæchmi.

or, with Sallust, to rail down-right, at spoilers of countreys, and yet in [n]office to be a most grievous poller himself. This argues weakness, and is an evident sign of such parties indiscretion. [o] *Peccat uter nostrûm cruce dignius? Who is the fool now?* Or else peradventure in some places we are [p]all mad for company; and so 'tis not seen: *societas erroris et dementiæ pariter absurditatem et admirationem tollit.* 'Tis with us, as it was of old (in [q]Tullies censure at least) with C. Fimbria in Rome, a bold, hair-brain'd, mad fellow, and so esteemed of all, such only excepted, that were as mad as himself: now in such a case there is no notice taken of it.

> Nimirum insanis paucis videatur, eo quod
> Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.
> When all are mad, where all are like oppress,
> Who can discern one mad man from the rest?

But put the case they do perceive it, and some one be manifestly convict of madness; [r]he now takes notice of his folly, be it in action, gesture, speech, a vain humour he hath in building, (bragging,) jangling, spending (gaming,) courting, scribling, (prating,) for which he is ridiculous to others, [s]on which he dotes; he doth acknowledge as much: yet, with all the rhetorick thou hast, thou canst not so recall him, but, to the contrary, notwithstanding, he will persevere in his dotage. 'Tis *amabilis insania, et mentis gratissimus error*, so pleasing, so delicious, that he [t]cannot leave it. He knows his error, but will not seek to decline it. Tell him what the event will be, beggary, sorrow, sickness, disgrace, shame, loss, madness; yet [u]*an angry man will prefer vengeance, a lascivious his whore, a thief his booty, a glutton his belly, before his welfare.* Tell an epicure, a covetous man, an ambitious man, of his irregular course; wean him from it a little, (*Pol! me occidistis, amici!*) he cryes anon, you have undone him; and, as [v]*a dog to his vomit*, he returns to it again; no perswasion will take place, no counsel: say what thou canst,

> ——Clames, licet, et mare cœlo
> Confundas,——surdo narras:

demonstrate, as Ulysses did to [w]Elpenor and Gryllus, and the rest of his companions *those swinish men*, he is irrefragable in his humour; he will be a hog still: bray him in a morter; he will be the same. If he be in an heresie, or some perverse opinion, setled as some of our ignorant papists are, convince his understanding, shew him the several follies and absurd fopperies of that sect, force him to say, *veris vincor*, make it as clear as the sun, [x]he will err still, peevish and obstinate as he is; and as he said, [y]*si in hoc erro, libenter erro, nec hunc errorem auferri mihi volo;* I will do as I have done, as my predecessors have done, [z]and as my friends now do: I will dote for company. Say now, are these men [a]mad or no? [b]*Heus, age, responde!* are they ridiculous? *cedo quemvis arbitrum;* are they *sanæ mentis*, sober, wise, and discreet? have they common sense?——[c]*uter est insanior horum?* I am of Democritus opinion, for my part; I hold them worthy to be laughed at: a company of brain-sick dizards, (as mad as [d]Orestes and Athamas, that they may go *ride the ass*, and all sail along to the Anticyræ, in the *ship of fools*, for company together. I need not much labour to prove this which I say, otherwise than thus, make any solemn protestation, or

[n] Governour of Africk by Cæsars appointment. [o] Nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba. Sen. [p] Pro Roscio Amerino. Et, quod inter omnes constat, insanissimus, nisi inter eos, qui ipsi quoque insaniunt. [q] Necesse est eum insanientibus furere, nisi solus relinqueris. Petronius. [r] Quoniam non est genus unum stultitiæ, quâ me insanire putas? [s] Stultum me fateor, liceat concedere verum, Atque etiam insanum. Hor. [t] Odi; nec possum cupiens non esse quod odi. Ovid. Errore grato libenter omnes insanimus. [u] Amator scortum vitæ præponit, iracundus vindictam, fur prædam, parasitus gulam, ambitiosus honores, avarus opes, &c. odimus hæc et accersimus. Cardan. l. 2. de conso. [v] Prov. 26. 11. [w] Plutarch. Grylio. suilli hominis, sic Clem. Alex. vo. [x] Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris. [y] Tully. [z] Malo cum illis insanire, quam cum aliis bene sentire. [a] Qui inter hos enutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam qui in culinâ bene olere. Petron. [b] Persius. [c] Hor. 2, ser. [d] Vesanum exagitant pueri, innuptæque puellæ.

swear; I think you will believe me without an oath; say at a word, are they fools? I refer it to you, though you be likewise fools and madmen your selves, and I as mad to ask the question: for what said our comical Mercury?

> [a]Justum ab injustis petere insipientia est.
> I'le stand to your censure yet, what think you?

But, for as much as I undertook at first, that kingdoms, provinces, families, were melancholy as well as private men, I will examine them in particular; and that which I have hitherto dilated at random, in more general terms, I will particularly insist in, prove with more special and evident arguments, testimonies, illustrations, and that in brief.

> ——— [f]Nunc accipe, quare
> Desipiant omnes æque ac tu.

My first argument is borrowed from Solomon, an arrow drawn out of his sententious quiver, Prov. 3. 7. *Be not wise in thine own eyes.* And 26. 12. [g]*Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? more hope is of a fool than of him.* Isaiah pronounceth a woe against such men, (cap. 5. 21.) *that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight.* For hence we may gather, that it is a great offence, and men are much deceived that think too well of themselves, and an especial argument to convince them of folly. Many men (saith [h]Seneca) *had been without question wise, had they not had an opinion that they had attained to perfection of knowledge already, even before they had gone half way*, too forward, too ripe, *præproperi*, too quick and ready, [i]*cito prudentes, cito pii, cito mariti, cito patres, cito sacerdotes, cito omnis officii capaces et curiosi:* they had too good a conceit of themselves, and that marred all—of their worth, valour, skill, art, learning, judgement, eloquence, their good parts: all their geese are swans: and that manifestly proves them to be no better than fools. In former times they had but seven wise men; now you can scarce find so many fools. Thales sent the golden *tripos*, which the fisherman found, and the oracle commanded to be [j]*given to the wisest*, to Bias, Bias to Solon, &c. If such a thing were now found, we should all fight for it, as the three goddesses did for the golden apple—we are so wise: we have women-politicians, children metaphysicians: every silly fellow can square a circle, make perpetual motions, find the philosophers stone, interpret Apocalypsis, make new theoricks, a new systeme of the world, new logick, new philosophy, &c. *Nostra utique regio*, saith [k]Petronius, *our countrey is so full of deified spirits, divine souls, that you may sooner find a God than a man amongst us;* we think so well of our selves, and that is an ample testimony of much folly.

My second argument is grounded upon the like place of Scripture, which, though before mentioned in effect, yet for some reasons is to be repeated (and, by Platos good leave, I may do it: [l]δίς τὸ καλὸν ῥηθὲν οὐδὲν βλάπτει) *Fools*, (saith David) *by reason of their transgressions, &c.* Psal. 107. 17. Hence Musculus infers, all transgressors must needs be fools. So we read Rom. 2. *Tribulation and anguish on the soul of every man that doth evil;* but all do evil. And Isai. 65. 14. *My servants shall sing for joy, and* [m]*ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and vexation of mind.* 'Tis ratified by the common consent of all philosophers. *Dishonesty* (saith Cardan) *is nothing else but folly and madness.* [n]*Probus quis nobiscum vivit?* Shew me an honest man. *Nemo malus, qui non stultus:* 'tis Fabius aphorism to the same end. If none honest, none wise, then all fools. And well may they

[a]Plautus. [f]Hor. l. 2. sat. 2. [g]Superbam stultitiam Plinius vocat. 7. ep. 21. quod semel dixi, fixum ratumque sit. [h]Multi sapientes proculdubio fuissent, si sese non putâssent ad sapientiæ summum pervenisse. [i]Idem. [j]Plutarchus, Solone. Detur sapientiori. [k]Tam præsentibus *plena est numinibus*, ut facilius possis Deum quam hominem invenire. [l]Pulchrum bis dicere non *nocet* [m]*Malefactors.* [n]Who can find a faithful man? Prov. 20. 6.

be so accounted: for who will account him otherwise, *qui iter adornat in occidentem, quum properaret in orientem?* that goes backward all his life, westward, when he is bound to the east? or holds him a wise man (saith [o] Musculus) *that prefers momentary pleasures to eternity, that spends his master's goods in his absence, forthwith to be condemned for it? Necquidquam sapit, qui sibi non sapit.* Who will say that a sick man is wise, that eats and drinks to overthrow the temperature of his body? Can you account him wise or discreet that would willingly have his health, and yet will do nothing that should procure or continue it? [p] Theodoret, (out of Plotinus the Platonist) *holds it a ridiculous thing for a man to live after his own laws, to do that which is offensive to God, and yet to hope that he should save him; and, when he voluntarily neglects his own safety, and contemns the means, to think to be delivered by another.* Who will say these men are wise?

A third argument may be derived from the precedent. [q] All men are carried away with passion, discontent, lust, pleasures, &c. They generally hate those vertues they should love, and love such vices they should hate. Therefore more than melancholy, quite mad, bruit beasts, and void of reason, (so Chrysostome contends) *or rather dead and buried alive*, as [r] Philo Judæus concludes it for a certainty, *of all such that are carried away with passions, or labour of any disease of the mind. Where is fear and sorrow*, there ([s] Lactantius stifly maintains) *wisdom cannot dwell.*

> ———qui cupiet, metuet quoque porro.
> Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.

Seneca and the rest of the Stoicks are of opinion, that, where is any the least perturbation, wisdom may not be found. *What more ridiculous*, (as [t] Lactantius urgeth) than to hear how Xerxes whipped the Hellespont, threatned the mountain Athos, and the like? To speak *ad rem*, who is free from passion? [u] *Mortalis nemo est, quem non attingat dolor morbusve*, (as [v] Tully determines out of an old poem) no mortal men can avoid sorrow and sickness; and sorrow is an unseparable companion of melancholy. [w] Chrysostome pleads farther yet, that they are more than mad, very beasts, stupified, and void of common sense: *for how* (saith he) *shall I know thee to be a man, when thou kickest like an ass, neighest like an horse after women, ravest in lust like a bull, ravenest like a bear, stingest like a scorpion, rakest like a wolf, as subtile as a fox, as impudent as a dog? Shall I say thou art a man, that hast all the symptomes of a beast? How shall I know thee to be a man? By thy shape? That affrights me more, when I see a beast in likeness of a man.*

[x] Seneca calls that of Epicurus, *magnificam vocem*, an heroical speech, *a fool still begins to live*, and accounts it a filthy lightness in men, every day to lay new foundations of their life: but who doth otherwise? One travels; another builds; one for this, another for that business; and old folks are as far out as the rest: *O dementem senectutem!* Tully exclaims. Therefore young, old, middle age, all are stupid, and dote.

[y] Æneas Sylvius, amongst many others, sets down three special wayes to

[o] In Psal. 49. Qui præfert momentanea sempiternis, qui dilapidat heri absentis bona, mox in jus vocandus et damnandus. [p] Perquam ridiculum est homines ex animi sententiâ vivere, et, quæ Diis ingrata sunt, exequi, et tamen a solis Diis velle salvos fieri, quum propriæ salutis curam abjecerint. Theod. c. 6. de provid. lib. de. curat. Græc. affect. [q] Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus, &c. Hor. 2. ser. 7. [r] Conclus. lib. de vic. offer. Certum est animi morbis laborantes pro mortuis censendos. [s] Lib. de sap. Ubi timor adest, sapientia adesse nequit. [t] Quid insanius Xerxe Hellespontum verberante? &c. [u] Eccles. 21. 12. Where is bitterness, there is no understanding. Prov. 12. 16. An angry man is a fool. [v] 3 Tusc. Injuria in sapientem non cadit. [w] Hom. 6. in 2 Epist. ad Cor. Hominem te agnoscere nequeo, cum tamquam asinus recalcitres, lasciviasut taurus, hinnias ut equus post mulieres, ut ursus ventri indulgeas, quum rapias ut lupus, &c. At (inquis) formam hominis habeo. Id magis terret, quum feram humanâ specie videre me putem. [x] Epist. l. 2. 13. Stultus semper incipit vivere. Fœda hominum levitas! nova quotidie fundamenta vitæ ponere, novas spes, &c. [y] De curial. miser. Stultus, qui quærit quod nequit invenire, stultus qui quærit quod nocet inventum, stultus qui cum plures habet calles, deteriorem deligit. Mihi videntur omnes deliri,

find a fool by. He is a fool that seeks that he can not find: he is a fool that seeks that, which, being found, will do him more harm than good: he is a fool, that, having variety of ways to bring him to his journeys end, takes that which is worst. If so, me thinks most men are fools. Examine their courses, and you shall soon perceive what dizards and mad men the major part are. >

Beroaldus will have drunkards, afternoon-men, and such as more than ordinarily delight in drink, to be mad. The first pot quencheth thirst (so Panyasis the poet determines in Athenæus): *secunda Gratiis, Horis, et Dionysio*—the second makes merry: the third for pleasure: *quarta ad insaniam*, the fourth makes them mad. If this position be true, what a catalogue of mad men shall we have! what shall they be that drink four times four? *Nonne supra omnem furorem, supra omnem insaniam, reddunt insanissimos?* I am of his opinion, they are more than mad, much worse than mad.

The [a] Abderites condemned Democritus for a mad man, because he was sometimes sad, and sometimes again profusely merry. *Hac patriâ* (saith Hippocrates) *ob risum furere et insanire dicunt:* his countrey men hold him mad, because he laughs: [a] and therefore *he desires him to advise all his friends at Rhodes, that they do not laugh too much, or be over sad.* Had those Abderites been conversant with us, and but seen what [b] fleering and grinning there is in this age, they would certainly have concluded, we had been all out of our wits.

Aristotle, in his Ethicks, holds, *felix idemque sapiens*, to be wise and happy, are reciprocal terms. *Bonus idemque sapiens honestus.* < 'Tis [c] Tullies paradox: *wise men are free, but fools are slaves:* liberty is a power to live according to his own laws, as we will ourselves. Who hath this liberty? Who is free?

> ——————— [d] sapiens sibique imperiosus,
> Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent;
> Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
> Fortis, et in seipso totus teres atque rotundus.
>
> He is wise that can command his own will,
> Valiant and constant to himself still,
> Whom poverty, nor death, nor bands can fright,
> Checks his desires, scorns honours, just and right.

But where shall such a man be found? if no where, then *e diametro*, we all are slaves, senseless, or worse. *Nemo malus felix.* > But no man is happy in this life, none good; therefore no man wise. < [e] *Rari quippe boni*——. For one vertue, you shall find ten vices in the same party—*pauci Promethei, multi Epimethei.* We may peradventure usurp the name, or attribute it to others for favour, as Carolus Sapiens, Philippus Bonus, Ludovicus Pius, &c. and describe the properties of a wise man, as Tully doth an orator, Xenophon Cyrus, Castilio a courtier, Galen temperament; an aristocracy is described by politicians. But where shall such a man be found?

> Vir bonus et sapiens, qualem vix repperit unum
> Millibus e multis hominum consultus Apollo.
>
> A wise, a good man in a million,
> Apollo consulted could scarce find one

A man is a miracle of himself: but Trismegistus adds, *maximum miraculum homo sapiens:* a wise man is a wonder: *multi Thyrsigeri, pauci Bacchi.*

Alexander, when he was presented with that rich and costly casket of king Darius, and every man advised him what to put in it, he reserved it to keep Homers works, as the most precious jewel of humane wit: and yet [f] Scaliger upbraids Homers Muse, *nutricem insanæ sapientiæ*, a nursery of mad-

amentes, &c. [c] Ep. Damageto. [a] Amicis nostris Rhodi dicito, ne nimium rideant, aut nimium tristes sint. [b] Per multum risum poteris cognoscere stultum. Offic. 3. c. 9. [c] Sapientes liberi, stulti servi. *Libertas est potestas*, &c. [d] Hor. 2. ser. 7. [e] Juven. [f] Hypercrite.

ness, [s]impudent as a court lady, that blushes at nothing. Jacobus Mycillus, Gilbertus Cognatus, Erasmus, and almost all posterity, admire Lucians luxuriant wit: yet Scaliger rejects him in his censure, and calls him the Cerberus of the Muses. Socrates, whom all the world so much magnified, is, by Lactantius and Theodoret, condemned for a fool. Plutarch extolls Senecas wit beyond all the Greeks—*nulli secundus:* yet [h]Seneca saith of himself, *when I would solace my self with a fool, I reflect upon my self; and there I have him.* Cardan, in his sixteenth book of Subtilties, reckons up twelve supereminent, acute philosophers, for worth, subtlety, and wisdom—Archimedes, Galen, Vitruvius, Archytas Tarentinus, Euclide, Geber, that first inventer of algebra, Alkindus the mathematician, both Arabians, with others. But his *triumviri terrarum*, far beyond the rest, are Ptolemæus, Plotinus, Hippocrates. Scaliger (*exercitat.* 224) scoffs at this censure of his, calls some of them carpenters, and mechanicians: he makes Galen, *fimbriam Hippocratis*, a skirt of Hippocrates: and the said [i]Cardan himself elsewhere condemns both Galen and Hippocrates for tediousness, obscurity, confusion. Paracelsus will have them both meer ideots, infants in physick and philosophy. Scaliger and Cardan admire Suisset the calculator, *qui pene modum excessit humani ingenii;* and yet [j]Lud. Vives calls them *nugas Suisseticas:* and Cardan opposite to himself in another place, contemns those antients in respect of times present, [k]*majoresque nostros, ad præsentes collatos, juste pueros appellari.* In conclusion, the said Cardan and Saint Bernard will admit none into this catalogue of wise men, [m]but only prophets and apostles:—how they esteem themselves, you have heard before. We are worldly-wise, admire our selves, and seek for applause: but hear Saint [n]Bernard, *quanto magis foras es sapiens, tanto magis intus stultus efficeris, &c. in omnibus es prudens, circa teipsum insipiens:* the more wise thou art to others, the more fool to thy self. I may not deny but that there is some folly approved, a divine fury, a holy madness, even a spiritual drunkenness in the saints of God themselves: *Sanctam insaniam* Bernard calls it, (though not, as blaspheming [o]Vorstius would inferr it as a passion incident to God himself, but) familiar to good men, as that of Paul, 2 Cor. *he was a fool, &c.* and Rom. 9. he wisheth himself *to be anathematized for them.* Such is that drunkenness which Ficinus speaks of, when the soul is elevated and ravished with a divine taste of that heavenly nectar, which the poets deciphered by the sacrifice of Dionysius, and in this sense, with the poet, [p]*insanire lubet:* as Austin exhorts us, *ad ebrietatem se quisque paret;* let's all be mad and [q]drunk. But we commonly mistake and go beyond our commission: we reel to the opposite part; [r]we are not capable of it; [s]and, as he said of the Greeks, *Vos Græci semper pueri, vos Britanni, Galli, Germani, Itali, &c.* you are a company of fools.

Proceed now *a partibus ad totum*, or from the whole to parts, and you shall find no other issue. The parts shall be sufficiently dilated in this following preface. The whole must needs follow by a *sorites* or induction. Every multitude is mad. [t]*bellua multorum capitum*, precipitate and rash, without judgement, *stultum animal*, a roaring rout. [u]Roger Bacon proves it out of Aristotle—*vulgus dividi in oppositum contra sapientes: quod vulgo videtur verum, falsum est;* that which the commonalty accounts true, is

[s] Ut mulier aulica nullius pudens. [h] Epist. 33. Quando fatuo delectari volo, non est longe quærendus; me video. [i] Primo contradicentium. [j] Lib. de caussis corrupt. artium. [k] Actione ad subtil. in Scal. fol. 12. 26. [l] Lib. 1. de sap. [m] Vide, miser homo, quia totum est vanitas, totum stultitia, totum dementia, quidquid facis in hoc mundo, præter hoc solum quod propter Deum facis. Ser. de miser. hom. [n] In 2 Platonis, dial. 1. de justo. [o] Dum iram et odium in Deo reverâ ponit. [p] Virg. 1. Ecl. 3. [q] Ps. inebriabuntur ab ubertate domûs. [r] In Psal. 104. Aust. [s] In Platonis Tim. sacerdos Ægyptius. [t] Hor. Vulgus insanum. [u] Paret ea divisio probabilis, &c. ex Arist. Top lib. 1. c. 8. Rog. Bac. Epist. de secret. art. et nat. c. 8. Non est judicium in vulgo.

most part false; they are still opposite to wise men; but all the world is of this humour (*vulgus*); and thou thy self art *de vulgo*, one of the commonalty; and he, and he; and so are all the rest; and therefore (as Phocion concludes) to be approved in nought you say or do, mere ideots and asses. Begin then where you will, go backward or forward, choose out of the whole pack, wink and choose: you shall find them all alike—*never a barrel better herring.*

Copernicus, Atlas his successor, is of opinion, the earth is a planet, moves and shines to others, as the moon doth to us. Digges, Gilbert, Keplerus, Origanus, and others, defend this hypothesis of his in sober sadness, and that the moon is inhabited. If it be so that the earth is a moon, then are we also giddy, vertiginous, and lunatick, within this sublunary maze.

I could produce such arguments till dark night. (If you should hear the rest, *Ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo*) but, according to my promise, I will descend to particulars. This melancholy extends it self not to men only, but even to vegetals and sensibles. I speak not of those creatures which are saturnine, melancholy by nature, (as lead, and such like minerals, or those plants, rue, cypress, &c. and hellebore it self, of which [v]Agrippa treats, fishes, birds, and beasts, hares, conies, dormice, &c. owls, bats, night-birds) but that artificial, which is perceived in them all. Remove a plant; it will pine away; which is especially perceived in date-trees, as you may read at large in Constantines husbandry—that antipathy betwixt the vine and the cabbage, vine and oyle. Put a bird in a cage; he will dye for sullenness; or a beast in a pen, or take his young ones or companions from him; and see what effect it will cause. But who perceives not these common passions of sensible creatures, fear, sorrow, &c.? Of all other, dogs are most subject to this malady, in so much, some hold they dream as men do, and through violence of melancholy, run mad. I could relate many stories of dogs, that have dyed for grief, and pined away for loss of their masters; but they are common in every [w]author.

Kingdoms, provinces, and politick bodies, are likewise sensible and subject to this disease, as [x]Boterus, in his Politicks, hath proved at large. *As, in humane bodies* (saith he) *there be divers alterations proceeding from humours, so there be many diseases in a common-wealth, which do as diversely happen from several distempers*, as you may easily perceive by their particular symptoms. For where you shall see the people civil, obedient to God and princes, judicious, peaceable and quiet, rich, fortunate, [y]and flourish, to live in peace, in unity, and concord, a countrey well tilled, many fair built and populous cities, *ubi incolæ nitent*, as old [z]Cato said, the people are neat, polite, and terse, *ubi bene, beateque vivunt*, (which our politicians make the chief end of a common-wealth; and which [a]Aristotle, Polit. lib. 3. cap. 4. calls *commune bonum*, Polybius, lib. 6, *obtabilem et selectum statum*,) that countrey is free from melancholy; as it was in Italy in the time of Augustus, now in China, now in many other flourishing kingdoms of Europe. But whereas you shall see many discontents, common grievances, complaints, poverty, barbarism, beggary, plagues, wars, rebellions, seditions, mutinies, contentions, idleness, riot, epicurism, the land lye untilled, waste, full of bogs, fens, desarts, &c. cities decayed, base and poor towns, villages depopulated, the people squalid, ugly, uncivil; that kingdom, that countrey, must needs be discontent, melancholy, hath a sick body, and had need to be reformed.

[v] De occult. philosoph. l. 1. c. 25. et 19. ejusd. l. Lib. 10. cap. 4. [w] See Lipsius, epist. [x] De politiâ illustrium, lib. 1. cap. 4. Ut in humanis corporibus variæ accidunt mutationes corporis animique, sic in republicâ, &c. [y] Ubi reges philosophantur. Plato. [z] Lib. de re rust. [a] Vel publicam *utilitatem*. Salus publica suprema lex esto. Beata civitas, non, ubi pauci beati, sed tota civitas *beata*. *Plato, quarto de repub.*

Now that cannot well be effected, till the causes of these maladies be first removed, which commonly proceed from their own default, or some accidental inconvenience; as to be site in a bad clime, too far north, steril, in a barren place, as the desart of Libya, desarts of Arabia, places void of waters, as those of Lop and Belgian in Asia, or in a bad air, as at Alexandretta, Bantam, Pisa, Durazzo, S. John de Ullua, &c. or in danger of the seas continual inundations, as in many places of the Low-Countreys and elsewhere, or near some bad neighbours, as Hungarians to Turks, Podolians to Tartars, or almost any bordering countries, they live in fear still, and, by reason of hostile incursions, are oftentimes left desolate. So are cities by reason [b]of wars, fires, plagues, inundations, [c]wild beasts, decay of trades, barred havens, the seas violence, as Antwerp may witness of late, Syracuse of old, Brundusium in Italy, Rhye and Dover with us, and many that at this day suspect the seas fury and rage, and labour against it, as the Venetians to their inestimable charge. But the most frequent maladies are such as proceed from themselves, as, first, when religion and Gods service is neglected, innovated, or altered—where they do not fear God, obey their prince—where atheism, epicurism, sacrilege, simony, &c. and all such impieties are freely committed—that countrey cannot prosper. When Abraham came to Gerar, and saw a bad land, he said, sure the fear of God was not in that place. [d]Cyprian Echovius, a Spanish chorographer, above all other cities of Spain, commends Borcino, *in which there was no beggar, no man poor*, &c. *but all rich and in good estate:* and he gives the reason, because *they were more religious than their neighbours.* Why was Israel so often spoiled by their enemies, led into captivity, &c. but for their idolatry, neglect of Gods word, for sacrilege, even for one Achans fault? And what shall we expect, that have such multitudes of Achans, church-robbers, simoniacal patrons, &c.? how can they hope to flourish, that neglect divine duties, that live, most part, like epicures?

Other common grievances are generally noxious to a body politick; alteration of laws and customs, breaking privileges, general oppressions, seditions, &c. observed by [e]Aristotle, Bodin, Boterus, Junius, Arniscus, &c. I will only point at some of the chiefest. [f]*Impotentia gubernandi, ataxia*, confusion, ill government, which proceeds from unskilful, slothful, griping, covetous, unjust, rash, or tyrannizing magistrates, when they are fools, ideots, children, proud, wilful, partial, undiscreet, oppressors, giddy heads, tyrants, not able or unfit to manage such offices. [g]Many noble cities and flourishing kingdoms by that means are desolate; the whole body groans under such heads; and all the members must needs be misaffected, as at this day those goodly provinces in Asia Minor, &c. groan under the burthen of a Turkish government; and those vast kingdoms of Muscovia, Russia, [h]under a tyrannizing duke. Who ever heard of more civil and rich populous countreys than those of Greece, Asia Minor, *abounding with all* [i]*wealth, multitude of inhabitants, force, power, splendor, and magnificence?* and that miracle of countreys, [j]the Holy Land, that, in so small a compass of ground, could maintain so many towns, cities, produce so many fighting men? Egypt another Paradise, now barbarous and desart, and almost waste, by the despotical government of an imperious Turk, *intolerabili servitutis jugo premitur* ([k]one saith); not only fire and water, goods or lands, *sed ipse spiritus ab insolentissimi*

[a]Mantua, væ! miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ. [b]Interdum a feris, ut olim Mauritania, &c. [c]Delitiis Hispaniæ an. 1604. Nemo malus, nemo pauper; optimus quisque atque ditissimus. Pie, sanctèque vivebant; summâque cum veneratione et timore, divino cultui, sacrisque rebus, incumbebant. [d]Polit. l. 5. c. 3. [e]Boterus, polit. lib. 1. c. 1. Cum nempe princeps rerum gerendarum imperitus, segnis, ocsitans, sulque muneris immemor, aut fatuus est. [f]Non viget respublica cujus caput infirmatur. Salisburiensis, c. 22. [g]See D. Fletchers relation, and Alexander Gagninus history. [h]Abundans omni divitiarum affluentiâ, incolarum multitudine, splendore, ac potentiâ. [i]Not above 200 miles in length, 60 in breadth, according to Adricomius. [k]Romulus Amaseus.

victoris pendet nutu: such is their slavery, their lives and souls depend upon his insolent will and command—a tyrant that spoyls all wheresoever he comes; insomuch that an [l]historian complains, *if an old inhabitant should now see them, he would not know them; if a traveller, or stranger, it would grieve his heart to behold them*—whereas ([m]Aristotle notes) *novæ exactiones, nova onera imposita*, new burdens and exactions daily come upon them, (like those of which Zosimus, lib. 2.) so grievous *ut viri uxores, patres filias prostituerent, ut exactoribus e quæstu*, &c. they must needs be discontent: *hinc civitatum gemitus et ploratus*, as [n]Tully holds; hence come those complaints and tears of cities, *poor, miserable, rebellious, and desperate subjects*, as [o]Hippolytus adds: and, [p]as a judicious countrey-man of ours observed not long since in a survey of that great Duchy of Tuscany, the people lived much grieved and discontent, as appeared by their manifold and manifest complainings in that kind; *that the state was like a body which had lately taken physick, whose humours are not yet well settled, and weakened so much by purging, that nothing was left but melancholy.*

Whereas the princes and potentates are immoderate in lust, hypocrites, epicures, of no religion, but in shew—*Quid hypocrisi fragilius?* what so brittle and unsure? what sooner subverts their estates, than wandring and raging lusts on their subjects wives, daughters? to say no worse. They that should *facem præferre*, lead the way to all vertuous actions, are the ring-leaders oftentimes of all mischief and dissolute courses; and by that means their countries are plagued, [q]*and they themselves often ruined, banished or murdered by conspiracy of their subjects*, as Sardanapalus was, Dionysius junior, Heliogabalus, Periander, Pisistratus, Tarquinius, Timocrates, Childericus, Appius Claudius, Andronicus, Galeacius Sforsia, Alexander Medices, &c.

Whereas the princes or great men are malicious, envious, factious, ambitious, emulators, they tear a common-wealth asunder, as so many *Guelfes* and *Gibellines*, disturb the quietness of it, [r]and, with mutual murders, let it bleed to death. Our histories are too full of such barbarous inhumanities, and the miseries that issue from them.

Whereas they be like so many horse-leeches, hungry, griping, corrupt, [s]covetous, *avaritiæ mancipia*, ravenous as wolves, (for, as Tully writes, *qui præest, prodest; et qui pecudibus præest, debet eorum utilitati inservire*) or such as prefer their private before the public good (for, as [t]he said long since, *res privatæ publicis semper officere*)—or whereas they be illiterate, ignorant, empiricks in policy, *ubi deest facultas*, [u]*virtus*, (Aristot. *pol. 5. cap. 8.*) *et scientia*, wise only by inheritance, and in authority by birth-right, or for their wealth and titles—there must needs be a fault, [v]a great defect, because, as an [w]old philosopher affirms, such men are not alwayes fit —*of an infinite number, few alone are senators; and of those few, fewer good; and of that small number of honest, good, and noble men, few that are learned, wise, discreet, and sufficient, able to discharge such places*—it must needs turn to the confusion of a state.

For, as the [x]princes are, so are the people; *qualis rex, talis grex*: and,

[l] Sabellicus. Si quis incola vetus, non agnosceret; si quis peregrinus, ingemisceret. [m] Polit. l. 5. c. 6. Crudelitas principum, impunitas scelerum, violatio legum, peculatus pecuniæ publicæ, &c. [n] Epist. [o] De increm. urb. cap. 20. Subditi miseri, rebelles, desperati, &c. [p] R. Dallington, 1596, conclusio libri. [q] Boterus, l. 9. c. 4. Polit. Quo fit ut aut rebus desperatis exulent aut conjuratione subditorum crudelissime tandem trucidentur. [r] Mutuis odiis et cædibus exhausti, &c. [s] Lucra ex malis, sceleratisque caussis. [t] Sallust. [u] For most part, we mistake the name of politicians, accounting such as read Machiavel and Tacitus, great statesmen, that can dispute of political precepts, supplant and overthrow their adversaries, enrich themselves, get honour, dissemble. But what is this to the *bene esse*, or preservation of a common-wealth? [v] Imperium sua̓pte sponte corruit. [w] Apul. Prim. Flor. Ex innumerabilibus, pauci senatores genere nobiles; e consularibus pauci boni; e bonis adhuc pauci eruditi. [x] Non solum vitia concipiunt ipsi principes, sed etiam infundunt in civitatem; plusque exemplo, quam peccato, nocent. Cic. 1. de legibus.

which [f] Antigonus right well said of old, *qui Macedoniæ regem erudit, omnes etiam subditos erudit*, he that teacheth the king of Macedon, teacheth all his subjects, is a true saying still.

> For princes are the glass, the school, the book,
> Where subjects eyes do learn, do read, do look,
> ——————Velocius et citius nos
> Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
> Cum subeant animos auctoribus——————

their examples are soonest followed, vices entertained: if they be prophane, irreligious, lascivious, riotous, epicures, factious, covetous, ambitious, illiterate, so will the commons most part be, idle, unthrifts, prone to lust, drunkards, and therefore poor and needy (ἡ πενία στάσιν ἐμποιεῖ, κὰι κακουργίαν, for poverty begets sedition and villany) upon all occasions ready to mutiny and rebel, discontent, still complaining, murmuring, grudging, apt to all outrages, thefts, treasons, murders, innovations, in debt, shifters, cozeners, outlaws, *profligatæ famæ ac vitæ*. It was an old [g] politicians aphorism, *they that are poor and bad, envy rich, hate good men, abhor the present government, wish for a new, and would have all turned topsie turvy*. When Catiline rebelled in Rome, he got a company of such debauched rogues together: they were his familiars and coadjutors, and such have been your rebels, most part, in all ages—Jack Cade, Tom Straw, Kette, and his companions.

Where they be generally riotous and contentious, where there be many discords, many laws, many law-suits, many lawyers, and many physicians, it is a manifest sign of a distempered, melancholy state, as [a] Plato long since maintained: for, where such kind of men swarm, they will make more work for themselves, and that body politick diseased, which was otherwise sound—a general mischief in these our times, an unsensible plague, and never so many of them; *which are now multiplyed* (saith Mat. Geraldus, [b] a lawyer himself,) *as so many locusts, not the parents, but the plagues of the country, and, for the most part, a supercilious, bad, covetous, litigious generation of men*—[c] *crumenimulga natio*, &c. a purse-milking nation, a clamorous company, gowned vultures, (*qui ex injuriâ vivunt et sanguine civium*) thieves and seminaries of discord, worse than any polers by the high way side, *auri accipitres, auri exterebronides, pecuniarum hamiolæ, quadruplatores, curiæ harpagones, fori tintinnabula monstra hominum, mangones*, &c. that take upon them to make peace, but are indeed the very disturbers of our peace, a company of irreligious harpyes, scraping, griping, catch-poles, (I mean our common hungry petty-foggers, *rabulas forenses*—love and honour, in the mean time, all good laws, and worthy lawyers, that are so many [e] oracles and pilots of a well governed commonwealth) without art, without judgement, that do more harm, as [f] Livy saith, *quam bella externa, fames, morbive*, than sickness, wars, hunger, diseases (*and cause a most incredible destruction of a common-wealth*, saith [g] Sesellius, a famous civilian sometimes in Paris.) As ivy doth by an oke, imbrace it so long, until it hath got the heart out of it, so do they by such places they inhabit: no counsel at all, no justice, no speech to be had, *nisi eum præmulseris:* he must be fed still, or else he is as mute as a fish; better open an oyster without a knife. *Experto crede*, (saith [h] Salisburiensis): *in manus eorum millies incidi; et Charon immitis, qui nulli pepercit unquam, his longe clementior est —I speak out of experience; I have been a thousand times amongst them;*

[f] Epist. ad Zen. Juven. Sat. 4. Paupertas seditionem gignit et maleficium. Arist. pol. 2. c. 7. [g] Sallust. Semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident; vetera odere; nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia petunt. [a] De legibus. Profligatæ in repub. disciplinæ est indicium jurisperitorum numerus, et medicorum copia. [b] In præf. stud. juris. Multiplicantur nunc in terris, ut locustæ, non patriæ parentes, sed pestes, pessimi homines, majore ex parte superciliosi, contentiosi, &c.—licitum latrocinium exercent. [c] Dousa, epid. Loquutuleia turba, vultures togati. [d] Barc. Argon. [e] Jurisconsulti domus oraculum civitatis. Tully. [f] Lib. 3. [g] Lib. 1. de rep. Gallorum. Incredibilem reipub. perniciem afferunt. [h] Polycrat. lib.

and Charon himself is more gentle than they : [i] *he is contented with his single pay ; but they multiply still : they are never satisfied :* besides they have *damnificas linguas,* (as he terms it) *nisi funibus argenteis vincias :* they must be feed to say nothing, and [j] get more to hold their peace, than we can to say our best. They will speak their clients fair, and invite them to their tables : but (as he follows it) [k] *of all injustice, there is none so pernicious as that of theirs, which, when they deceive most, will seem to be honest men.* They take upon them to be peace-makers, *et fovere caussas humilium,* to help them to their right : *patrocinantur afflictis ;* [l] but all is for their own good, *ut loculos pleniorum exhauriant :* they plead for poor men gratis ; but they are but as a stale to catch others. If there be no jar, [m] they can make a jar, out of the law it self find still some quirk or other, to set them at odds, and continue causes so long, (*lustra aliquot*) I know not how many years, before the cause is heard : and when 'tis judged and determined, by reason of some tricks and errours, it is as fresh to begin, after twice seven years sometimes, as it was at first ; and so they prolong time, delay suits till they have enriched themselves, and beggared their clients. And, as [n] Cato inveighed against Isocrates scholars, we may justly tax our wrangling lawyers,—they do *consenescere in litibus,* are so litigious and busie here on earth, that I think they will plead their clients causes hereafter, some of them in hell. [o] Simlerus complains, amongst the Suissers, of the advocates in his time, that, when they should make an end, they begin controversies, and *protract their causes many years, perswading them their title is good, till their patrimonies be consumed, and that they have spent more in seeking, than the thing is worth, or they shall get by the recovery.* So that he that goes to law (as the proverb is) [p] holds a wolf by the ears ; or, as a sheep in a storm runs for shelter to a brier, if he prosecute his cause, he is consumed : if he surcease his suit, he loseth all : what difference ? They had wont heretofore, saith [q] Austin, to end matters, *per communes arbitros ;* and so in Switzerland, (we are informed by [r] Simlerus) *they had some common arbitrators or dayesmen in every town, that made a friendly composition betwixt man and man : and he much wonders at their honest simplicity, that could keep peace so well, and end such great causes by that means.* At [s] Fez in Africk, they have neither lawyers, nor advocates ; but, if there be any controversies amongst them, both parties, plaintiff and defendant, come to their Alfakins or chief judge ; *and at once, without any farther appeals or pitiful delays, the cause is heard and ended.* Our fore-fathers, (as [t] a worthy chorographer of ours observes) had wont, *pauculis cruculis aureis,* with a few golden crosses, and lines in verse, to make all conveyances, assurances. And such was the candour and integrity of succeeding ages, that a deed, (as I have oft seen) to convey a whole manor, was *implicite* contained in some twenty lines, or thereabouts ; like that scede or *scytala Laconica,* so much renowned of old in all contracts, which [u] Tully so earnestly commends to Atticus, Plutarch in his Lysander, Aristotle, *polit.* Thucydides, *lib.* 1. [v] Diodorus, and Suidas, approve and magnifie, for that Laconick brevity in this kind ; and well they might ; for, according to [w] Tertullian, *certa sunt paucis,*

[i] Is stipe contentus : at hi asses integros sibi multiplicari jubent. [j] Plus accipiunt tacere, quam nos loqui. [k] Totius injustitiæ nulla capitalior, quam eorum, qui, cum maxime decipiunt, id agunt ut boni viri esse videantur. [l] Nam quocunque modo caussa procedat, hoc semper agitur, ut loculi impleantur, etsi avaritia nequit satiari. [m] Camden. in Norfolk. Qui, si nihil sit litium, e juris apicibus lites tamen serere calleut. [n] Plutarch. vit. Cat. Caussus apud inferos, quas in suam fidem receperunt, patrocinio suo tuebuntur. [o] Lib. 2. de Helvet. repub. Non explicandis, sed moliendis controversiis operam dant, ita ut lites in multos annos extrahantur, summâ cum molestiâ utriusque partis, et dum interea patrimonia exhauriuntur. [p] Lupum auribus tenent. [q] Hor. [r] Lib. de Helvet. repub. Judices quocunque pago constituunt, qui amicâ aliquâ transactione, si fieri possit, lites tollant. Ego majorum nostrorum simplicitatem admiror, qui sic caussas gravissimas composuerint, &c. [s] Clenard l. 1. ep. Si quæ controversiæ, utraque pars judicem adit : is semel et simul rem transigit, *audit : nec, quid* sit appellatio, lacrymosæque moræ, noscunt. [t] Camden. [u] Lib. 10. epist. ad *Atticum, epist.* 11. [v] Biblioth. l. 3. [w] Lib. de Anim.

there is much more certainty in fewer words. And so was it of old throughout: but now many skins of parchment will scarce serve turn: he that buys and sells a house, must have a house full of writings; there be so many circumstances, so many words, such tautological repetitions of all particulars (to avoid cavillation they say): but we find, by our woful experience, that, to subtle wits, it is a cause of much more contention and variance; and scarce any conveyance so accurately penned by one, which another will not find a crack in, or cavil at: if any one word be misplaced, any little errour, all is disannulled. That which is law to day, is none to morrow; that which is sound in one mans opinion, is most faulty to another; that, in conclusion, here is nothing amongst us but contention and confusion. We bandy one against another; and that, which long since [x] Plutarch complained of them in Asia, may be verified in our times—*These men, here assembled, come not to sacrifice to their gods, to offer Jupiter their first fruits, or merriments to Bacchus; but an yearly disease, exasperating Asia, hath brought them hither, to make an end of their controversies and law suits.* 'Tis *multitudo perdentium et pereuntium*, a destructive rout, that seek one anothers ruine. Such, most part, are our ordinary suitors, termers, clients: new stirs every day, mistakes, errours, cavils, and at this present, (as I have heard) in some one court, I know not how many thousand causes: no person free, no title almost good, with such bitterness in following, so many slights, procrastinations, delayes, forgery, such cost (for infinite sums are inconsiderately spent), violence and malice, I know not by whose fault, lawyers, clients, laws, both or all: but, as Paul reprehended the [y] Corinthians long since, I may more appositely infer now: *There is a fault amongst you; and I speak it to your shame. Is there not a* [z] *wise man amongst you, to judge between his brethren? but that a brother goes to law with a brother?* And [a] Christs counsel concerning law-suits was never so fit to be inculcated, as in this age: [b] *Agree with thine adversary quickly, &c.* Matth. 5. 25.

I could repeat many such particular grievances, which must disturb a body politick:—to shut up all in brief, where good government is, prudent and wise princes, there all things thrive and prosper; peace and happiness is in that land: where it is otherwise, all things are ugly to behold, incult, barbarous, uncivil; a paradise is turned to a wilderness. This island amongst the rest, our next neighbours the French and Germans, may be a sufficient witness, that in a short time, by that prudent policy of the Romans, was brought from barbarism; see but what Cæsar reports of us, and Tacitus of those old Germans: they were once as uncivil as they in Virginia; yet, by planting of colonies and good laws, they became, from barbarous outlaws, [b] to be full of rich and populous cities, as now they are, and most flourishing kingdoms. Even so might Virginia, and those wild Irish, have been civilized long since, if that order had been heretofore taken, which now begins, of planting colonies, &c. I have read a [c] discourse, printed anno 1612, *discovering the true causes, why Ireland was never intirely subdued, or brought under obedience to the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesties happy reign.* Yet, if his reasons were thoroughly scanned by a judicious politician, I am afraid he would not altogether be approved, but that it would turn to the dishonour of our nation, to suffer it to lye so long waste. Yea, and if some tra-

[x] Lib. major. morb. corp. an animi. Hi non conveniunt, ut diis more majorum sacra faciunt, non ut Jovi primitias offerant, aut Baccho comissationes: sed anniversarius morbus, exasperans Asiam, hue eos coëgit, ut contentiones hic peragant. [y] 1 Cor. 6. 5. 6. [z] Stulti, quando demum sapietis? Psal. 49. 8. [a] Of which text read two learned Sermons, * so intituled, and preached by our Regius Professour, D. Prideaux: printed at London by Fœlix Kingston, 1621. [b] Sæpius bona materia cessat sine artifice. Sabellicus, de Germaniâ. Si quis videret Germaniam urbibus hodie excultam, non diceret, ut olim, tristem cultu, asperam cœlo, terram informem. [c] By his Majesties Attorney General there.

vellers should see (to come neerer home) those rich United Provinces of Holland, Zealand, &c. over against us, those neat cities and populous towns, full of most industrious artificers, [d] so much land recovered from the sea, and so painfully preserved by those artificial inventions, so wonderfully approved, as that of Bemster in Holland, *ut nihil huic par aut simile invenias in toto orbe*, saith Bertius the geographer—all the world cannot match it: [e] so many navigable channels from place to place, made by mens hands, &c. and, on the other side, so many thousand acres of our fens lie drowned, our cities thin, and those vile, poor, and ugly to behold in respect of theirs; our trades decayed, our still running rivers stopped, and that beneficial use of transportation wholly neglected; so many havens void of ships and towns, so many parks and forests for pleasure, barren heaths, so many villages depopulated, &c. I think sure he would find some fault.

I may not deny but that this nation of ours doth *bene audire apud exteros*—is a most noble, a most flourishing kingdom, by common consent of all [f] geographers, historians, politicians: 'tis *unica velut arx*, and which Quintius in Livy said of the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, may be well applyed to us, we are *testudines testâ suâ inclusæ*—like so many tortoises in our shells, safely defended by an angry sea, as a wall, on all sides; our island hath many such honourable elogiums; and, as a learned countrey-man of ours right well hath it, [g] *Ever since the Normans first coming into England, this countrey, both for military matters and all other of civility, hath been parallel'd with the most flourishing kingdoms of Europe, and our Christian world*—a blessed, a rich countrey, and one of the fortunate isles; and, for some things, [h] preferred before other countries, for expert seamen, our laborious discoveries, art of navigation, true merchants—they carry the bell away from all other nations, even the Portugals and Hollanders themselves—[i] *without all fear*, (saith Boterus) *furrowing the ocean winter and summer; and two of their captains, with no less valour than fortune, have sailed round about the world.* [j] We have besides many particular blessings, which our neighbours want—the gospel truly preached, church discipline established, long peace and quietness—free from exactions, foraign fears, invasions, domestical seditions—well manured, [k] fortified by art, and nature, and now most happy in that fortunate union of England and Scotland, which our forefathers have laboured to effect, and desired to see: but, in which we excell all others, a wise, learned, religious king, another Numa, a second Augustus, a true Josiah, most worthy senators, a learned clergy, an obedient commonalty, &c. Yet, amongst many roses, some thistles grow, some bad weeds and enormities, which much disturb the peace of this body politick, eclipse the honour and glory of it, fit to be rooted out, and with all speed to be reformed.

The first is idleness, by reason of which we have many swarms of rogues and beggers, theeves, drunkards, and discontented persons (whom Lycurgus, in Plutarch, calls *morbos reipub.*) the boils of the common-wealth), many poor people in all our towns, *civitates ignobiles*, as [l] Polydore calls them, base built cities, inglorious, poor, small, rare in sight, ruinous, and thin of inhabitants. Our land is fertile (we may not deny), full of all good things; and why doth it not then abound with cities, as well as Italy, France, Germany, the Low-Countreys? because their policy hath been otherwise; and we are not so thrifty, circumspect, industrious. Idleness is the *malus*

[d] As Zeipland, Bemster in Holland, &c. [e] From Gaunt to Sluce, from Bruges to the sea, &c. [f] Ortelius, Boterus, Mercator, Meteranus, &c. [g] Jam inde non belli gloriâ, quam humanitatis cultu, inter florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruit. Camden. Brit. de Normannis. [h] Geog. Keeker. [i] Tam hyeme quam æstate intrepide sulcant oceanum; et duo illorum duces, non minore audaciâ quam *fortunâ*, totius orbem terræ circumnâvigarunt. Amphitheatro Boterus. [j] A fertile soil, good air, *&c. tin, lead, wool, saffron*, &c. [k] Tota Britannia unica velut arx. Boter. [l] Lib. 1. hist.

genius of our nation: for, (as [m] Boterus justly argues) fertility of a countrey is not enough, except art and industry be joyned unto it. (According to Aristotle, riches are either natural or artificial: natural are good land, fair mines, &c. artificial, are manufactures, coines, &c.) Many kingdoms are fertile, but thin of inhabitants, as that duchy of Piedmont in Italy, which Leander Albertus so much magnifies for corn, wine, fruits, &c. yet nothing near so populous as those which are more barren. [n] *England*, saith he, (*London only excepted*) *hath never a populous city, and yet a fruitful countrey.* (I find 46 cities and walled towns in Alsatia, a small province in Germany, 50 castles, an infinite number of villages, no ground idle—no, not rocky places, or tops of hills, are untilled, as [o] Munster informeth us. In [p] Greichgea, a small territory on the Necker, 24 Italian miles over, I read of 20 walled towns, innumerable villages, each one containing 150 houses most part, besides castles and noblemens palaces. I observe, in [q] Turinge in Dutchland, (twelve miles over by their scale) 12 counties, and in them 144 cities, 2000 villages, 144 towns 250 castles—in [r] Bavaria, 34 cities, 46 towns, &c. [s] *Portugallia interamnis*, a small plot of ground, hath 1460 parishes, 130 monasteries, 200 bridges. Malta, a barren island, yields 20000 inhabitants. But of all the rest, I admire Lues Guicciardines relations of the Low-Countries. Holland hath 26 cities, 400 great villages—Zeland, 10 cities, 102 parishes—Brabant, 26 cities, 102 parishes—Flanders, 28 cities, 90 towns, 1154 villages, besides abbies, castles, &c.) The Low-Countries (generally) have three cities at least for one of ours, and those far more populous and rich: and what is the cause, but their industry and excellency in all manner of trades, their commerce, which is maintained by a multitude of tradesmen, so many excellent channels made by art, and opportune havens, to which they build their cities? all which we have in like measure, or at least may have. But their chiefest loadstone, which draws all manner of commerce and merchandise, which maintains their present estate, is not fertility of soyl, but industry that enricheth them: the gold mines of Peru or Nova Hispania may not compare with them. They have neither gold nor silver of their own, wine nor oyl, or scarce any corn growing in those United Provinces, little or no wood, tin, lead, iron, silk, wool, any stuff almost, or mettle; and yet Hungary, Transilvania, that brag of their mines, fertile England, cannot compare with them. I dare boldly say, that neither France, Tarentum, Apulia, Lombardy, or any part of Italy, Valence in Spain, or that pleasant Andalusia, with their excellent fruits, wine, and oyl, two harvests—no, not any part of Europe, is so flourishing, so rich, so populous, so full of good ships, of well built cities, so abounding with all things necessary for the use of man. 'Tis our Indies, an epitome of China, and all by reason of their industry, good policy, and commerce. Industry is a loadstone to draw all good things; that alone makes countries flourish, cities populous, [t] and will enforce, by reason of much manure which necessarily follows, a barren soyl to be fertile and good (as sheep (saith [u] Dion) mend a bad pasture.)

Tell me, politicians, why is the fruitful Palestina, noble Greece, Ægypt, Asia Minor, so much decayed, and (meer carcasses now) faln from that they were? The ground is the same; but the government is altered; the people are grown slothful, idle; their good husbandry, policy, and industry, is decayed. *Non fatigata aut effeta humus;* (as [v] Columella well informs

[m] Increment. urb. lib. 1. cap. 9. [n] Angliæ, excepto Londino, nulla est civitas memorabilis, licet ea ratio rerum omnium copiâ abundet. [o] Cosmog. lib. 3. cap. 119. Villarum non est numerus; nullus locus otiosus, aut incultus. [p] Chytræus, orat. edit. Francof. 1563. [q] Maginus Geog. [r] Ortelius e Vasco et Pet. de Medina. [s] An hundred families in each. [t] Populi multitudo diligenti culturâ fecundat solum. Boter. l. 8. c. 3. [u] Orat. 35. Terra ubi oves stabulantur, optima agricolis ob stercus. [v] De re rust. l. 2. cap. 1.

Sylvinus) *sed nostrâ fit inertiâ*, &c. May a man believe that which Aristotle in his Politicks, Pausanius, Stephanus, Sophianus, Gerbelius, relate of old Greece? I find heretofore 70 cities in Epirus (overthrown by Paulus Æmilius), a goodly province in times past, [w] now left desolate of good towns, and almost inhabitants—62 cities in Macedonia, in Strabo's time. I find 30 in Laconia, but now scarce so many villages, saith Gerbelius. If any man, from Mount Täygetus, should view the countrey round about, and see *tot delicias, tot urbes per Peloponnesum dispersas*, so many delicate and brave built cities, with such cost and exquisite cunning, so neatly set out in Peloponnesus, [x] he should perceive them now ruinous and overthrown, burnt, waste, desolate, and laid level with the ground. *Incredibile dictu, &c.* And as he laments, *Quis, talia fando, Temperet a lacrymis? Quis tam durus aut ferreus*, (so he prosecutes it) who is he that can sufficiently condole and commiserate these ruines? Where are those 4000 cities of Ægypt, those 100 cities in Crete? Are they now come to two? What saith Pliny, and Ælian, of Old Italy? There were, in former ages, 1166 cities: Blondus and Machiavel both grant them now nothing near so populous and full of good towns (as in the time of Augustus (for now Leander Albertus can find but 300 at most), and, if we may give credit to [y] Livy, not then so strong and puissant as of old: *They mustered 70 legions in former times, which now the known world will scarce yield.* Alexander built 70 cities in a short space for his part; our sultans and Turks demolish twice as many, and leave all desolate.) Many will not believe but that our island of Great Britain is now more populous than ever it was: yet let them read Bede, Leland, and others; they shall find it most flourished in the Saxon Heptarchy, and in the Conquerors time was far better inhabited, than at this present. See that *Doomsday*-Book: and shew me those thousands of parishes, which are now decayed, cities ruined, villages depopulated, &c. The lesser the territory is, commonly the richer it is —*parvus, sed bene cultus, ager*—as those Athenian, Lacedæmonian, Arcadian, Elean, Sicyonian, Messenian, &c. commonwealths of Greece make ample proof—as those imperial cities and free states of Germany may witness—those cantons of Switzers, Rhæti, Grisons, Walloons, territories of Tuscany, Lucca and Sienna of old, Piedmont, Mantua, Venice in Italy, Raguse, &c.

That prince, therefore, (as [z] Boterus adviseth) that will have a rich countrey, and fair cities, let him get good trades, privileges, painful inhabitants, artificers, and suffer no rude matter unwrought, as tin, iron, wool, lead, &c. to be transported out of his countrey—[a] a thing in part seriously attempted amongst us, but not effected. And, because industry of men, and multitude of trade, so much avails to the ornament and enriching of a kingdom, (those ancient [b] Massilians would admit no man into their city that had not some trade.) Selym the first Turkish emperour, procured a thousand good artificers to be brought from Tauris to Constantinople. The Polanders indented with Henry duke of Anjou, their new chosen king, to bring with him an hundred families of artificers into Poland. (James the First in Scotland (as [c] Buchanan writes) sent for the best artificers he could get in Europe, and gave them great rewards to teach his subjects their several trades.) Edward the Third, our most renowned king, to his eternal memory, brought cloathing first into this island, transporting some families of artificers from Gaunt hither. How many goodly cities could I reckon up, that thrive wholly by trade, where thousands of inhabitants live singular well

[w] Hodie urbibus desolatur, et magnâ ex parte incolis destituitur. Gerbelius, desc. Græciæ, lib. 6. [x] Videbit eas fere omnes aut eversas, aut solo æquatas, aut in rudera fœdissime dejectas. Gerbelius. [y] Lib. 7. Septuaginta olim legiones scriptæ dicuntur; quas vires hodie, &c. [z] Polit. l. 3. c. 8. [a] *For dying of* cloaths, and dressing, &c. [b] Valer. lib. 2. c. 1. [c] Hist. Scot. lib. 10. Magnis propositis præmiis, ut Scoti ab iis edocerentur.

by their **finger ends**, as Florence in Italy by making cloth of gold; great Millan by **silk**, and all curious works; Arras in Artois by those fair hangings; many **cities in Spain**, many in France, Germany, have none other maintenance, **especially those within the land.** [d] Mecha, in Arabia Petræa, stands in a **most unfruitful countrey**, that wants water, amongst the rocks (as Vertomannus describes it); and yet it is a most elegant and pleasant city, by **reason of the traffick of the east and west.** Ormus, in Persia, is a most famous **mart-town**, hath nought else but the opportunity of the haven to make it **flourish.** Corinth, a noble city, (*lumen Græciæ*, Tully calls it) the eye of **Greece**, by reason of Cenchreas and Lecheus, those excellent ports, drew **all the traffick** of the Ionian and Ægean seas to it; and yet the countrey **about it was** *curva et superciliosa*, (as [e] Strabo terms it) rugged and harsh. **We may say the same of Athens**, Actium, Thebes, Sparta, and most of **those towns in Greece.** Noremberg in Germany (is) sited in a most barren **soil, yet a noble imperial city**, by the sole industry of artificers, and cunning **trades**: they draw the riches of most countreys to them; so expert in **manufactures**, that, as Sallust long since gave out of the like, *sedem animæ in extremis digitis habent*; their soul, or *intellectus agens*, was placed in their fingers ends; and so we may say of Basil, Spire, Cambray, Francfurt, &c. It is almost incredible to speak what some write of Mexico, and the cities adjoyning to it. no place in the world, at their first discovery, more populous. [f] Mat. Riccius the Jesuite, and some others, relate of the industry of the Chinaes most populous countreys, not a beggar, or an idle person to be seen, and how by that means they prosper and flourish. We have the same means—able bodies, pliant wits, matter of all sorts, wool, flax, iron, tin, lead, wood, &c. many excellent subjects to work upon: only industry is wanting. We send our best commodities beyond the seas, which they can make good use of to their necessities, set themselves a work about, and severally improve, sending the same to us back at dear rates, or else make toyes and bables of the tails of them, which they sell to us again, at as great a reckoning as they bought the whole. In most of our cities, some few excepted, like [g] Spanish loyterers, we live wholly by tipling: inns and ale-houses, malting, are their best ploughs; their greatest traffick, to sell ale. [h] Meteran and some others object to us, that we are no whit so industrious as the Hollanders: *Manual trades*, (saith he) *which are more curious or troublesome, are wholly exercised by strangers: they dwell in a sea full of fish; but they are so idle, they will not catch so much as shall serve their own turns, but buy it of their neighbours.* Tush! [i] *Mare liberum*: they fish under our noses, and sell it to us, when they have done, at their own prices.

——— Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli.

I am ashamed to hear this objected by strangers; and know not how to answer it.

Amongst our towns there is only [j] London that bears the face of a city—[k] *epitome Britanniæ*, a famous *emporium*, second to none beyond seas, a noble mart: but *sola crescit, decrescentibus aliis*; and yet, in my slender judgement, defective in many things. The rest ([l] some few excepted) are in mean estate, ruinous most part, poor and full of beggars, by reason of their

[d] Munst. cosm. l. 5. c. 74: Agro omnium rerum infecundissimo, aquâ indigente, inter saxeta, urbs tamen elegantissima, ob orientis negotiationes et occidentis. [e] Lib. 8. Geogr. ob asperum situm. [f] Lib. Edit. a Nic. Tregant. Belg. A. 1616. expedit. in Sinas. [g] Ubi nobiles probri loco habent artem aliquam profiteri. Clenard. ep. l. 1. [h] Lib. 13. Belg. Hist. Non tam laboriosi, ut Belgæ, sed, ut Hispani, otiatores, vitam ut plurimum otiosam agentes: artes manuariæ, quæ plurimum habent in se laboris et difficultatis, majoremque requirunt industriam, a peregrinis et exteris exercentur: habitant in piscosissimo mari; interea tantum non piscantur quam insulæ suffecerit, sed a vicinis emere coguntur. [i] Grotii Liber. [j] Urbs animis numeroque potens, et robore gentis. Scaliger. [k] Camden. [l] York, Bristow, Norwich, Worcester, &c.

decayed trades, neglected or bad policy, idleness of their inhabitants, and riot, which had rather beg or loyter, and be ready to starve, than work.

I cannot deny, but that something may be said in defence of our cities, [m] that they are not so fair built, (for the sole magnificence of this kingdom, concerning buildings, hath been of old in those Norman castles and religious houses) so rich, thick sited, populous, as in some other countreys. (Besides the reasons Cardan gives, (*Subtil. Lib.* 11.) we want wine and oyl, their two harvests; we dwell in a colder air, and, for that cause, must a little more liberally [n] feed of flesh, as all Northern countreys do. Our provision will not therefore extend to the maintenance of so many: yet, notwithstanding, we have matter of all sorts, an open sea of traffick, as well as the rest, goodly havens. And how can we excuse our negligence, our riot, drunkenness, &c. and such enormities that follow it? We have excellent laws enacted, (you will say) severe statutes, houses of correction, &c.—to small purpose, it seems; it is not houses will serve, but cities of correction: [o] our trades generally ought to be reformed, wants supplyed. In other countreys, they have the same grievances, I confess, (but that doth not excuse us) [p] wants, defects, enormities, idle drones, tumults, discords, contention, law-suits, many laws made against them to repress those innumerable brawls and law-suits, excess in apparel, diet, decay of tillage (depopulations,) especially against rogues, beggars, Ægyptian vagabonds (so termed at least) which have [r] swarmed all over Germany, France, Italy, Poland, (as you may read in [s] Munster, Cranzius, and Aventinus) as those Tartars and Arabians at this day do in the eastern countreys—yet, (such hath been the iniquity of all ages) as it seems, to small purpose. *Nemo in nostrâ civitate mendicus esto*, saith Plato: he will have them purged from a [t] common-wealth, [u] *as a bad humour from the body*, that are like so many ulcers and boils, and must be cured before the melancholy body can be eased.

What Carolus Magnus, the Chinese, the Spaniards, the duke of Saxony, and many other states, have decreed in this case, read *Arniseus, cap.* 19. *Boterus, libro* 8, *cap.* 2. *Osorius, de Rebus gest. Eman. lib.* 11 When a country is overstored with people, as a pasture is oft over-laid with cattle, they had wont in former times to disburden themselves, by sending out colonies, or by wars, as those old Romans; or by employing them at home about some public buildings, as bridges, rode-ways, (for which those Romans were famous in this island) as Augustus Cæsar did in Rome, the Spaniards in their Indian mines, as at Potosa in Peru, where some thirty thousand men are still at work, six thousand furnaces ever boyling, &c. [v] aqueducts, bridges, havens, those stupend works of Trajan, Claudius (at [w] Ostium, Diocleciani Thermæ, Fucinus Lacus, that Piræeum in Athens, made by Themistocles, amphitheatrums of curious marble, as at Verona, Civitas Philippi, and Heraclea in Thrace, those Appian and Flaminian wayes, (prodigious works) all may witness; and (rather than they should be [x] idle) as those [y] Ægyptian Pharaohs, Mœris, and Sesostris, did, to task their subjects to build unnecessary pyramids, obelisks, labyrinths, chanels, lakes, gigantian

[m] M. Gainsfords argument, "Because gentlemen dwell with us in the countrey villages, our cities are less," is nothing to the purpose. Put 300 or 400 villages in a shire, and every village yield a gentleman: what is 400 families to encrease one of our cities or to contend with theirs, which stand thicker? and whereas ours usually consist of 7000, theirs consist of 40000 inhabitants. [n] Maxima pars victûs in carne consistit. Polyd. Lib. 1. Hist. [o] Refrænate monopolii licentiam; pauciores alantur otio; redintegretur agricolatio; lanificium instauretur; ut sit honestum negotium, quo se exerceat otiosa illa turba. Nisi his malis medentur, frustra exercent justitiam. Mor. Utop. Lib. 1. [p] Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex. Hor. [q] Regis dignitatis non est exercere imperium in mendicos, sed in opulentos. Non est regni decus, sed carceris esse custos. Idem. [r] Colluvies hominum mirabilis, excocti sole, immundi veste, fœdi visu, furtis imprimis acres, &c. [s] Cosmog. lib. 3. c. 5. [t] Seneca. Haud minus turpia principi multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera. [u] Ut pituitam et bilem a corpore, (11. de leg.) omnes vult exterminari. [v] See Lipsius, Admiranda. [w] De quo Suet. in Claudio; et Plinius, c. 36. [x] Ut egestati simul et ignaviæ occurratur, opificia condiscantur, tenues subleventur. Bodin. l. 6. c. 2. num. 6, 7. [y] Amasis, Ægypti rex, legem promulgavit, ut omnes subditi quotannis rationem redderent unde viverent.

works all, to divert them from rebellion, riot, drunkenness; *& quo scilicet alantur, et ne vagando laborare desuescant.*

Another eye-sore is that want of conduct and navigable rivers,—a great blemish, (as [a] Boterus, [b] Hippolytus a Collibus, and other politicians hold) if it be neglected in a common-wealth. Admirable cost and charge is bestowed in the Low-Countreys on this behalf, in the Duchy of Milan, territory of Padua, in [c] France, Italy, China, and so likewise about corrivations of waters, to moisten and refresh barren grounds, to drean fens, bogs, and moors. Massinissa made many inward parts of Barbary and Numidia in Africk (before his time incult and horrid) fruitful and bartable by this means. Great industry is generally used all over the eastern countreys in this kind, especially in Egypt, about Babylon and Damascus, as (Vertomannus and [d] Gotardus Arthus relate) about Barcelona, Segovia, Murcia, and many other places of Spain, Milan in Italy: by reason of which, their soil is much improved, and infinite commodities arise to the inhabitants.

The Turks of late attempted to cut that Isthmos betwixt Africk and Asia, which (Sesostris and Darius, and some Pharaohs of Egypt had formerly undertaken) but with ill success (as [f] Diodorus Siculus records, and Pliny); for that the Red-sea, being three [g] cubits higher than Ægypt, would have drowned all the country, *cæpto destiterant*, they left off. Yet (as the same [h] Diodorus writes) Ptolemy renewed the work many years after, and absolved it in a more opportune place.

That Isthmos of Corinth was likewise undertaken to be made navigable by Demetrius, by Julius Cæsar, Nero, Domitian, Herodes Atticus, to make a speedy [i] passage, and less dangerous, from the Ionian and Ægæan seas: but, because it could not be so well effected, the Peloponnesians built a wall, like our Picts wall, about Schœnus, where Neptunes temple stood, and in the shortest cut over the Isthmos, (of which Diodorus, lib. 11. Herodotus, lib. 8. Uran.—our later writers call it Hexamilium) which Amurath the Turk demolished, the Venetians, anno 1453, repaired in fifteen days with thirty thousand men. Some, saith Acosta, would have a passage cut from Panama to Nombre de Dios in America: but Thuanus and Serres, the French historians, speak of a famous aqueduct in France, intended in Henry the Fourths time, from the Loyr to the Seine, and from Rhodanus to Loyr, the like to which was formerly assayed by Domitian the emperour, from Arar to Mosella, (which Cornelius Tacitus speaks of in the thirteenth of his Annals,) after by Charles the great, and others. Much cost hath in former times been bestowed in either new making or mending chanels of rivers, and their passages, (as Aurelianus did by Tiber to make it navigable to Rome, to convey corn from Ægypt to the city; *vadum alvei tumentis effodit*, saith Vopiscus, *et Tiberis ripas extruxit*; he cut fords, made banks, &c.) decayed havens, which Claudius the emperour, with infinite pains and charges, attempted at Ostia, (as I have said) the Venetians at this day, to preserve their city. Many excellent means, to enrich their territories, have been fostered, invented in most provinces of Europe, as planting some Indian plants amongst us; silk-worms; [k] the very mulberry leaves in the plains of Granado yield thirty thousand crowns *per annum* to the king of Spains coffers, besides those many trades and artificers that are busied about them (in the kingdom of Granado, Murcia, and all over Spain.) In

[a] Buscoldus, discursu polit. cap. 2. [b] Lib. 1. de increm. urb. cap. 6. [c] Cap. 5. de increm. urb. Quas flumen, lacus, aut mare, illuit. [d] Incredibilem commoditatem, vecturâ mercium, tres fluvii navigabiles, &c. Boterus, de Galliâ. [f] Herodotus. [g] Ind. Orient. cap. 2. Rotam in medio flumine constituunt, cui ex pellibus animalium consutos utres appendunt: hi, dum rota movetur, aquam per canales, &c. [h] Centum pedes lata fossa, 30 alta. [i] Contrary to that of Archimedes, who holds the superficies of all waters even. [k] Lib. 1. cap. 3. [l] Dion. Pausanius, et Nic. Gerbelius, Munster. Cosm. lib. 4. cap. 36. Ut brevior foret navigatio, et minus periculosa. [m] Charles the great went about to make a channel from Rhine to Danubius. Bil. Pirkimerus, descript. Ger. the ruines are yet seen about Wessenberg, from Reduich to Altemul. Ut navigabilia inter se Occidentis et Septentrionis litora ferent. [n] Maginus, Geogr. Simlerus, de rep. Helvet. lib. 1. descript.

France, a great benefit is raised by salt, &c. Whether these things might not be as happily attempted with us, and with like success, it may be controverted—silk-worms (I mean), vines, fir-trees, &c. Cardan exhorts Edward the Sixth to plant olives, and is fully perswaded they would prosper in this island. With us, navigable rivers are most part neglected. Our streams are not great, I confess, by reason of the narrowness of the island: yet they run smoothly and even, not headlong, swift, or amongst rocks and shelves, as foaming Rhodanus and Loyre in France, Tigris in Mesopotamia, violent Durius in Spain, with cataracts and whirl-pools, as the Rhine and Danubius, about Schafhausen, Lausenburgh, Linz, and Cremmes, to endanger navigators; or broad shallow, as Neckar in the Palatinate, Tibris in Italy; but calm and fair as Arar in France, Hebrus in Macedonia, Eurotas in Laconia; they gently glide along, and might as well be repaired, many of them, (I mean Wie, Trent, Ouse, Thamisis at Oxford, the defect of which we feel in the mean time) as the river of Lee from Ware to London. B. Atwater of old, or (as some will) Henry the first, [l] made a channel from Trent to Lincoln, navigable; which now, saith Mr. Cambden, is decayed: and much mention is made of anchors, and such like monuments, found about old [m] Verulamium: good ships have formerly come to Exeter, and many such places, whose chanels, havens, ports, are now barred and rejected. We contemn this benefit of carriage by waters, and are therefore compelled, in the inner parts of this island, because portage is so dear, to eat up our commodities ourselves, and live like so many boars in a sty, for want of vent and utterance.

We have many excellent havens, royal havens, Falmouth, Portsmouth, Milford, &c. equivalent, if not to be preferred, to that Indian Havana, old Brundusium in Italy, Aulis in Greece, Ambracia in Acarnania, Suda in Crete, —which have few ships in them, little or no traffick or trade, which have scarce a village on them, able to bear great cities: *sed viderint politici.* I could here justly tax many other neglects, abuses, errors, defects among us, and in other countreys—depopulations, riot, drunkenness, &c. and many such, *quæ nunc in aurem susurrare non libet.* But I must take heed, *nequid gravius dicam*, that I do not overshoot my self—*Sus Minervum*—I am forth of my element, as you peradventure suppose; and sometimes *veritas odium parit*, as he said; *verjuice and oatmeal is good for a parret:* for, as Lucian said of an historian, I say of a politician, he that will freely speak and write, must be for ever no subject, under no prince or law, but lay out the matter truly as it is, not caring what any can, will, like or dislike.

We have good laws, (I deny not) to rectifie such enormities; and so in all other countreys; but, it seems, not alwayes to good purpose. We had need of some general visitor in our age that should reform what is amiss—a just army of Rosie-cross men; for they will amend all matters, (they say) religion, policy, manners, with arts, sciences, &c.—another Attila, Tamberlane, Hercules, to strive with Acheloüs, *Augeæ stabulum purgare*, to subdue tyrants, as [n] he did Diomedes and Busiris; to expel thieves, as he did Cacus and Lacinius; to vindicate poor captives, as he did Hesione; to pass the torrid zone, the desarts of Libya, and purge the world of monsters and Centaures—or another Theban Crates to reform our manners, to compose quarrels and controversies, as in his time he did, and was therefore adored for a god in Athens. *As Hercules [o] purged the world of monsters, and subdued them, so did he fight against envy, lust, anger, avarice, &c. and all those*

[l] Camden in Lincolnshire. Fossedike. [m] Near S. Albons. [n] Lisius Girald. Nat. Comes. [o] Apuleius, lib. 4. Flor. Lar, familiaris inter homines ætatis suæ cultus est, litium omnium et jurgiorum inter propinquos arbiter et disceptator. Adversus iracundiam, invidiam, avaritiam, libidinem, cæteraque animi humani vitia et monstra philosophus iste Herculeis fuit. Pestes eas mentibus exegit *omnes*, &c.

feral vices and monsters of the mind. It were to be wished we had some such visitor, or (if wishing would serve) one had such a ring or rings, as Timolaüs desired in [o]Lucian, by vertue of which he should be as strong as ten thousand men, or an army of gyants, go invisible, open gates and castle doors, have what treasure he would, transport himself in an instant to what place he desired, alter affections, cure all manner of diseases, that he might range over the world, and reform all distressed states and persons, as he would himself. He might reduce those wandering Tartars in order, that infest China on the one side, Muscovy, Poland, on the other; and tame the vagabond Arabians that rob and spoil those eastern countreys, that they should never use more caravans, or janizaries to conduct them. He might root out barbarism out of America, and fully discover *Terra Australis Incognita;* find out the north-east and north-west passages; drean those mighty Mæotian fens; cut down those vast Hercynian woods, irrigate those barren Arabian desarts, &c. cure us of our epidemical diseases, *scorbutum, plica, morbus Neapolitanus, &c.* end all our idle controversies; cut off our tumultuous desires, inordinate lusts; root out atheism, impiety, heresie, schism and superstition, which now so crucifie the world; catechise gross ignorance, purge Italy of luxury and riot, Spain of superstition and jealousie, Germany of drunkenness, all our northern countreys of gluttony and intemperance; castigate our hard-hearted parents, masters, tutors; lash disobedient children, negligent servants; correct these spendthrifts and prodigal sons; enforce idle persons to work; drive drunkards off the ale-house; repress thieves, visit corrupt and tyrannizing magistrates, &c. But, as L. Licinius taxed Timolaüs, you may us. These are vain, absurd, and ridiculous wishes, not to be hoped: all must be as it is. [p]Boccalinus may cite common-wealths to come before Apollo, and seek to reform the world it self by commissioners; but there is no remedy; it may not be redressed: *desinent homines tum demum stultescere, quando esse desinent:* so long as they can wag their beards, they will play the knaves and fools.

Because, therefore, it is a thing so difficult, impossible, and far beyond Hercules labours to be performed, let [s]hem be rude, stupid, ignorant, incult: *lapis super lapidem sedeat;* and as the [q]apologist will, *resp. tussi et graveolentiâ laboret, mundus vitio;* let them be barbarous as they are; let them [r]tyrannize, epicurize, oppress, luxuriate, consume themselves with factions, superstitions, law-suits, wars and contentions, live in riot, poverty, want, misery; rebel, wallow as so many swine in their own dung, with Ulysses companions; *stultos jubeo esse libenter.* I will yet, to satisfie and please my self, make an Utopia of mine own, a new Atlantis, a poetical common-wealth of mine own, in which I will freely domineer, build cities, make laws, statutes, as I list my self. And why may I not?——[t]*pictoribus atque poëtis, &c* You know what liberty poets ever had; and, besides, my predecessor Democritus was a politician, a recorder of Abdera, a law-maker, as some say; and why may not I presume so much as he did? However I will adventure. For the site, if you will needs urge me to it, I am not fully resolved: it may be in *Terra Australis Incognita;* there is room enough (for, of my knowledge, neither that hungry Spaniard,[t] nor Mercurius Britannicus, have yet discovered half of it), or else one of those floating islands in *Mare del Zur*, which, like the Cyanean isles in the Euxine sea, alter their place, and are accessible only at set times, and to some few persons; or one of the Fortunate isles; for who knows yet where, or which they are? There is room enough in the inner parts of America, and northern coasts of Asia. But I

[o] Votis Navig. [p] Ragguaglio, part 2. cap. 2. et part 3. c. 17. [q] Velent. Andreæ Apolog. manip. 604. [s] Qui sordidus est, sordescat adhuc. [t] Hor. [t] Ferdinando Quir. 1612.

will choose a site, whose latitude shall be 45 degrees (I respect not minutes), in the midst of the temperate zone, or (perhaps) under the æquator (that [u] paradise of the world, *ubi semper virens laurus, &c.* where is a perpetual spring.) The longitude, for some reasons, I will conceal. (Yet *be it known to all men by these presents*, that if any honest gentleman will send in so much money, as Cardan allows an astrologer for casting a nativity, he shall be a sharer; I will acquaint him with my project; or, if any worthy man will stand for any temporal or spiritual office, or dignity, (for, as he said of his archbishoprick of Utopia, 'tis *sanctus ambitus*, and not amiss to be sought after) it shall be freely given, without all intercessions, bribes, letters, &c. his own worth shall be the best spokesman: and (because we shall admit of no deputies or advowsons) if he be sufficiently qualified, and as able as willing to execute the place himself, he shall have present possession.) It shall be divided into twelve (or thirteen) provinces; and those, by hills, rivers, rode-wayes, or some more eminent limits, exactly bounded. Each province shall have a metropolis, which shall be so placed as a center almost in a circumference, and the rest at equal distances, some twelve (Italian) miles asunder, or thereabout; and in them shall be sold all things necessary for the use of man, (*statis horis et diebus*:) no market-towns, markets or fairs; for they do but beggar cities (no village shall stand above six, seven, or eight miles from a city) except those emporiums which are by the sea side, general staples, marts, as Antwerp, Venice, Bergen of old, London, &c. Cities, most part, shall be situate upon navigable rivers or lakes, creeks, havens—and, for their form, regular, round, square, or long square,[v] with fair, broad, and straight [w] streets, houses uniform, built of brick and stone, like Bruges, Bruxels, Rhegium, Lepidi, Berna in Switzerland, Milan, Mantua, Crema, Cambalu in Tartary described by M. Polus, or that Venetian Palma. I will admit very few or no suburbs, and those of baser building, walls only to keep out man and horse, except it be in some frontier towns, or by the sea side, and those to be fortified [x] after the latest manner of fortification, and site upon convenient havens, or opportune places. (In every so built city, I will have convenient churches, and separate places to bury the dead in, not in church-yards—a citadella (in some, not all) to command it, prisons for offenders, opportune market-places of all sorts, for corn, meat, cattle, fuel, fish, &c. commodious courts of justice, public halls for all societies, burses, meeting places, armories, [y] in which shall be kept engines for quenching fire, —artillery gardens, publick walks, theaters, and spacious fields allotted for all gymnicks, sports, and honest recreations,—hospitals of all kinds for children, orphans, old folks, sick men, mad men, souldiers—pest-houses, &c. (not built *precario*, or by gowty benefactors, who, when by fraud and rapine they have extorted all their lives, oppressed whole provinces, societies, &c. give something to pious uses, build a satisfactory alms-house, school, or bridge, &c. at their last end, or before perhaps; which is no otherwise than to steal a goose, and stick down a feather, rob a thousand to relieve ten) and those hospitals so built and maintained, not by collections, benevolences, donaries, for a set number, (as in ours) just so many and no more at such a rate, but for all those who stand in need, be they more or less, and that *ex publico ærario*, and so still maintained: *non nobis solum nati sumus, &c.* I will have conduits of sweet and good water, aptly disposed in each town, common [z] granaries, as at Dresden in Misnia, Stetein in Pomerland, Noremberg, &c. colleges of mathematicians, musicians, and actors, as of

[u] Vide Acosta et Laet. [v] Vide Patritium, lib. 8. tit. 10. de Instit. Reip. [w] Sic olim Hippodamus Milesius. Arist. polit. c. 11. et Vitruvius, l. 1. c. ult. [x] With walls of earth, &c. [y] De his, Plin. epist. 42. lib. 10. et Tacit. Annal. 13. lib. [z] Vide Brisonium, de regno Pers. lib. 3. de his, et Vegetium, lib. 2. cap. 3. de Annonâ.

old at Lebedum in Ionia, [b] alchymists, physicians, artists and philosophers: that all arts and sciences may sooner be perfected and better learned; and publick historiographers, (as amongst those antient [c] Persians, *qui in commentarios referebant quæ memoratu digna gerebantur*) informed and appointed by the state to register all famous acts, and not by each insufficient scribler, partial or parasitical pedant, as in our times. I will provide publick schools, of all kinds, singing, dancing, fencing, &c. especially of [d] grammar and languages, not to be taught by those tedious precepts ordinarily used, but by use, example, conversation, as travellers learn abroad, and nurses teach their children. As I will have all such places, so will I ordain [e] publick governours, fit officers to each place, treasurers, ædiles, quæstors, overseers of pupils, widows goods, and all publick houses, &c. and those, once a year, to make strict accounts of all receipts, expences, to avoid confusion; *et sic fiet ut non absumant*, (as Pliny to Trajan) *quod pudeat dicere*. They shall be subordinate to those higher officers, and governours of each city, which shall not be poor tradesmen, and mean artificers, but noblemen and gentlemen, which shall be tyed to residence in those towns they dwell next, at such set times and seasons; for I see no reason (which [f] Hippolytus complains of) *that it should be more dishonourable for noblemen to govern the city, than the countrey, or unseemly to dwell there now, than of old.* [g] I will have no bogs, fens, marishes, vast woods, desarts, heaths, commons, but all inclosed (yet not depopulated, and therefore take heed you mistake me not); for that which is common, and every mans, is no mans: the richest countreys are still inclosed, as Essex, Kent, with us, &c. Spain, Italy; and where inclosures are least in quantity, they are best [h] husbanded, as about Florence in Italy, Damascus in Syria, &c. which are liker gardens than fields. I will not have a barren acre in all my territories, no not so much as the tops of mountains: where nature fails, it shall be supplyed by art: [i] lakes and rivers shall not be left desolate. All common high-wayes, bridges, banks, corrivations of waters, aqueducts, chanels, publick works, buildings, &c. out of a [j] common stock, curiously maintained and kept in repair; no depopulations, ingrossings, alterations of wood, arable, but by the consent of some supervisors, that shall be appointed for that purpose, to see what reformation ought to be had in all places, what is amiss, how to help it; *Et quid quæque ferat regio, et quid quæque recuset;* what ground is aptest for wood, what for corn, what for cattle, gardens, orchards, fishponds, &c. with a charitable division in every village, (not one domineering house greedily to swallow up all, which is too common with us) what for lords, [k] what for tenants: and because they shall be better encouraged to improve such lands they hold, manure, plant trees, drean, fence, &c. they shall have long leases, a known rent, and known fine, to free them from those intolerable exactions of tyrannizing landlords. These supervisors shall likewise appoint what quantity of land in each manor is fit

[b] Not to make gold, but for matters of physick. [c] Bresonius. Josephus, lib. 21. antiq. Jud. cap. 6. Herod. lib. 3. [d] So Lud. Vives thinks best, Comminius, and others. [e] Plato 3. de leg. Ædiles creari vult, qui fora, fontes, vias, portus, plateas, et id genus alia procurent.—Vide Isaacum Pontanum, de civ. Amstel. hæc omnia, &c. Gotardum et alios. [f] De increm. urb. cap. 13. Ingenue fateor me non intelligere cur ignobilius sit urbes bene munitas colere nunc quam olim, aut casæ rusticæ præesse quam urbi. Idem Ubertus Foliot, de Neapoli. [g] Ne tantillum quidem soli incultum relinquitur: ut verum sit ne pollicem quidem agri in his regionibus sterilem aut infecundum reperiri. Marcus Heningius, Augustanus, de regno Chinæ, l. 1. c. 3. [h] M. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, saith, that, before that countrey was inclosed, the husbandmen drank water, did eat little or no bread, fol. 66. lib. 1. their apparel was coarse; they went bare-legged; their dwelling was correspondent; but since inclosure, they live decently, and have money to spend: (fol. 23.) when their fields were common, their wooll was coarse Cornish hair: but, since inclosure, it is almost as good as Cotswol, and their soil much mended. Tusser, c. 52. of his Husbandry, is of his opinion, one acre inclosed is worth three common. The countrey inclosed I praise: The other delighteth not me; For nothing of wealth it doth raise, &c. [i] Incredibilis navigiorum copia: nihilo pauciores in aquis quam in continenti commorantur. M. Riccius, expedit. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 3. [j] To this purpose, Arist. polit. 2. c. 6. allows a third part of their revenews, Hippodamus half. [k] Ita lex agraria olim Romæ.

for the lords demesns, what for holding of tenants, how it ought to be husbanded, (*Ut Magnetes equis, Minyæ, gens cognita remis,*) how to be manured, tilled, rectified, [m] and what proportion is fit for all callings, because private possessors are many times idiots, ill husbands, oppressors, covetous, and know not how to improve their own, or else wholly respect their own, and not publick good.

Utopian parity is a kind of government, to be wished for, [n] rather than effected, *Respub. Christianopolitana*, Campanellas City of the Sun, and that new Atlantis, witty fictions, but meer chimeras: and Platos community in many things is impious, absurd and ridiculous; it takes away all splendor and magnificence. I will have several orders, degrees of nobility, and those [o] hereditary, not rejecting younger brothers in the mean time; for they shall be sufficiently provided for by pensions, or so qualified, brought up in some honest calling, they shall be able to live of themselves. I will have such a proportion of ground belonging to every barony: he that buyes the land, shall buy the barony: he that by riot consumes his patrimony, and antient demesns, shall forfeit his honours. As some dignities shall be hereditary, so some again by election or gift (besides free offices, pensions, annuities) like our bishopricks, prebends, the Bassas palaces in Turky, the [p] procurators houses, and offices in Venice, which (like the golden apple) shall be given to the worthiest and best deserving both in war and peace, as a reward of their worth and good service, as so many goals for all to aim at, (*honos alit artes*) and encouragements to others. For I hate those severe, unnatural, harsh, German, French, and Venetian decrees, which exclude plebeians from honours: be they never so wise, rich, vertuous, valiant, and well qualified, they must not be patritians, but keep their own rank: this is *naturæ bellum inferre*, odious to God and men; I abhor it. My form of government shall be monarchical;

> (——— [q] nunquam libertas gratior exstat,
> Quam sub rege pio, &c.,

few laws, but those severely kept, plainly put down, and in the mother tongue, that every man may understand. Every city shall have a peculiar trade or privilege, by which it shall be chiefly maintained: [r] and parents shall teach their children, (one of three at least) bring up and instruct them in the mysteries of their own trade. In each town, these several tradesmen shall be so aptly disposed, as they shall free the rest from danger or offence. Fire-trades, as smiths, forge-men, brewers, bakers, metal-men, &c. shall dwell apart by themselves; dyers, tanners, fel-mongers, and such as use water, in convenient places by themselves: noisome or fulsome for bad smells, as butchers slaughter-houses, chandlers, curriers, in remote places, and some back lanes. Fraternities and companies I approve of, as merchants burses, colleges of druggers, physicians, musicians, &c. but all trades to be rated in the sale of wares, as our clerks of the market do bakers and brewers; corn it self, what scarcity soever shall come, not to exceed such a price. Of such wares as are transported or brought in, [s] if they be necessary, commodious, and such as nearly concern mans life, as corn, wood, cole, &c. and such provision we cannot want, I will have little or no custom paid, no taxes; but for such things as are for pleasure, delight, or ornament, as wine, spice, tobacco, silk, velvet, cloth of gold, lace, jewels, &c. a greater

[l] Lucanus, l. 6. [m] Hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvæ; Arborei fetus alibi, atque injussa virescunt Gramina. Virg. 1, Georg. [n] Joh. Valent. Andreas, Lord Verulam. [o] So is it in the kingdom of Naples, and France. [p] See Contarenus and Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis. [q] Claudian, l. 7. [r] Herodotus, Erato l. 6. Cum Ægyptiis Lacedæmonii in hoc congruunt, quod eorum præcones, tibicines, coqui, et reliqui artifices, in paterno artificio succedunt, et coquus a coquo gignitur, et paterno opere perseverat. Idem Marcus Polus, de Quinzay. Idem Osorius, de Emanuele rege Lusitano. Riccius, de Sinis. [s] Hippol. a Collibus, de increm. urb. c. 20. Plat. 7. de legibus. Quæ *ad vitam necessaria*, et quibus carere non possumus, nullum dependi vectigal, &c.

impost. I will have certain ships sent out for new discoveries every year, [t] and some discreet men appointed to travel into all neighbour kingdoms by land, which shall observe what artificial inventions and good laws are in other countreys, customs, alterations, or ought else, concerning war or peace, which may tend to the common good;—ecclesiastical discipline, *penes episcopos*, subordinate as the other: no impropriations, no lay patrons of church-livings, or one private man, but common societies, corporations, &c. and those rectors of benefices to be chosen out of the universities, examined and approved as the *literati* in China. No parish to contain above a thousand auditors. If it were possible, I would have such priests as should imitate Christ, charitable lawyers should love their neighbours as themselves, temperate and modest physicians, politicians contemn the world, philosophers should know themselves, noblemen live honestly, tradesmen leave lying and cozening, magistrates corruption, &c. But this is impossible; I must get such as I may. I will therefore have [u] of lawyers, judges, advocates, physicians, chyrurgions, &c. a set number; [v] and every man, if it be possible, to plead his own cause, to tell that tale to the judge, which he doth to his advocate, as at Fez in Africk, Bantam, Aleppo, Raguse, *suam quisque caussam dicere tenetur;*— those advocates, chyrurgions, and [w] physicians, which are allowed to be maintained out of the [x] common treasure; no fees to be given or taken, upon pain of losing their places; or, if they do, very small fees, and when [y] the cause is fully ended. [z] He that sues any man shall put in a pledge, which if it be proved he hath wrongfully sued his adversary, rashly or malitiously, he shall forfeit and lose. Or else, before any suit begin, the plaintiff shall have his complaint approved by a set delegacy to that purpose: if it be of moment, he shall be suffered, as before, to proceed; if otherwise, they shall determine it. All causes shall be pleaded *suppresso nomine*, the parties names concealed, if some circumstances do not otherwise require. Judges and other officers shall be aptly disposed in each province, villages, cities, as common arbitrators to hear causes, and end all controversies; and those not single, but three at least on the bench at once, to determine or give sentence; and those again to sit by turns or lots, and not to continue still in the same office. No controversie to depend above a year, but, without all delayes and further appeals, to be speedily dispatched, and finally concluded in that time allotted. These and all other inferiour magistrates, to be chosen [a] as the *literati* in China, or by those exact suffrages of the [b] Venetians; and such again not be eligible, or capable of magistracies, honours, offices, except they be sufficiently [c] qualified for learning, manners, and that by the strict approbation of deputed examinators: [d] first, scholars to take place, then souldiers; for I am of Vegetius his opinion, a scholar deserves better than a souldier, because *unius ætatis sunt quæ fortiter fiunt, quæ vero pro utilitate reipub. scribuntur, æterna:* a souldiers work lasts for an age, a scholars for ever. If they [e] misbehave themselves, they shall be deposed, and accordingly

[t] Plato, 12. de legibus, 40 annos natos vult, ut, si quid memorabile viderint apud exteros, hoc ipsum in respub. recipiatur. [u] Simlerus, in Helvetiâ. [v] Utopienses caussidicos excludunt qui caussas callide et vafre tractent et disputent. Iniquissimum censent hominem ullis obligari legibus, quæ aut numerosiores sunt quam ut perlegi queant, aut obscuriores quam ut a quovis possint intelligi. Volunt ut suam quisque caussam agat, eamque referat judici quam narraturus fuerat patrono: sic minus erit ambagum, et veritas facilius elicietur. Mor. Utop. l. 2. [w] Medici ex publico victum sumunt. Boter. l. 1. c. 5. de Ægyptiis. [x] De his, lege Patrit. l. 3. tit. 8. de reip. Instit. [y] Nihil a clientibus patroni accipiunt, priusquam lis finita est. Barcl. Argen. lib. 3. [z] It is so in most free cities in Germany. [a] Matt. Riccius, exped. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 5, de examinatione electionum copiose agit, &c. [b] Contar. de repub. Venet. l. 1. [c] Osor. l. 11. de reb. gest. Eman. Qui in literis maximos progressus fecerint, maximis honoribus afficiuntur; secundus honoris gradus militibus assignatur; postremi ordinis mechanicis. Doctorum hominum judiciis in altiorem locum quisque præfertur: et qui a plurimis approbatur, ampliores in rep. dignitates consequitur. Qui in hoc examine primas habet, insigni per totam vitam dignitate insignitur, marchioni similis, aut duci, apud nos. [d] Cedant arma togæ. [e] As in Bernâ, Lucerne, Friburge in Switzerland, a vitious liver is incapable of any office; if a senator, instantly deposed. Simlerus.

punished; and, whether their offices be annual [f] or otherwise, once a year they shall be called in question, and give an account: for men are partial and passionate, merciless, covetous, corrupt, subject to love, hate, fear, favour, &c. *omne sub regno graviore regnum.* Like Solons Areopagites, or those Roman censors, some shall visit others, and [g] be visited *invicem* themselves; [h] they shall oversee that no proling officer, under colour of authority, shall insult over his inferiors, as so many wild beasts, oppress, domineer, fley, grinde, or trample on, be partial or corrupt, but that there be *æquabile jus*, justice equally done, live as friends and brethren together; and (which [i] Sesellius would have and so much desires in his kingdom of France) *a diapason and sweet harmony of kings, princes, nobles, and plebeians, so mutually tyed and involved in love, as well as laws and authority, as that they never disagree, insult, or incroach one upon another.* If any man deserve well in his office, he shall be rewarded;

> ——quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
> Præmia si tollas?——

He that invents any thing for publick good in any art or science, writes a treatise, [j] or performs any noble exploit at home or abroad, [k] shall be accordingly enriched, [l] honoured, and preferred. I say, with Hannibal in Ennius, *Hostem qui feriet mihi erit Carthaginiensis:* let him be of what condition he will, in all offices, actions, he that deserves best shall have best.

Tilianus in Philonius, (out of a charitable mind no doubt) wisht all his books were gold and silver, jewels and precious stones, [m] to redeem captives, set free prisoners, and relieve all poor distressed souls that wanted means: religiously done, I deny not; but to what purpose? Suppose this were so well done, within a little after, though a man had Crœsus wealth to bestow, there would be as many more. Wherefore I will suffer no [n] beggars, rogues, vagabonds, or idle persons at all, that cannot give an account of their lives, how they maintain [o] themselves. If they be impotent, lame, blind, and single, they shall be sufficiently maintained in several hospitals, built for that purpose; if married and infirm, past work, or, by inevitable loss or some such like misfortune, cast behind,—by distribution of [p] corn, houserent free, annual pensions or money, they shall be relieved, and highly rewarded for their good service they have formerly done: if able, they shall be enforced to work. [q] *For I see no reason* (as [r] he said) *why an epicure or idle drone, a rich glutton, a usurer, should live at ease, and do nothing, live in honour, in all manner of pleasures, and oppress others, when as, in the mean time, a poor labourer, a smith, a carpenter, an husbandman—that hath spent his time in continual labour, as an asse to carry burdens, to do the common-wealth good, and without whom we cannot live—shall be left in his old age to begg or starve, and lead a miserable life, worse than a jument.*

[f] Not above three years, Aristot. polit. 5. c. 8. [g] Nam quis custodiet ipsos custodes? [h] Cyreus, in Greisgeia. Qui non ex sublimi despiciant inferiores, nec ut bestias conculcent sibi subditos, auctoritatis nomini confisi, &c. [i] Sesellius de rep. Gallorum, lib. 1. et 2. [j] Si quis egregium aut bello aut pace perfecerit. Sesel. l. 1. [k] Ad regendam rempub. soli literati admittuntur; nec ad eam rem gratiâ magistratuum aut regis indigent; omnia ab exploratâ cujusque scientiâ et virtute pendent. Riccius, l. 1. c. 5. [l] In defuncti locum eum jussit subrogari, qui inter majores virtute reliquis præiret; non fuit apud mortales ullum excellentius certamen, aut cujus victoria magis esset expetenda; non enim inter celeres, celerrimo, non inter robustos, robustissimo, &c. [m] Nullum videres vel in hac vel in vicinis regionibus pauperem, nullum obæratum, &c. [n] Nullus mendicus apud Sinas; nemini sano, quamvis oculis orbatus sit, mendicare permittitur: omnes pro viribus labore coguntur; cæci molis trusatilibus versandis addicuntur: soli hospitiis gaudent, qui ad labores sunt inepti. Osor. l. 11. de reb. gest. Eman. Heming de reg. Chin. l. 1. c. 3. Gotard. Arth. Orient. Ind. descr. [o] Alex. ab Alex. 3. c. 12. [p] Sic olim Romæ. Isaac. Pontan. de his optime. Amstol. l. 2. c. 9. [p] Idem. Aristot. pol. 5. c. 8. Vitiosum, quum soli pauperum liberi educantur ad labores, nobilium, et divitum in voluptatibus et deliciis. [r] Quæ hæc injustitia, ut nobilis quispiam, aut fœnerator, qui nihil agat, lautam et splendidam vitam agat, otio et deliciis, quum interim auriga, faber, agricola, quo respub. carere non potest, vitam adeo miseram ducat, ut pejor quam jumentorem sit ejus conditio? Iniqua resp. quæ dat parasitis, adulatoribus, inanium voluptatum artificibus, generosis et otiosis, tanta munera *prodigit, ut contra* agricolis, carbonariis, aurigis, fabris, &c. nihil prospicit, sed eorum abusa labore *florentis ætatis, fame penset et ærumnis.* Mor. Utop. l. 2.

As [s]all conditions shall be tied to their task, so none shall be over-tired, but have their set times of recreations and holidayes, *indulgere genio*, feasts and merry meetings, even to the meanest artificer, or basest servant, once a week to sing or dance, (though not all at once) or do whatsoever he shall please, (like [t]that *Saccarii festii* amongst the Persians, those Saturnals in Rome) as well as his master. [u]If any be drunk, he shall drink no more wine or strong drink in a twelve moneth after. A bankrupt shall be [v]*catademiatus in amphitheatro*, publickly shamed; and he that cannot pay his debts, if by riot or negligence he hath been impoverished, shall be for a twelve moneth imprisoned; if in that space his creditours be not satisfied, [w]he shall be hanged. He [x]that commits sacrilege, shall lose his hands; he that bears false-witness, or is of perjury convict, shall have his tongue cut out, except he redeem it with his head. Murder, [y]adultery, shall be punished by death, [z]but not theft, except it be some more grievous offence, or notorious offenders: otherwise they shall be condemned to the gallies, mines, be his slaves whom they offended, during their lives. I hate all hereditary slaves, and that *duram Persarum legem*, as [a]Brisonius calls it; or as [b]Ammianus, *impendio formidatas et abominandas leges, per quas, ob noxam unius, omnis propinquitas perit*: hard law, that wife and children, friends and allies, should suffer for the fathers offence!

No man shall marry until he [c]be 25, no woman till she be 20, [d]*nisi aliter dispensatum fuerit.* If one [e]die, the other party shall not marry till six months after; and, because many families are compelled to live niggardly, exhaust and undone by great dowers, [f]none shall be given at all, or very little, and that by supervisors, rated: they that are foul shall have a greater portion; if fair, none at all, or very little; [g]however, not to exceed such a rate as those supervisors shall think fit. And when once they come to those years, poverty shall hinder no man from marriage, or any other respect; [h]but all shall be rather inforced than hindered, [i]except they be [j]dismembred, or grievously deformed, infirm, or visited with some enormous hereditary disease, in body or mind: in such cases, upon a great pain or mulct, [k]man or woman shall not marry; other order shall be taken for them to their content. If people over-abound, they shall be eased by [l]colonies.

[m]No man shall wear weapons in any city. The same attire shall be kept, and that proper to several callings, by which they shall be distinguished. [n]*Luxus funerum* shall be taken away, that intempestive expence moderated, and many others. Brokers, takers of pawns, biting usurers, I will not admit; yet, because *hic cum hominibus non cum diis agitur*, [o]we converse here with men, not with gods, and for the hardness of mens hearts, I will

[s] In Segovia nemo otiosus, nemo mendicus, nisi per ætatem aut morbum opus facere non potest: nulli deest unde victum quærat, aut quo se exerceat. Cypr. Echovius Delit. Hispan. Nullus Genevæ otiosus, ne septennis puer. Paulus Heuxner, Itiner. [t] Athenæus, l. 12. [u] Simlerus, de repub. Helvet. [v] Spartian, olim Romæ sic. [w] He that provides not for his family is worse than a thief. Paul. [x] Alfredi lex. Utraque manus et lingua præcidatur, nisi eam capite redemerit. [y] Si quis nuptam stupràrit, virga virilis ei præcidatur; si mulier, nasus et auricula præcidatur. Alfredi lex. En leges ipsi Veneri Martique timendas! [z] Pauperes non peccant, quum extremâ necessitate coacti rem alienam capiunt. Moldonat. summula quæst. 8. art. 3. Ego cum illis sentio qui licere putant a divite clam accipere, qui tenetur pauperi subvenire. Emmanuel Sa. Aphor. confess. [a] Lib. 2. de reg. Persarum. [b] Lib. 24. [c] Aliter Aristoteles—a man at 25, a woman at 20. polit. [d] Lex olim Lycurgi. hodie Chinensium; vide Plutarchum, Riccium, Hemmingium, Arniseum, Nevisanum, et alios de hac quæstione. [e] Alfredus. [f] Apud Lacones olim virgines sine dote nubebant. Boter. l. 3. c. 3. [g] Lege cautum non ita pridem apud Venetos, ne quis patritius dotem excederet 1500 coron. [h] Bux. Synag. Jud. Sic Judæi. Leo. Afer, Africæ descript. ne sint aliter incontinentes, ob reipub. bonum, ut August. Cæsar. orat. ad cœlibes Romanos olim edocuit. [i] Morbo laborans, qui in prolem facile diffunditur, ne genus humanum fœdâ contagione lædatur, juventute castratur: mulieres tales procul a consortio virorum ablegantur, &c. Hector Boëthius, hist. lib. 1. de vet. Scotorum moribus. [j] Speciosissimi juvenes liberis dabunt operam. Plato, 5. de legibus. [k] The Saxons exclude dumb, blind, leprous, and such like persons, from all inheritance, as we do fools. [l] Ut olim Romani, Hispani hodie, &c. [m] Riccius, lib. 11. cap. 5. de Sinarum expedit. Sic Hispani cogunt Mauros arma deponere. So it is in most Italian cities. [n] Idem Plato, 12. de legibus. It hath ever been immoderate. Vide Guil. Stuckium, antiq. convival. lib. 1. cap. 26. [o] Plato, 9. de legibus.

tolerate some kind of usury. If we were honest, I confess, (*si probi essemus*) we should have no use of it; but, being as it is, we must necessarily admit it. Howsoever most divines contradict it, (*Dicimus inficias; sed vox ea sola reperta est*) it must be winked at by politicians. And yet some great doctors approve of it, Calvin, Bucer, Zanchius, P. Martyr, because, by so many grand lawyers, decrees of emperours, princes statutes, customs of common-wealths, churches approbations, it is permitted, &c. I will therefore allow it: but to no private persons, not to every man that will; to orphans only, maids, widows, or such as by reason of their age, sex, education, ignorance of trading, know not otherwise how to employ it; and those, so approved, not to let it out apart, but to bring their money to [p] common bank which shall be allowed in every city, as in Genoua, Geneva, Noremberg, Venice, at [q] 5, 6, 7, not above 8 *per centum*, as the supervisors, or *ærarii præfecti*, shall think fit. [r] And, as it shall not be lawful for each man to be an usurer that will, so shall it not be lawful for all to take up money at use—not to prodigals and spendthrifts, but to merchants, young tradesmen, and such as stand in need, or know honestly how to employ it, whose necessity, cause, and condition, the said supervisors shall approve of.

I will have no private monopolies to enrich one man, and beggar a multitude—[s] multiplicity of offices, of supplying by deputies: weights and measures the same throughout, and those rectified by the *primum mobile*, and suns motion; threescore miles to a degree, according to observation; 1000 geometrical paces to a mile, five foot to a pace, twelve inches to a foot, &c. and, from measures known, it is an easie matter to rectifie weights, &c. to cast up all, and resolve bodies by algebra, stereometry.

I hate wars, if they be not *ad populi salutem*, upon urgent occasion. *Odimus accipitrem, quia semper vivit in armis.* [t] Offensive wars, except the cause be very just, I will not allow of: for I do highly magnifie that saying of Hannibal to Scipio, in [u] Livy—*It had been a blessed thing for you and us, if God had given that mind to our predecessours, that you had been content with Italy, we with Africk. For neither Sicily nor Sardinia are worth such cost and pains, so many fleets and armies, or so many famous captains lives. Omnia prius tentanda:* fair means shall first be tried. [v] *Peragit tranquilla potestas, Quod violenta nequit.* I will have them proceed with all moderation; but (hear you!) Fabius my general, not Minutius; *nam* [w] *qui consilio nititur, plus hostibus nocet, quam qui, sine animi ratione, viribus:* and, in such wars, to abstain as much as is possible from [x] depopulations, burning of towns, massacring of infants, &c. For defensive wars, I will have forces still ready at a small warning, by land and sea, a prepared navy, souldiers *in procinctu, et, quam* [y] *Bonfinius apud Hungaros suos vult, virgam ferream*, and money, which is *nervus belli*, still in a readiness and a sufficient revenue, a third part (as in old [z] Rome and Egypt) reserved for the common-wealth; to avoid those heavy taxes and impositions, as well to defray this charge of wars, as also all other publick defalcations, expences, fees, pensions, reparations, chaste

[p] As those Lombards beyond seas, (though with some reformation) mons pietatis, or bank of charity, (as Malines terms it, cap. 33. Lex mercat. part 2.) that lend money upon easie pawns, or take money upon adventure for mens lives. [q] That proportion will make merchandise increase, land dearer, and better improved, as he hath judicially proved in his tract of usury, exhibited to the Parliament anno 1621. [r] Hoc fere Zanchius, com. in 4. cap. ad Ephes. æquissimam vocat usuram et charitati Christianæ consentaneam, modo non exigant, &c. nec omnes dent ad fœnus, sed ii qui in pecuniis bona habent, et ob ætatem, sexum, artis alicujus ignorantiam, non possunt uti. Nec omnibus, sed mercatoribus, et iis qui honeste impendent, &c. [s] Idem apud Persas olim. Lege Brisonium. [t] Idem Plato, de legibus. [u] Lib. 30. Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem a Diis datam esse, ut vos Italiæ, nos Africæ imperio contenti essemus. Neque enim Sicilia aut Sardinia satis dignia pretia sunt pro tot classibus, &c. [v] Claudian. [w] Thucydides. [x] A depopulatione agrorum, incendiis, et ejusmodi factis immanibus. Plato. [y] Hungar. dec. 1. lib. 9. [z] Sesellius, lib. 2, *de repub.* Gal. valde enim est indecorum, ubi quid præter opinionem accidit, dicere, Non putâram, *præsertim si res præcaveri* potuerit. Livius, lib. 1. Dion. l. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

sports, feasts, donaries, rewards, and entertainments. All things in this nature especially, I will have maturely done, and with great [a] deliberation: *ne quid [b] temere, ne quid remisse, ac timide fiat.*) *Sed quo feror hospes?* To prosecute the rest would require a volume. *Manum de tabellâ!* I have been over-tedious in this subject: I could have here willingly ranged; but these straits wherein I am included will not permit.

From common-wealths and cities, I will descend to families, which have as many corrosives and molestations, as frequent discontents, as the rest. Great affinity there is betwixt a political and œconomical body; they differ only in magnitude and proportion of business (so Scaliger [c] writes): as they have both, likely, the same period, as [d] Bodin and [e] Peucer hold, out of Plato, six or seven hundred years, so, many times, they have the same means of their vexation and overthrows; as, namely, riot, a common ruine of both, riot in building, riot in profuse spending, riot in apparel, &c. be it in what kind soever, it produceth the same effects. A [f] chorographer of ours, speaking *obiter* of ancient families, why they are so frequent in the north, continue so long, are so soon extinguished in the south, and so few, gives no other reason but this, *luxus omnia dissipavit*, riot hath consumed all. Fine cloaths and curious buildings came into this island, as he notes in his annals, not so many years since, *non sine dispendio hospitalitatis*, to the decay of hospitality. Howbeit, many times that word is mistaken; and, under the name of bounty and hospitality, is shrowded riot and prodigality; and that, which is commendable in it self well used, hath been mistaken heretofore, is become, by its abuse, the bane and utter ruine of many a noble family: for such men live like the rich glutton, consuming themselves and their substance by continual feasting and invitations,—with [g] Axylos in Homer, keep open house for all comers, giving entertainment to such as visit them, [h] keeping a table beyond their means, and a company of idle servants (though not so frequent as of old) are blown up on a sudden, and (as Actæon was by his hounds) devoured by their kinsmen, friends, and multitude of followers. [i] It is a wonder that Paulus Jovius relates of our northern countreys, what an infinite deal of meat we consume on our tables; that I may truly say, 'tis not bounty, not hospitality, as it is often abused, but riot in excess, gluttony, and prodigality; a meer vice: it brings in debt, want, and beggary, hereditary diseases, consumes their fortunes, and overthrows the good temperature of their bodies. To this I might here well add their inordinate expence in building, those phantastical houses, turrets, walks, parks, &c. gaming, excess of pleasure, and that prodigious riot in apparel, by which means they are compelled to break up house, and creep into holes. (Sesellius, in his Common wealth of [j] France, gives three reasons why the French nobility were so frequently bankrupts; *First, because they have so many law-suits and contentions, one upon another, which were tedious and costly: by which means it came to pass, that commonly lawyers bought them out of their possessions. A second cause was their riot; they lived beyond their means, and were therefore swallowed up by merchants.* (La-Nove, a French writer, yields five reasons for his countrey-mens poverty, to the same effect almost, and thinks verily, if the gentry of France were divided into ten parts, eight of them would be found much impaired by

[a] Peragit tranquilla potestas, Quod violenta nequit. Claudian. [b] Bellum nec timendum nec provocandum. Plin. Panegyr. Trajano. [c] Lib. 3. poët. cap. 19. [d] Lib. 4. de repub. cap. 2. [e] Peucer. lib. 1. de divinat. [f] Cambden, in Cheshire. [g] Iliad. lib. 6. [h] Vide Puteani Comum; Goclenium de portentosis cœnis nostrorum temporum. [i] Mirabile dictu est, quantum opsoniorum una domus singulis diebus absumat; sternuntur mensæ in omnes pene horas, calentibus semper edulibus. descript. Britan. [j] Lib. 1. de rep. Gallorum. Quod tot lites et caussæ forenses allæ ferantur ex aliis, in immensum producantur, et magnos sumptus requirant; unde fit ut juris administri plerumque nobilium possessiones adquirant, tum quod sumptuose vivant, et a mercatoribus absorbeantur, et splendidissime vestiantur, &c.

sales, mortgages, and debts, or wholly sunk in their estates.) *The last was immoderate excess in apparel, which consumed their revenues.* How this concerns and agrees with our present state, look you. But of this elsewhere. As it is in a mans body—if either head, heart, stomach, liver, spleen, or any one part be misaffected, all the rest suffer with it—so is it with this œconomical body: if the head be naught, a spendthrift, a drunkard, a whoremaster, a gamester, how shall the family live at ease? [k] *Ipsa, si cupiat, Salus servare prorsus non potest hanc familiam;* (as Demea said in the comedy) Safety her self cannot save it. A good, honest, painful man many times hath a shrew to his wife—a sickly, dishonest, slothful, foolish, careless woman to his mate—a proud, peevish flirt, a liquorish, prodigal quean; and by that means all goes to ruine: or, if they differ in nature—he is thrifty, she spends all; he wise, she sottish and soft—what agreement can there be? what friendship? Like that of the thrush and swallow in Æsop; instead of mutual love, kind compellations, whore and thief is heard; they fling stools at one anothers heads. [l] *Quæ intemperies vexat hanc familiam?* All enforced marriages commonly produce such effects; or, if on their behalfs it be well, as to live and agree lovingly together, they may have disobedient and unruly children, that take ill courses to disquiet them: [m] *their son is a thief, a spendthrift, their daughter a whore;* a [n] stepmother, or a daughter in law, distempers all; [o] or else, for want of means, many tortures arise—debts, dues, fees, dowries, joyntures, legacies to be paid, annuities issuing out; by means of which, they have not wherewithall to maintain themselves in that pomp as their predecessours have done, bring up or bestow their children to their callings, to their birth and quality, [p] and will not descend to their present fortunes. Oftentimes too, to aggravate the rest, concurr many other inconveniences—unthankful friends, decayed friends, bad neighbours, negligent servants, ([q] *servi furaces, versipelles, callidi, occlusa sibi mille clavibus reserant, furtimque raptant, consumunt, liguriunt*) casualties, taxes, mulcts, chargeable offices, vain expences, entertainments, loss of stock, enmities, emulations, frequent invitations, losses, suretiship, sickness, death of friends, and (that which is the gulf of all) improvidence, ill husbandry, disorder and confusion; by which means they are drenched on a sudden in their estates, and at unawares precipitated insensibly into an inextricable labyrinth of debts, cares, woes, want, grief, discontent, and melancholy it self.

I have done with families, and will now briefly run over some few sorts and conditions of men. The most secure, happy, jovial, and merry in the worlds esteem, are princes and great men, free from melancholy; but, for their cares, miseries, suspicions, jealousies, discontents, folly, and madness, I refer you to Xenophons Tyrannus, where king Hieron discourseth at large with Simonides the poet, of this subject. Of all others, they are most troubled with perpetual fears, anxieties, insomuch, that (as he said in [r] Valerius) if thou knewest with what cares and miseries this robe were stuffed, thou wouldst not stoop to take it up. Or, put case they be secure and free from fears and discontents, yet they are void [s] of reason too oft, and precipitate in their actions. Read all our histories, *quas de stultis prodidere stulti*—Iliades, Æneides, Annales—and what is the subject? *Stultorum regum et populorum continet æstus.* How mad they are, how furious, and upon small occasions, rash and inconsiderate in their proceedings,

[k] Ter. [l] Amphit. Plaut. [m] Paling. Filius aut fur. [n] Catus cum mure, duo galli simul in æde, et glotes binæ, nunquam vivunt sine lite. [o] Res angusta domi. [p] When pride and beggery meet in a family, they roar and howl, and cause as many flashes of discontents, as fire and water, when they concur, make thunder-claps in the skies. [q] Plautus, Aulular. [r] Lib. 7. cap. 6. [s] Pellitur in bellis sapientia; vi geritur res. Vetus proverbium, Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportere.

how they dote, every page almost will witness: ——— *delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*

Next in place, next in miseries and discontents, in all manner of hair-brain'd actions, are great men: *procul a Jove, procul a fulmine:* the nearer, the worse. If they live in court, they are up and down, ebb and flow with their princes favours (*Ingenium vultu statque caditque suo*) now aloft, to morrow down, (as [t] Polybius describes them) *like so many casting counters, now of gold, to morrow of silver, that vary in worth as the computant will; now they stand for unites, to morrow for thousands; now before all, anon behind.* Beside, they torment one another with mutual factions, emulations: one is ambitious, another enamoured; a third, in debt, a prodigal, over-runs his fortunes; a fourth, solicitous with cares, gets nothing, &c. But, for these mens discontents, anxieties, I refer you to Lucians tract, *de mercede conductis,* [u] Æneas Sylvius (*libidinis et stultitiæ servos,* he calls them) Agrippa, and many others.

Of philosophers and scholars, *priscæ sapientiæ dictatores,* I have already spoken in general terms. Those superintendents of wit and learning, men above men, those refined men, minions of the Muses,

——— [v] mentemque habere queis bonam,
Et esse [w] corculis, datum est, ———

these acute and subtle sophisters, so much honoured, have as much need of hellebor as others. ——— [y] *O medici, medium pertundite venam.* Read Lucians Piscator, and tell how he esteemed them; Agrippas tract of the Vanity of Sciences; nay read their own works, their absurd tenets, prodigious paradoxes, *et risum teneatis, amici?* You shall find that of Aristotle true, *nullum magnum ingenium sine mixturâ dementiæ;* they have a worm, as well as others; you shall find a phantastical strain, a fustian, a bombast, a vain-glorious humour, an affected stile, &c. like a prominent thred in an uneven woven cloth, run parallel throughout their works; and they that teach wisdom, patience, meekness, are the veryest dizards, hairbrains, and most discontent. [z] *In the multitude of wisdom is grief; and he that encreaseth wisdom, encreaseth sorrow.* I need not quote mine author. They that laugh and contemn others, condemn the world of folly, deserve to be mocked, are as giddy-headed, and lie as open, as any other. [a] Democritus, that common flouter of folly, was ridiculous himself: barking Menippus, scoffing Lucian, satyrical Lucilius, Petronius, Varro, Persius, &c. may be censured with the rest; *Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.* Bale, Erasmus, Hospinian, Vives, Kemnisius, explode, as a vast ocean of Obs and Sols, school divinity; [b] a labyrinth of intricable questions, unprofitable contentions: *incredibilem delirationem,* one calls it. If school divinity be so censured, *subtilis* [c] *Scotus lima veritatis, Occam irrefragabilis, cujus ingenium vetera omnia ingenia subvertit, &c.* Baconthrope, *Doctor Resolutus,* and *Corculum Theologiæ,* Thomas himself, *Doctor* [d] *Seraphicus, cui dictavit Angelus, &c.* what shall become of humanity? *Ars stulta,* what can she plead? what can her followers say for themselves? Much learning [e] *cere-diminuit-brum,* hath crackt their skonce, and taken such root, that *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile,* hellebore it self can do no good, nor that renowned [f] lanthorn of Epictetus, by which if any man studied, he should be as wise as he was. But all will not serve. Rhetoricians, *in ostentationem*

[t] Lib. 1. hist. Rom. similes abaculorum calculis, secundum computantis arbitrium, modo ærei sunt, modo aurei; ad nutum regis, nunc beati sunt, nunc miseri. [u] Ærumnosique Solones, in Sa. 3. De miser. curialium. [v] F. Dousæ Epid. lib. 1. c. 13. [w] Hoc cognomento cohonestati Romæ, qui cæteros mortales sapientiâ præstarent. Testis Plin. lib. 7. cap. 34. [x] Insanire parant certâ ratione modoque: mad by the book, they. [y] Juvenal. [z] Solomon. [a] Communis irrisor stultitiæ. [b] Wit, whither wilt? [c] Scaliger exercitat. 324. [d] Vit ejus. [e] Ennius. [f] Lucian. Ter mille drachmis olim empta; studens inde sapientiam adipiscetur.

loquacitatis, multa agitant—out of their volubility of tongue, will talk much to no purpose. Orators can perswade other men what they will, *quo volunt, unde volunt*, move, pacifie, &c. but cannot settle their own brains. What saith Tully? *Malo indisertam prudentiam, quam loquacem stultitiam;* and (as [g] Seneca seconds him) a wise mans oration should not be polite or solicitous. [h] Fabius esteems no better of most of them, either in speech, action, gesture, than as men beside themselves, *insanos declamatores*; so doth Gregory; *non mihi sapit qui sermone, sed qui factis, sapit.* Make the best of him, a good oratour is a turn-coat, an evil man; *bonus orator pessimus vir;* his tongue is set to sale; he is a meer voice (as [i] he said of a nightingal); *dat sine mente sonum;* an hyperbolical liar, a flatterer, a parasite, and (as [j] Ammianus Marcellinus will) a corrupting cosener, one that doth more mischief by his fair speeches, than he that bribes by money; for a man may with more facility avoid him that circumvents by money, than him that deceives with glosing terms; which made [k] Socrates so much abhor and explode them. [l] Fracastorius, a famous poet, freely grants all poets to be mad; so doth [m] Scaliger; and who doth not? (*Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit, Hor. Sat. 7. l. 2. Insanire lubet, i. e. versus componere, Virg. Ecl.* 3. So Servius interprets) all poets are mad, a company of bitter satyrists, detractors, or else parasitical applauders; and what is poetry it self, but (as Austin holds) *vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum?* You may give that censure of them in general, which Sir Thomas Moore once did of Germanus Brixius poems in particular.

——— ———vehuntur.
In rate stultitiæ: sylvam habitant Furiæ.

Budæus, in an epistle of his to Lupsetus, will have civil law to be the tower of wisdom; another honours physick, the quintessence of nature; a third tumbles them both down, and sets up the flag of his own peculiar science. Your supercilious criticks, grammatical triflers, note-makers, curious antiquaries, find out all the ruines of wit, *ineptiarum delicias*, amongst the rubbish of old writers: [n] *pro stultis habent, nisi aliquid sufficiant invenire, quod in aliorum scriptis vertant vitio:* all fools with them that cannot find fault: they correct others, and are hot in a cold cause, puzzle themselves to find out how many streets in Rome, houses, gates, towers, Homers countrey, Æneas mother, Niobes daughters, *an Sappho publica fuerit? ovum* [o] *prius extiterit, an gallina? &c. et alia, quæ dediscenda essent, si scires*, as [p] Seneca holds; what clothes the senators did wear in Rome, what shews, how they sate, where they went to the close stool, how many dishes in a mess, what sauce; which, for the present, for an historian to relate, ([q] according to Lodovic. Vives) is very ridiculous, is to them most precious elaborate stuff, they admired for it, and as proud, as triumphant in the mean time for this discovery, as if they had won a city, or conquered a province; as rich as if they had found a mine of gold ore. *Quosvis auctores absurdis commentis suis percacant et stercorant*, one saith: they bewray and daub a company of books and good authors, with their absurd comments, (*correctorum sterquilinia* [r] Scaliger calls them) and shew their wit in censuring others,—a company of foolish note-makers, humble-bees, dors or beetles: *inter stercora ut plurimum versantur*, they rake over all those rubbish and dunghills, and prefer a manuscript many times before the Gospel itself,

[g] Epist. 21. l. lib. Non oportet orationem sapientis esse politam aut solicitam. [h] Lib. 3. cap. 13. Multo anhelitu, jactatione, furentes, pectus, frontem cædentes, &c. [i] Lipsius, Voces sunt, præterea nihil. [j] Lib. 30. Plus mali facere videtur qui oratione quam qui pretio quemvis corrumpit; nam, &c. [k] In Gorg. Platonis. [l] In Naugerio. [m] Si furor sit Lyæus, &c. quoties furit, furit, furit, amans, bibens, et poëta, &c. [n] Morus, Utop. lib. 11. [o] Macrob. Satur. 7. 16. [p] Epist. 16. [q] *Lib. de caussis corrup.* artium. [r] Lib. 2. in Ausonium, cap. 19. et 32.

[s] *thesaurum criticum*, before any treasure, and with their *deleatur*, *alii legunt sic*, *meus codex sic habet*, with their *postremæ editiones*, annotations, castigations, &c. make books dear, themselves ridiculous, and do no body good: yet, if any man dare oppose or contradict, they are mad, up in arms on a sudden; how many sheets are written in defence, how bitter invectives, what apologies? [t] *Epiphyllides hæ sunt et mere nugæ.* But I dare say no more of, for, with, or against them, because I am liable to their lash, as well as others. Of these and the rest of our artists and philosophers, I will generally conclude, they are a kind of mad men, (as [u] Seneca esteems of them) to make doubts and scruples, how to read them truly, to mend old authors, but will not mend their own lives, or teach us *ingenia sanare*, *memoriam officiorum ingerere*, *ac fidem in rebus humanis retinere*, to keep our wits in order, or rectify our manners. *Numquid tibi non demens videtur*, *si istis operam impenderit?* is not he mad that draws lines with Archimedes, whiles his house is ransacked, and his city besieged, when the whole world is in combustion,—or we, whilest our souls are in danger, (*mors sequitur*, *vita fugit*) to spend our time in toys, idle questions, and things of no worth?

That [v] lovers are mad, I think no man will deny. *Amare simul et sapere ipsi Jovi non datur*; Jupiter himself cannot intend both at once.

> [w] Non bene conveniunt, nec in unâ sede morantur,
> Majestas et amor.

Tully, when he was invited to a second marriage, replied, he could not *simul amare et sapere*, be wise and love both together. [x] *Est Orcus ille; vis est immedicabilis; est rabies insana:* love is madness, a hell, an incurable disease; *impotentem et insanam libidinem* [y] Seneca calls it, an impotent and raging lust. I shall dilate this subject apart: in the mean time let lovers sigh out the rest.

[z] Nevisanus the lawyer holds it for an axiome, *most women are fools*, ([a] *consilium feminis invalidum*) Seneca, men, be they young or old; who doubts it? youth is mad, as Elius in Tully, *Stulti adolescentuli*, old age little better, *deliri senes*, *&c.* Theophrastus, in the 107 year of his age, [b] said he then began to be wise, *tum sapere cœpit*, and therefore lamented his departure. If wisdom come so late, where shall we find a wise man? our old ones dote at threescore and ten. I would cite more proofs and a better author; but, for the present, let one fool point at another. [c] Nevisanus hath as hard an opinion of [d] rich men—*wealth and wisdom cannot dwell together*; *stultitiam patiuntur opes*; [e] and they do commonly [f] *infatuare cor hominis*, besot men; and, as we see it, *fools have fortune*: [g] *sapientia non invenitur in terrâ suaviter viventium.* For, beside a natural contempt of learning, which accompanies such kind of men, innate idleness, (for they will take no pains) and which Aristotle observes, *ubi mens plurima*, *ibi minima fortuna*; *ubi plurima fortuna*, *ibi mens perexigua*; great wealth and little wit go commonly together: they have as much brains, some of them, in their heads as in their heels; besides this inbred neglect of liberal sciences, and all arts, which should *excolere mentem*, polish the mind, they have most part some gullish humour or other, by which they are led; one is an Epicure, an atheist, a second a gamester, a third a whoremaster, (fit subjects all for a satyrist to work upon)—*Hic nuptarum insanit amoribus*, *hic puerorum*;—

[s] Edit. 7. volum. Iano Grutero. [t] Aristophanis Ranis. [u] Lib. de beneficiis. [v] Delirus et amens dicatur merito. Hor. Seneca. [w] Ovid. Met. [x] Plutarch. Amatorio est amor insanus. [y] Epist. 39. [z] Sylvæ nuptialis. l. 1. num. 11. Omnes mulieres, ut plurimum, stultæ. [a] Aristotle. [b] Dolere se dixit, quod tum vitâ egrederetur. [c] Lib. 1. num. 11. Sapientia et divitiæ vix simul possideri possunt. [d] They get their wisdom by eating pie-crust, some. [e] Χρήματα τοῖς θνητοῖς γίνεται ἀφρόσυνη. Opes quidem mortalibus sunt amentia. Theognis. [f] Fortuna, nimium quem fovet, stultum facit. [g] Job. 28. [h] Mag. moral. lib. 2. et lib. 1. sat. 4. [i] Hor. ser. 1. sat. 4.

[j] one is mad of hawking, hunting, cocking; another of carousing, horse-riding, spending; a fourth, of building, fighting, &c. *Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo;* Damasippus hath an humour of his own, to be talkt of; [k] Heliodorus the Carthaginian, another. In a word, as Scaliger concludes of them all, they are *statuæ erectæ stultitiæ*, the very statues or pillars of folly. Chuse, out of all stories, him that hath been most admired; and you shall still find *multa ad laudem, multa ad vituperationem magnifica*, as [l] Berosus of Semiramis: *omnes mortales militiâ, triumphis, divitiis, &c. tum et luxu, cæde, cæterisque vitiis, antecessit:* as she had some good, so had she many bad parts.

3] Alexander, a worthy man, but furious in his anger, overtaken in drink: Cæsar and Scipio valiant and wise, but vain-glorious, ambitious: Vespasian a worthy prince, but covetous: [m] Hannibal, as he had mighty vertues, so had he many vices; *unam virtutem mille vitia comitantur*, as Machiavel of Cosmus Medices, he had two distinct persons in him. I will determine of them all, they are like these double or turning pictures; stand before which, you see a fair maid on the one side, an ape on the other, an owle: look upon them at the first sight all is well; but farther examine, you shall find them wise on the one side, and fools on the other; in some few things praiseworthy, in the rest incomparably faulty. I will say nothing of their diseases, emulations, discontents, wants, and such miseries; let Poverty plead the rest in Aristophanes Plutus.

Covetous men, amongst others, are most mad; [n] they have all the symptoms of melancholy—fear, sadness, suspicion, &c. as shall be proved in his proper place: *Danda est hellebori multo pars maxima avaris.*

3] And yet, methinks, prodigals are much madder than they, be of what condition they will, that bear a publick, or private purse; as a [o] Dutch writer censured Richard the rich duke of Cornwal, suing to be emperour, for his profuse spending, *qui effudit pecuniam ante pedes principum electorum sicut aquam*, that scattered money like water; I do censure them. *Stulta Anglia*, (saith he) *quæ tot denariis sponte est privata; stulti principes Alemaniæ, qui nobile jus suum pro pecuniâ vendiderunt.* Spend-thrifts, bribers, and bribe-takers, are fools; and so are [p] all they that cannot keep, disburse, or spend, their moneys well.

I might say the like of angry, peevish, envious, ambitious ([q] *Anticyras melior sorbere meracus*), Epicures, atheists, schismaticks, hereticks: *hi omnes habent imaginationem læsam* (saith Nymannus); *and their madness shall be evident*, 2 Tim. 3. 9. [r] Fabatus, an Italian, holds sea-faring men all mad; *the ship is mad, for it never stands still; the mariners are mad, to expose themselves to such imminent dangers; the waters are raging mad, in perpetual motion: the winds are as mad as the rest: they know not whence*
2 *they come, whither they would go: and those men are maddest of all, that go to sea: for one fool at home, they find forty abroad.* He was a mad man that said it) (and thou, peradventure, as mad to read it.) [s] Felix Platerus is
3 of opinion all alchymists are mad, out of their wits; [t] Athenæus saith as much of fidlers, *et Musarum luscinias*, [u] musicians; *omnes tibicines insaniunt; ubi semel efflant, avolat illico mens;* in comes musick at one ear;

[j] Insana gula, insanæ obstructiones, insanum venandi studium—Discordia demens, Virg. Æn. [k] Heliodorus Carthaginiensis ad extremum orbis sarcophago testamento me hic jussi condier, ut viderem an quis insanior ad me visendum usque ad hæc loca penetraret. Ortelius, in Gad. [l] If it be his work; which Gasper Veretus suspects. [m] Livy. Ingentes virtutes; ingentia vitia. [n] Hor. Quisquis ambitione malâ aut argenti pallet amore; Quisquis luxuriâ, tristique superstitione. Per. [o] Chronica Slavonica, ad annum 1257. de cujus pecuniâ jam incredibilia dixerunt. [p] A fool and his money are soon parted. [q] Orat. de imag.—Ambitiosus et audax naviget Anticyras. [r] Navis stulta, quæ continuo movetur; nautæ stulti, qui se periculis exponunt; aquâ insana, quæ sic fremit, &c. aër jactatur, &c. qui mari se committit, stolidum unum terrâ fugiens, 40 mari invenit. Gasper Ens. Moros. [s] *Cap. de allen. mentis.* [t] Dipnosophist, lib. 8. [u] Tibicines mente capti. Erasm. Chil. 4. cen. 7.

out goes wit at another. Proud and vain glorious persons are certainly mad; and so are [v] lascivious; I can feel their pulses beat hither; horn mad some of them, to let others lye with their wives, and wink at it.

To insist [w] in all particulars, were an Herculean task, to [x] reckon up [y] *insanas substructiones, insanos labores, insanum luxum*, mad labours, mad books, endeavours, carriages, gross ignorance, ridiculous actions, absurd gestures, *insanam gulam, insaniam villarum, insana jurgia*, as Tully terms them, madness of villages, stupend structures, as those Ægyptian pyramids, labyrinths and Sphinges, which a company of crowned asses, *ad ostentationem opum*, vainly built, when neither the architect nor king that made them, or to what use and purpose, are yet known. To insist in their hypocrisie, inconstancy, blindness, rashness, *dementem temeritatem*, fraud, cozenage, malice, anger, impudence, ingratitude, ambition, gross superstition, [z] *tempora infecta et adulatione sordida*, as in Tiberius times, such base flattery, stupend, parasitical fawning and colloguing, &c. brawls, conflicts, desires, contentions, it would ask an expert Vesalius to anatomize every member. Shall I say? Jupiter himself, Apollo, Mars, &c. doted: and monster-conquering Hercules, that subdued the world, and helped others, could not relieve himself in this: but mad he was at last. And where shall a man walk, converse with whom, in what province, city, and not meet with Signior Delirio, or Hercules Furens, Mænades, and Corybantes? Their speeches say no less. [a] *E fungis nati homines;* or else they fetched their pedigree from those that were struck by Sampson with the jaw-bone of an ass, or from Deucalion and Pyrrha's stones; for *durum genus sumus, marmorei sumus*; we are stony-hearted, and savour too much of the stock, as if they had all heard that inchanted horn of Astolpho (that English duke in Ariosto), which never sounded but all his auditors were mad, and for fear ready to make away themselves; [c] or landed in the mad haven in the Euxine sea of *Daphnis insana*, which had a secret quality to dementate; they are a company of giddy-heads, afternoon men; it is midsomer-moon still, and the dog-dayes last all the year long: they are all mad. Whom shall I then except? Ulricus Huttenus [d] *Nemo; nam Nemo omnibus horis sapit; Nemo nascitur sine vitiis; crimine Nemo caret; Nemo sorte suâ vivit contentus; Nemo in amore sapit; Nemo bonus; Nemo sapiens; Nemo est ex omni parti beatus, &c.* and therefore Nicholas Nemo, or Monsieur Nobody, shall go free: *Quid valeat nemo, nemo, referre potest.* But whom shall I except in the second place? such as are silent: *vir sapit, qui pauca loquitur;* [e] no better way to avoid folly and madness, than by taciturnity. Whom in a third? all senators, magistrates; for all fortunate men are wise, and conquerours valiant, and so are all great men; *non est bonum ludere cum diis;* they are wise by authority, good by their office and place; *his licet impune pessimos esse*, (some say) we must not speak of them; neither is it fit; *per me sint omnia protinus alba*; I will not think amiss of them. Whom next? Stoicks? *Sapiens Stoicus;* and he alone is subject to no perturbations (as [f] Plutarch scoffs at him) *he is not vexed with torments, or burnt with fire, foiled by his adversary, sold of his enemy. Though he be wrinkled, sand-blind, toothless, and deformed; yet he is most beautiful, and like a god, a*

[v] Prov. 30. Insana libido.—Hic, rogo, non furor est? non est hæc mentula demens? Mart. ep. 74. l. 3. [w] Mille puellarum et puerorum mille furores. [x] Uter est insanior horum? Hor. Ovid, Virg. Plin. [y] Plin. lib. 36. [z] Tacitus, 3 Annal. [a] Ovid. 7 Met. E fungis nati homines, ut olim Corinthi primævi illius loci accolæ, quia stolidi et fatui fungis nati dicebantur. Idem et alibi dicas. [b] Famian. Strada, de bajulis, de marmore semisculptis. [c] Arrianus, periplo maris Euxini, portûs ejus meminit, et Gillius. l. 3. de Bosphor. Thracio. Et laurus insana, quæ, allata in convivium, convivas omnes insaniâ affecit. Guliel. Stucchius, comment, &c. [d] Lepidum poëma, sic inscriptum. [e] Stultitiam dissimulare non potes, nisi taciturnitate. [f] Extortus, non cruciatur; ambustus, non læditur; prostratus in luctâ, non vincitur; non fit captivus, ab hoste venundatus. Et si rugosus, senex, edentulus, luscus, deformis, formosus tamen, et deo similis, felix, dives, rex, nullius egens, etsi denario non sit dignus.

king in conceit, though not worth a groat.) *He never dotes, never mad, never sad, drunk; because vertue cannot be taken away* (as [g] Zeno holds) *by reason of strong apprehension:* but he was mad to say so. [h] *Anticyræ cælo huic est opus, aut dolabrâ:* he had need to be bored, and so had all his fellows, as wise as they would seem to be. Chrysippus himself liberally grants them to be fools as well as others, at certain times, upon some occasions: *amitti virtutem ait per ebrietatem, aut atribilarium morbum:* it may be lost by drunkenness or melancholy; he may be sometimes crazed as well as the rest: [i] *ad summam, sapiens, nisi quum pituita molesta.* I should here except some cynicks, Menippus, Diogenes, that Theban Crates, or to descend to these times, that omniscious, only wise fraternity [l] of the Rosie Cross, those great theologues, politicians, philosophers, physicians, philologers, artists, &c. of whom S. Bridget, Albas Joacchimus, Leicenbergius, and such divine spirits, have prophesied, and made promise to the world, if at least there be any such, (Hen. [k] Neuhusius makes a doubt of it, [l] Valentinus Andreas, and others) or an Elias Artifex their Theophrastian master; whom though Libavius and many deride and carp at, yet some will have to be *the* [m] *renewer of all arts and sciences*, reformer of the world, and now living; for so Johannes Montanus Strigoniensis (that great patron of Paracelsus) contends, and certainly avers [n] *a most divine man*, and the quintessence of wisdom, wheresoever he is: for he, his fraternity, friends, &c.) are all [o] *betrothed to wisdom*, if we may believe their disciples and followers. I must needs except Lipsius and the pope, and expunge their name out of the catalogue of fools: for, besides that parasitical testimony of Dousa,

> A sole exoriente, Mæotidas usque paludes,
> Nemo est, qui Justo se æquiparare queat—

Lipsius saith of himself, that he was [p] *humani generis quidam pædagogus voce et stylo*, a grand signior, a master, a tutor of us all: and for thirteen years, he brags, how he sowed wisdom in the Low Countreys, (as Ammonius the philosopher sometimes did in Alexandria) [q] *cum humanitate literas, et sapientiam cum prudentiâ: antistes sapientiæ*, he shall be *sapientum octavus*. The pope is more than a man, as [r] his parrots often make him—a demi-god; and besides his holiness cannot err, *in cathedrâ* belike: and yet some of them have been magicians, hereticks, atheists, children; and, as Platina saith of John 22, *Et si vir literatus, multa stoliditatem et levitatem præ se ferentia egit, stolidi et socordis vir ingenii;* a scholar sufficient; yet many things he did foolishly. Lightly I can say no more in particular, but in general terms to the rest, they are all mad, their wits are evaporated, and (as Ariosto feigns, l. 34) kept in jars above the moon.

> Some lose their wits with love, some with ambition,
> Some, following [s] lords and men of high condition,
> Some, in fair jewels rich and costly set,
> Others in poetry, their wits forget.
> Another thinks to be an alchymist,
> Till all be spent, and that his number's mist.

Convict fools they are, mad men upon record; and, I am afraid, past cure, many of them; [t] *crepunt ingenia;* the symptomes are manifest; they are all of Gotam parish: [u] *Quum furor haud dubius, quum sit manifesta phrenesis*, what remains then [v] but to send for *lorarios*, those officers to carry them all together for company to Bedlam, and set Rabelais to be their physician.

[g] Illum contenduut non injuriâ affici, non insaniâ, non inebriari, quia virtus non eripitur ob constantes comprehensiones. Lips. Phys. Stoic. lib. 3. diffi. 18. [h] Tarreus Hebus, epig. 102. l. 8. [i] Hor. [l] Fratres sanct. Roseæ Crucis. [k] An sint, quales sint, unde nomen illud asciverint. [l] Turri Babel. [m] Omnium artium et scientiarum instaurator. [n] Divinus ille vir. auctor notarum in ep. Rog. Bacon. ed Hambur. 1608. [o] Sapientiæ desponsati. [p] Solus hic est sapiens, alii volitant velut umbræ. [q] In ep. ad Balthas. Moretum. [r] Rejectiunculæ ad Patavum Felinus cum reliquis. [s] Magnum virum sequi est sapere, *some think; others* desipere. Catul. [t] Plaut. Menæch. [u] In *Sat. 14.* [v] *Or to* send for a cook to the Anticyræ, to make hellebor pottage, settle-brain pottage.

If any man shall ask in the mean time, who I am, that so boldly censure others, *tu nullane habes vitia?* Have I no faults? [w]Yes, more than thou hast, whatsoever thou art. *Nos numerus sumus:* I confess it again, I am as foolish, as mad as any one.

[x]Insanus vobis videor; non deprecor ipse,
Quo minus insanus————

I do not deny it; *demens de populo dematur.*< My comfort is, I have more fellows, and those of excellent note.> And though I be not so right or so discreet as I should be, yet not so mad, so bad neither, as thou perhaps takest me to be. 2

To conclude, this being granted, that all the world is melancholy, or mad, dotes, and every member of it, I have ended my task, and sufficiently illustrated that which I took upon me to demonstrate at first. At this present I have no more to say. *His sanam mentem Democritus;* I can but wish my self and them a good physician, and all of us a better mind.

And although, for the abovenamed reasons, I had a just cause to undertake this subject, to point at these particular species of dotage, that so men might acknowledge their imperfections, and seek to reform what is amiss; yet I have a more serious intent at this time; and—to omit all impertinent digressions—to say no more of such as are improperly melancholy, or metaphorically mad, lightly mad, or in disposition, as stupid, angry, drunken, silly, sottish, sullen, proud, vain-glorious, ridiculous, beastly, pievish, obstinate, impudent, extravagant, dry, doting, dull, desperate, hairbrain'd, &c. mad, frantick, foolish, heteroclites, which no new [y]hospital can hold, no physick help—my purpose and endeavour is, in the following discourse to anatomize this humour of melancholy, through all his parts and species, as it is an habit, or an ordinary disease, and that philosophically, medicinally—to shew the causes, symptomes, and several cures of it, that it may be the better avoided; moved thereunto for the generality of it, and to do good, it being a disease so frequent, as [z]Mercurialis observes, *in these our dayes; so often happening*, saith [a]Laurentius, *in our miserable times*, as few there are that feel not the smart of it. Of the same mind as Ælian Montaltus, [b]Melancthon, and others; [c]Julius Cæsar Claudinus calls it the *fountain of all other diseases, and so common in this crazed age of ours, that scarce one of a thousand is free from it;* and that splenetick hypochondriacal wind especially, which proceeds from the spleen and short ribs. Being then it is a disease so grievous, so common, I know not wherein to do a more general service, and spend my time better, than to prescribe means how to prevent and cure so universal a malady, an epidemical disease, that so often, so much, crucifies the body and mind.

If I have over-shot my self in this which hath been hitherto said, or that it is (which I am sure some will object) too phantastical, *too light and comical for a divine, too satyrical for one of my profession,* I will presume to answer with [d]Erasmus, in like case, 'Tis not I, but Democritus: *Democritus dixit*: you must consider what it is to speak in ones own or anothers person, an assumed habit and name; a difference betwixt him that affects or acts a princes, a philosophers, a magistrates, a fools part, and him that is so indeed; and what liberty those old satyrists have had: it is a cento collected from others: not I, but they, that say it.

Dixero si quod forte jocosius, hoc mihi juris
Cum venià dabis————

[w]Aliquantulum tamen inde me solabor, quod unà cum multis et sapientibus et celeberrimis viris ipse insipiens sim; quod de se, Menippus Luciani in Necyomantiâ. [x]Petronius, in Catalect. [y]That, I mean, of Andr. Vale. Apolog. mancip. l. 1. et 26, Apol. [z]Hæc affectio nostris temporibus frequentissima. [a]Cap. 15. de Mel. [b]De animâ. Nostro hoc sæculo morbus frequentissimus. [c]Consult. 98. Adeo nostris temporibus frequenter ingruit, ut nullus fere ab ejus labe immunis reperiatur, et omnium fere morborum occasio existat. [d]Mor. Encom. Si quis calumnietur levius esse quam decet theologum, aut mordacius quam deceat Christianum.

Take heed you mistake me not. If I do a little forget my self, I hope you will pardon it. And to say truth, why should any man be offended, or take exceptions at it?

> ——————[a] Licuit, semperque licebit,
> Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.
> It lawful was of old, and still will be,
> To speak of vice, but let the name go free.

I hate their vices, not their persons. If any be displeased or take ought unto himself, let him not expostulate or cavil with him that said it (so did [f] Erasmus excuse himself to Dorpius, *si parva licet componere magnis*; and so do I): *but let him be angry with himself, that so betrayed and opened his own faults in applying it to himself.* [g] *If he be guilty and deserve it, let him amend, whosoever he is, and not be angry. He that hateth correction is a fool*, Prov. 12. 1. If he be not guilty, it concerns him not; it is not my freeness of speech, but a guilty conscience, a gauled back of his own, that makes him winch.

> Suspicione si quis errabit suâ
> Et rapiet ad se, quod erit commune omnium,
> Stulte nudabit animi conscientiam.

I deny not, this, which I have said, savours a little of Democritus. [h] *Quamvis ridentem, dicere verum quid vetat?* one may speak in jest, and yet speak truth. It is somewhat tart, I grant it: *acriora orexim excitant embammata*, as he said; sharp sauces increase appetite; [i] *Nec cibus ipse juvat, morsu fraudatus aceti.* Object then and cavil what thou wilt, I ward all with [j] Democritus buckler; his medicine shall salve it; strike where thou wilt, and when: *Democritus dixit;* Democritus will answer it. It was written by an idle fellow, at idle times, about our Saturnalian or Dionysian feast, when, as he said, *nullum libertati periculum est*, servants in old Rome had liberty to say and do what them list. When our country-men sacrificed to their goddess [k] Vacuna, and sat tipling by their Vacunal fires, I writ this, and published this. Οὔτις ἔλεγεν, it is *neminis nihil*. The time, place, persons, and all circumstances, apologize for me; and why may I not then be idle with others? speak my mind freely? If you deny me this liberty, upon these presumptions I will take it: I say again, I will take it.

> [l] Si quis est, qui dictum in se inclementius
> Existimabit esse, sic existimet.

If any man take exceptions, let him turn the buckle of his girdle; I care not. I owe thee nothing, reader: I look for no favour at thy hands; I am independent; I fear not.

No, I recant; I will not; I care; I fear; I confess my fault, acknowledge a great offence; —— *motos præstat componere fluctus*: I have overshot my self; I have spoken foolishly, rashly, unadvisedly, absurdly; I have anatomized my own folly. And now, methinks, upon a sudden I am awaked as it were out of a dream; I have had a raving fit, a phantastical fit, ranged up and down, in and out; I have insulted over most kind of men, abused some, offended others, wronged my self; and now, being recovered, and perceiving mine error, cry with [m] Orlando, *Solvete mi.* Pardon (*O boni!*) that which is past; and I will make you amends in that

[a] Hor. Sat. 4. l. 1. [f] Epi. ad Dorpium de Moriâ. Si quispiam offendatur, et sibi vindicet, non habet quod expostulet cum eo qui scripsit; ipse, si volet, secum agat injuriam, utpote sui proditor, qui declaravit hoc ad se proprie pertinere. [g] Si quis se læsum clamabit, aut conscientiam prodit suam, aut certe metum. Phæd. 1. 3. Æsop. Fab. [h] Hor. [i] Mart. l. 7. 22. [j] Ut lubet, feriat: abstergam hos ictus Democriti pharmaco. [k] Rusticorum dea præesse vacantibus et otiosis putabatur, cui post labores agricola sacrificabat. Plin. l. 3. c. 12. Ovid. l. 6. Fast. Jam quoque cum fiunt antiquæ sacra Vacunæ, Ante Vacunales stantque sedentque focos. Rosinus. [l] Ter. prol. Eunuch. [m] Ariost. 39. st. 58.

which is to come: I promise you a more sober discourse in my following treatise.

If, through weakness, folly, passion, [n] discontent, ignorance, I have said amiss, let it be forgotten and forgiven. I acknowledge that of [o] Tacitus to be true, *Asperæ facetiæ, ubi nimis ex vero traxére, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt:* a bitter jeast leaves a sting behind it; and as an honourable man observes, [p] *They fear a satyrists wit, he their memories.* I may justly suspect the worst; and, though I hope I have wronged no man, yet, in Medeas words, I will crave pardon,

——Illud jam voce extremâ peto,
Ne, si qua noster dubius effudit dolor,
Maneant in animo verba: sed melior tibi
Memoria nostri subeat; hæc iræ data
Obliterentur——

And, in my last words, this I do desire,
That what in passion I have said, or ire,
May be forgotten, and a better mind
Be had of us, hereafter as you find.

I earnestly request every private man, as Scaliger did Cardan, not to take offence. I will conclude in his lines, *Si me cognitum haberes, non solum donares nobis has facetias nostras, sed etiam indignum duceres, tam humanum animum, lene ingenium, vel minimam suspicionem deprecari oportere.* If thou knewest my [q] modesty and simplicity, thou wouldst easily pardon and forgive what is here amiss, or by thee misconceived. If hereafter, anatomizing this surly humour, my hand slip, and, as an unskilful prentice, I launch too deep, and cut through skin and all at unawares, make it smart, or cut awry, [r] pardon a rude hand, an unskilful knife; 'tis a most difficult thing to keep an even tone, a perpetual tenor, and not sometimes to lash out; *difficile est satyram non scribere;* there be so many objects to divert, inward perturbations to molest; and the very best may sometimes err; *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus:* it is impossible not in so much to overshoot: ——*opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.* But what needs all this? I hope there will no such cause of offence be given; if there be, *Nemo aliquid recognoscat: nos mentimur omnia.* I'le deny all (my last refuge), recant all, renounce all I have said, if any man except, and with as much facility excuse, as he can accuse: but I presume of thy good favour, and gracious acceptance, gentle reader. Out of an assured hope and confidence thereof, I will begin.

[n] Ut enim ex studiis gaudium, sic studia ex hilaritate proveniunt. Plinius Maximo suo, ep lib. 8. [o] Annal. 15. [p] Sir Francis Bacon in his Essayes, now Viscount S. Albanes. [q] Quod Probus Persii Βιογράφος virginali verecundia Persium fuisse dicit, ego, &c. [r] Quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura. Hor. [s] Prol. Plaut.

LECTORI MALE FERIATO.

vero cavesis, edico, quisquis es, ne temere sugilles authorem hujusc
ris, aut cavillator irrideas. Imo ne vel ex aliorum censurâ tacite oblo-
aris, (vis dicam verbo?) nequid nasutulus inepte improbes, aut falso fingas.
m si talis reverâ sit, qualem præ se fert, *Junior Democritus*, seniori
mocrito saltem affinis, aut ejus genium vel tantillum sapiat; actum de
censorem æque ac delatorem [a] aget e contra (*petulanti splene cum sit*);
flabit te in jocos, comminuet in sales, addo etiam, et *deo Risui* te sacrifi-
it.

terum moneo, ne quid cavillere, ne (dum *Democritum Juniorem* convi-
infames, aut ignominiose vituperes, de te non male sentientem) tu idem
lias ab amico cordato, quod olim vulgus *Abderitanum* ab [b] *Hippocrate*,
icivem bene meritum et popularem suum *Democritum* pro insano habens:
c tu, Democrite, sapis; stulti autem et insani Abderitæ.

[a] Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.

c te paucis admonitum volo, male feriate Lector. Abi.

i me commôrit, melius non tangere, clamo. Hor. [b] Hippoc. epist. Damageto. Accersitus sum, Democritum, tamquam insanum, curarem: sed postquam conveni, non, per Jovem, desipientiæ tium, sed rerum omnium receptaculum deprehendi; ejusque ingenium demiratus sum. Abderi- s vero tamquam non sanos accusavi, veratri potione ipsos potius eguisse dicens. [a] Mart.

Heraclite, fleas! misero sic convenit ævo:
Nil nisi turpe vides, nil nisi triste vides.
Ride etiam, quantumque lubet, Democrite, ride:
Non nisi vana vides, non nisi stulta vides.
Is fletu, hic risu, modo gaudeat; unus utrique
Sit licet usque labor, sit licet usque dolor.
Nunc opus est (nam totus, eheu! jam desipit orbis)
Mille Heraclitis, milleque Democritis.
Nunc opus est (tanta est insania) transeat omnis
Mundus in Anticyras, gramen in Helleborum.

THE

SYNOPSIS

OF THE

FIRST PARTITION.

- **In diseases, consider,** *Sect.* 1. *Memb.* 1.
  - Their Causes. *Subs.* 1.
    - Impulsive;
      - Sin, concupiscence, &c.
    - Instrumental;
      - Intemperance, all second causes, &c.
  - Definition, Member, Division, *Subs.* 2.
  - Or
    - Of the body 300, which are
      - Epidemical, as Plague, Plica, &c.
      - or
      - Particular, as Gout, Dropsie, &c.
    - Or
      - In disposition; as all perturbations, evil affection, &c.
      - Habits, as *Subs.* 4,
        - Or
          - Dotage.
          - Phrensie.
          - Madness.
          - Ecstasie,
          - Lycanthropia.
          - Chorus sancti Viti.
          - Hydrophobia.
          - Possession or obsession of Devils.
          - Melancholy, *See* ♈.
    - Of the head or mind. *Subs.* 3.
  - Its Æquivocations, in Disposition, Improper, &c. *Subsect.* 5.
- To its explication, a digression of anatomy, in which observe parts of *Subs.* 1. *Memb.* 2.
  - Body hath parts *Subs.* 1.
    - contained, as
      - Humours, Blood, Phlegm, Choler, Melancholy.
      - Spirits; vital, natural, animal.
    - or
    - containing
      - Similar; spermatical, or flesh, bones, nerves, &c.
      - Dissimilar; brain, heart, liver, &c. *Subs.* 4.
  - Soul and his faculties, as
    - Vegetal. *Subs.* 5.
    - Sensible. *Subs.* 6, 7, 8.
    - Rational. *Subs.* 9, 10, 11.
- ♈ **Melancholy: in which consider** *Memb.* 3.
  - Its definition, name, difference. *Sub.* 1.
  - The part and parties affected, affection, &c. *Subs.* 2.
  - The matter of melancholy, natural, unnatural, &c. *Subs.* 4.
  - Species, or kinds, which are
    - Proper, to parts, as
      - Of the head alone, Hypochondriacal, or windy melancholy. Of the whole body.
        - with their several causes, symptomes, prognosticks, cures.
    - Or
    - Indefinite; as Love-melancholy, the subject of the third Partition.
  - Its Causes in general. *Sect.* 2. A.
  - Its Symptomes or signs. *Sect.* 3. B.
  - Its Prognosticks or indications. *Sect.* 4. 4.
  - Its Cures; the *subject of the second* Partition.

Synopsis of the First Partition.

A. *ct.* 2. uses of elancholy either

General, as *Memb.* 1.

- Supernatural,
  - As from God immediately, or by second causes. *Sub.* 1.
  - Or from the devil immediately, with a l igression of the nature of spirits and devils. *Sub.* 2.
  - Or mediately, by magicians, witches. *Sub.* 3.
- Or Natural
  - Primary, as stars, proved by aphorisms, signs from physiognomy, metoposcopy, chiromancy. *Sub.* 4.
  - Or Secundary, as
    - Congenite, inward from
      - Old age, temperament, *Sub.* 5.
      - Parents, it being an hereditary disease, *Sub.* 6.
    - Or Outward, or adventitious, which are
      - Evident, outward, remote, adventitious, as,
        - Necessary, see ♂.
        - Not necessary, as *M. 4. S. 2*
          - Nurses, *Sub.* 1.
          - Education. *Sub.* 2.
          - Terrors, Affrights, *Sub.* 3.
          - Scoffs, calumnies, bitter jests, *Sub.* 4.
          - Loss of liberty, servitude, imprisonment, *Sub.* 5.
          - Poverty and want, *Sub.* 6.
          - An heap of other accidents, death of friends, loss, &c. *Sub.* 7.
      - Or
      - Contingent, inward, antecedent, nearest. *Memb.* 5. *Sect.* 2.
        - In which the body works on the mind, and this malady is caused by precedent diseases, as agues, pox, &c. or temperature innate, *Sub.* 1.
        - Or by particular parts distempered, as brain, heart, spleen, liver, mesentery, pylorus, stomach, &c. *Sub.* 2.

Particular to the three species. See II.

II. rticular ıses *ct.* 2. *emb.* 5.

- Of head Melancholy are, *Sub.* 3.
  - Inward or Outward
    - Innate humour, or from distemperature adust.
    - A hot brain, corrupted blood in the brain.
    - Excess of venery, or defect.
    - Agues, or some precedent disease.
    - Fumes arising from the stomach, &c.
    - Heat of the sun immoderate.
    - A blow on the head.
    - Overmuch use of hot wines, spices, garlick, onions, hot baths, overmuch waking, &c.
    - Idleness, solitariness, or overmuch study, vehement labour, &c.
    - Passions, perturbations, &c.
- Of hypochondriacal, or windy melancholy are, 5.
  - Inward or Outward
    - Default of spleen, belly, bowels, stomach, mesentery, meseraick veins, liver, &c.
    - Months or hemorrhoids stopt, or any other ordinary evacuation.
    - Those six non-natural things abused.
- Over all the body are, *Sub.* 5.
  - Inward or Outward
    - Liver distempered, stopt, over hot, apt to ingender melancholy, temperature innate.
    - Bad diet, suppressing of hemorrhoids, &c. and such evacuations, passions, cares, &c. those six non-natural things abused.

- **8 Necessary causes, as those six non-natural things, which are, *Sect.* 2. *Memb.* 5.**
  - Diet offending in *Sub.* 3.
    - Substance
      - Bread; coarse and black, &c.
      - Drink; thick, thin, sowre, &c.
      - Water unclean, milk, oyl, vinegar, wine, spices, &c.
      - Flesh
        - Parts; heads, feet, entrails, fat, bacon, blood, &c.
        - Kinds: Bief, pork, venison, hares, goats, pigeons, peacocks, fen-fowl, &c.
      - Herbs, Fish, &c.
        - Of fish; all shell-fish, hard and slimy fish, &c.
        - Of herbs; pulse, cabbage, mellons, garlick, onions, &c.
        - All roots, raw fruits, hard and windy meats.
    - Quality, as in
      - Preparing, dressing, sharp sauces, salt meats, indurate, sowced, fryed, broiled, or made-dishes, &c.
    - Quantity
      - Disorder in eating, immoderate eating, or at unseasonable times, &c. *Subsec.* 2.
      - Custom; delight, appetite, altered, &c. *Subs.* 3.
  - Retention and evacuation, *Subs.* 4.
    - Costiveness, hot baths, sweating, issues stopped, Venus in excess, or in defect, phlebotomy, purging, &c.
  - Air; hot, cold, tempestuous, dark, thick, foggy, moorish, &c. *Subs.* 5.
  - Exercise, *Sub.* 6.
    - Unseasonable, excessive, or defective, of body or minde, solitariness, idleness, a life out of action, &c.
  - Sleep and waking, unseasonable, inordinate, over much, over little, &c. *Sub.* 7.
  - Passions and perturbations of the mind, *Subs.* 2. With a digression of the force of imagination. *Sub.* 2. and division of passions into *Sub.* 3. *Mem.* 3. *Sect.* 2.
    - Irascible or concupiscible.
      - Irascible
        - Sorrow, cause and symptome, *Sub.* 4. Fear, cause and symptome, *Sub.* 5. Shame, repulse, disgrace, &c. *Sub.* 6. Envy and malice, *Sub.* 7. Emulation, hatred, faction, desire of revenge, *Sub.* 8. Anger a cause, *Sub.* 9. Discontents, cares, miseries, &c. *Sub.* 10.
      - Concupiscible.
        - Vehement desires, ambition, *Sub.* 11. Covetousness, *φιλαργυρίαν*, *Sub.* 12. Love of pleasures, gaming in excess, &c. *Sub.* 14. Love of learning, study in excess, with a digression of the misery of scholars, and why the Muses are melancholy, *Sub.* 15.

- **B. Symptomes of melancholy are either *Sect.* 3.**
  - Body, as ill digestion, crudity, wind, dry brains, hard belly, thick blood, much waking, heaviness and palpitation of heart, leaping in many places, &c. *Sub.* 1.
  - General, as of *Memb.* 1.
    - Common to all or most,
      - Fear and sorrow without a just cause, suspicion, jealousie, discontent, solitariness, irksomeness, continual cogitations, restless thoughts, vain imaginations, &c. *Subs.* 2.
    - or Or
      - Celestial influences, as ☽ ☿ ♂, &c. parts of the body, heart, brain, liver, spleen, stomach, &c.
      - Humours
        - Sanguine are merry still, laughing, pleasant, meditating on playes, women, musick, &c.
        - Phlegmatick, slothful, dull, heavy, &c.
        - Cholerick, furious, impatient, subject to hear and see strange apparitions, &c.
        - Black, solitary, sad; they think they are bewitcht, dead, &c.
      - Or mixt of these four humours adust, or not adust, infinitely varied.
  - Mind
    - Particular to private persons, according to *Sub.* 3. 4.
      - Their several customs, conditions, discipline, &c.
        - Ambitious, thinks himself a king, a lord; covetous runs on his money; lascivious on his mistris; religious hath revelations, visions, is a prophet, or troubled in mind; a scholar on his book, &c.
      - Continuance of time as the humor is intended or remitted, &c.
        - Pleasant at first, hardly discerned; afterwards harsh and intolerable, if inveterate.
        - Hence some make three degrees,
          1. *Falsa cogitatio.*
          2. *Cogitata loqui.*
          3. *Exsequi loquutum.*
        - By fits, or continuate, as the object varies, pleasing or displeasing.

Simple, or as it is mixt with other diseases, apoplexies, gout, canina appetitus, &c. so the symptomes are various.

Synopsis of the First Partition.

- ticular ptomes to three dist species. *t.* 3. *n.* 2.
  - Head melancholy. *Sub.* 1.
    - In body — Head-ach, binding, heaviness, vertigo, lightness, singing of the ears, much waking, fixed eyes, high colour, red eyes, hard belly, dry body; no great sign of melancholy in the other parts.
    - Or
    - In mind. — Continual fear, sorrow, suspicion, discontent, superfluous cares, solicitude, anxiety, perpetual cogitation of such toyes they are possessed with, thoughts like dreams, &c.
  - Hypochondriacal or windy melancholy. *Sub.* 2.
    - In body — Wind, rumbling in the guts, belly-ake, heat in the bowels, convulsions, crudities, short wind, sowr and sharp belchings, cold sweat, pain in the left side, suffocation, palpitation, heaviness of the heart, singing in the ears, much spittle, and moist, &c.
    - Or
    - In mind. — Fearful, sad, suspicious, discontent, anxiety, &c. Lascivious by reason of much wind, troublesome dreams, affected by fits, &c.
  - Over all the body. *Sub.* 3.
    - In body — Black, most part lean, broad veins, gross, thick blood, their hemorrhoids commonly stopped, &c.
    - Or
    - In mind. — Fearful, sad, solitary, hate light, averse from company, fearful dreams, &c.
  - Symptomes of nuns, maids, and widows melancholy, in body and mind, &c.
  - A reason of these symptomes. *Memb.* 3.
    - Why they are so fearful, sad, suspicious without a cause, why solitary, why melancholy men are witty, why they suppose they hear and see strange voices, visions, apparitions.
    - Why they prophesie, and speak strange languages; whence comes their crudity, rumbling, convulsions, cold sweat, heaviness of heart, palpitation, cardiaca, fearful dreams, prodigious phantasies.

- C. gnosticks melancholy. *t.* 4.
  - Tending to good, as
    - Morphew, scabs, itch, breaking out, &c.
    - Black jaundise.
    - If the hemorrhoids voluntarily open.
    - If varices appear.
  - Tending to evil, as
    - Leanness, driness, hollow-eyed, &c.
    - Inveterate melancholy is incurable.
    - If cold, it degenerates often into epilepsie, apoplexy, dotage, or into blindness.
    - If hot, into madness, despair, and violent death.
  - Corollaries and questions.
    - The grievousness of this above all other diseases.
    - The diseases of the mind are more grievous than those of the body.
    - Whether it be lawful, in this case of melancholy, for a man to offer violence to himself. *Neg.*
    - How a melancholy or mad man, offering violence to himself, is to be censured.

THE

FIRST PARTITION.

THE FIRST { SECTION. MEMBER. SUBSECTION.

Man's Excellency, Fall, Miseries, Infirmities; The causes of them.

Man's Excellency.] MAN, the most excellent and noble creature of the world, *the principal and mighty work of God, wonder of nature*, as Zoroaster calls him; *audacis naturæ miraculum, the* [a] *marvail of marvails*, as Plato; *the* [b] *abridgement and epitome of the world*, as Pliny; *microcosmus*, a little world, a model of the world, [c] soveragn lord of the earth, viceroy of the world, sole commander and governour of all the creatures in it; to whose empire they are subject in particular, and yield obedience; far surpassing all the rest, not in body only, but in soul; [d] *imaginis imugo*, [e] created to Gods own [f] *image*, to that immortal and incorporeal substance, with all the faculties and powers belonging unto it; was at first pure, divine, perfect, happy, [g] *created after God in true holiness and righteousness; Deo congruens*, free from all manner of infirmities, and put in Paradise, to know God, to praise and glorifie him, to do his will, *Ut dis consimiles parturiat deos*, (as an old poet saith) to propagate the church.

Mans fall and misery.] But this most noble creature, *Heu tristis, et lacrymosa commutatio* ([h] one exclaims) O pitiful change! is fallen from that he was, and forfeited his estate, become *miserabilis homuncio*, a castaway, a caitiff, one of the most miserable creatures of the world, if he be considered in his own nature, an unregenerate man, and so much obscured by his fall, that (some few reliques excepted) he is inferiour to a beast: [i] *man in honour that understandeth not, is like unto beasts that perish*; so David esteems him: a monster by stupend metamorphosis, [j] a fox, a dog, a hog; what not? *Quantum mutatis ab illo!* How much altered from that he was; before blessed and happy, now miserable and accursed; [k] *he must eat his meat in sorrow*, subject to death and all manner of infirmities, all kinds of calamities.

A description of melancholy.] *Great travel is created for all men, and an heavy yoke on the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mothers womb, unto that day they return to the mother of all things; namely, their thoughts, and fear of their hearts, and their imagination of things they wait for, and the day of death. From him that sitteth in the glorious throne, to him that sitteth beneath in the earth and ashes—from*

[a] Magnum miraculum. [b] Mundi epitome, naturæ deliciæ. [c] Finis rerum omnium, cui subluna-ria serviant. Scalig. exercit. 365. sec. 3. Vales. de sacr. Phil. c. 5. [d] Ut in numismate Cæsaris imago, sic in nomine Dei. [e] Gen. 1. [f] Imago mundi in corpore, Dei in animâ. Exemplumque Dei quisque est in imagine parvâ. [g] Eph. 4. 24. [h] Palanterius. [i] Ps. 49. 20. [j] Lasciviâ superat equum, impudentiâ canem, astu vulpem, furore leonem. Chrys. 23. Gen. [k] Gen. 3. 17.

him that is cloathed in blue silk, and weareth a crown, to him that is cloathed in simple linnen—wrath, envy, trouble, and unquietness, and fear of death, and rigour and strife, and such things, come to both man and beast, but sevenfold to the ungodly[l]. All this befalls him in this life, and peradventure eternal misery in the life to come.

Impulsive cause of mans misery and infirmities.] The impulsive cause of these miseries in man, this privation or destruction of God's image, the cause of death and diseases, of all temporal and eternal punishments, was the sin of our first parent Adam, [m] in eating of the forbidden fruit, by the devils instigation and allurement—his disobedience, pride, ambition, intemperance, incredulity, curiosity; from whence proceeded original sin, and that general corruption of mankind—as from a fountain, flowed all bad inclinations, and actual transgressions, which cause our several calamities, inflicted upon us for our sins. And this, belike, is that which our fabulous poets have shadowed unto us in the tale of [n] Pandoras box, which, being opened through her curiosity, filled the world full of all manner of diseases. It is not curiosity alone, but those other crying sins of ours, which pull these several plagues and miseries upon our heads. For *ubi peccatum, ibi procella*, as [o] Chrysostom well observes. [p] *Fools, by reason of their transgression, and because of their iniquities, are inflicted.* [q] *Fear cometh like sudden desolation, and destruction like a whirlewinde, affliction and anguish*, because they did not fear God.

Are you shaken with wars? [r] (as Cyprian well urgeth to Demetrius,) *are you molested with dearth and famine? is your health crushed with raging diseases? is mankind generally tormented with epidemical maladies? 'tis all for your sins*, Hag. 1. 9, 10. Amos 1. Jer. 7. God is angry, punisheth, and threateneth, because of their obstinacy and stubbornness, they will not turn unto him. [s] *If the earth be barren then for want of rain; if, dry and squalid, it yield no fruit; if your fountains be dried up, your wine, corn, and oyle blasted; if the air be corrupted, and men troubled with diseases, 'tis by reason of their sins*, which (like the blood of Abel) cry loud to heaven for vengeance, Lam. 5. 15. *That we have sinned, therefore our hearts are heavy*, Isa. 59. 11, 12. *We roar like bears, and mourn like doves, and want health, &c. for our sins and trespasses.* But this we cannot endure to hear, or to take notice of. Jer. 2. 30. *We are smitten in vain, and receive no correction*; and cap. 5. 3. *Thou hast stricken them; but they have not sorrowed; they have refused to receive correction; they have not returned. Pestilence he hath sent; but they have not turned to him*, Amos 4. [t] Herod could not abide John Baptist, nor [u] Domitian endure Apollonius to tell the causes of the plague at Ephesus, his injustice, incest, adultery, and the like.

To punish therefore this blindness and obstinacy of ours, as a concomitant cause and principal agent, is Gods just judgement in bringing these calamities upon us, to chastise us, (I say) for our sins, and to satisfie God's wrath: for the law requires obedience or punishment, as you may read at large, Deut. 28. 15. *If they will not obey the Lord, and keep his commandments and ordinances, then all these curses shall come upon them.* [v] *Cursed in the town, and in the field, &c.* [w] *Cursed in the fruit of the body, &c.* [x] *The Lord shall send thee trouble and shame, because of thy wickedness.*

[l] Eccius. 40. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8. [m] Gen. 3. 16. [n] Illa cadens tegmen manibus decussit, et unâ Perniciem immisit miseris mortalibus atram. Hesiod. 1. oper. [o] Hom. 5. ad pop. Antioch. [p] Psal. 107. 17. [q] Prov. 1. 27. [r] Quod autem crebrius bella concutiant, quod sterilitas et fames solicitudinem cumulent, quod sævientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quod humanum genus luis populatione vastatur; ob peccatum omnia. Cypr. [s] Si raro desuper pluvia descendat, si terra situ pulveris squaleat, si vix jejunas et pallidas herbas sterilis gleba producat, si turbo vineam debilitet, &c. Cypr. [t] Mat. 14. 3. [u] Philostratus, lib. 8. vit. Apollonii. Injustitiam ejus, et scelcratas nuptias, et cætera quæ præter rationem fecerat, morborum caussas dixit. [v] 16 [w] 18. [x] 20.

And a little after, [y] *The Lord shall smite thee with the botch of Ægypt, and with emrods, and scab, and itch; and thou canst not be healed;* [z] *with madness, blindness, and astonishing of heart.* This Paul seconds, Rom. 2. 9. *Tribulation and anguish on the soul of every man that doth evil.* Or else these chastisements are inflicted upon us for our humiliation, to exercise and try our patience here in this life, to bring us home, to make us know God and our selves, to inform and teach us wisdom. [a] *Therefore is my people gone into captivity, because they had no knowledge; therefore is the wrath of the Lord kindled against his people, and he hath stretched out his hand upon them.* He is desirous of our salvation, [b] *nostræ salutis avidus*, saith Lemnius, and for that cause pulls us by the ear many times, to put us in mind of our duties, *that they which erred might have* [c] *understanding*, (as Isay speaks, 29. 24.) *and so to be reformed. I am afflicted and at the point of death*, so David confesseth of himself, Psal. 88. 15. v. 9. *Mine eyes are sorrowful through mine affliction:* and that made him turn unto God. Great Alexander, in the midst of all his prosperity, by a company of parasites deified, and now made a god, when he saw one of his wounds bleed, remembered that he was but a man, and remitted of his pride. *In morbo recolligit se animus*, as [d] Pliny well perceived: *in sickness the mind reflects upon itself, with judgement surveys itself, and abhors its former courses;* insomuch that he concludes to his friend Maximus, [e] *that it were the period of all philosophy, if we could so continue, sound, or perform but a part of that which we promised to do, being sick. Who so is wise then, will consider these things*, as David did, (Psal. 144. verse last) and, whatsoever fortune befal him, make use of it—if he be in sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity, seriously to recount with himself, why this or that malady, misery, this or that incurable disease, is inflicted upon him; it may be for his good; [f] *sic expedit*, as Peter said of his daughter's ague. Bodily sickness is for his soul's health; *periisset, nisi periisset;* had he not been visited he had utterly perished; for [g] *the Lord correcteth him whom he loveth, even as a father doth his child in whom he delighteth.* If he be safe and sound on the other side, and free from all manner of infirmity; [h] *et cui*

> Gratia, forma, valetudo contingat abunde,
> Et mundus victus, non deficiente crumenâ—
>
> And that he have grace, beauty, favour, health,
> A cleanly diet, and abound in wealth—

yet, in the midst of his prosperity, let him remember that caveat of Moses,[i] *beware that he do not forget the Lord his God;* that he be not puffed up, but acknowledge them to be his good gifts and benefits, and [j] *the more he hath, to be more thankful*, (as Agapetianus adviseth) and use them aright.

Instrumental causes of our infirmities.] Now the instrumental causes of these our infirmities are as diverse, as the infirmities themselves. Stars, heavens, elements, &c. and all those creatures which God hath made, are armed against sinners. They were indeed once good in themselves; and that they are now, many of them, pernicious unto us, is not in their nature, but our corruption which hath caused it. For, from the fall of our first parent Adam, they have been changed, the earth accursed, the influence of stars altered; the four elements, beasts, birds, plants, are now ready to offend us. *The principal things for the use of man are water, fire, iron, salt, meal,*

[y] Vers. 17. [z] 28. Deus, quos diligit, castigat. [a] Isa. 5. 13. vers. 15. [b] Nostræ salutis avidus, continenter aures vellicat, ac calamitate subinde nos exercet. Levinus Lemn. l. 2. c. 29. de occult. nat. mir. [c] Vexatio dat intellectum. Esay 28. 19. [d] Lib. 7. Cum judicio, mores et facta recognoscit, et se intuetur.—Dum fero languorem, fero religionis amorem: Expers languoris, non sum memor hujus amoris. [e] Summam esse totius philosophiæ, ut tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuros esse infirmi profitemur. [f] Petrarch. [g] Prov. 3. 12. [h] Hor. Epist. lib. 1. 4. [i] Deut. 8. 11. Qui stat, videat ne cadat. [j] Quanto majoribus beneficiis a Deo cumulatur, tanto obligationem se debitorem fateri.

wheat, hony, milk, oile, wine, clothing, good to the godly, to the sinners turned to evil, Ecclus. 39. 26. *Fire, and hail, and famine, and dearth, all these are created for vengeance,* Ecclus. 39. 29. The heavens threaten us with their comets, stars, planets, with their great conjunctions, eclipses, oppositions, quartiles, and such unfriendly aspects; the air with his meteors, thunder and lightning, intemperate heat and cold, mighty winds, tempests, unseasonable weather; from which proceed dearth, famine, plague, and all sorts of epidemical diseases, consuming infinite myriads of men. At Cayro in Ægypt, every third year, (as is related by [k] Boterus, and others) 300000 dye of the plague; and 200000 in Constantinople, every fifth or seventh at the utmost. How doth the earth terrifie and oppress us with terrible earthquakes, which are most frequent in [l] China, Japan, and those eastern climes, swallowing up sometimes six cities at once! How doth the water rage with his inundations, irruptions, flinging down towns, cities, villages, bridges, &c. besides shipwracks; whole islands are sometimes suddenly over-whelmed with all their inhabitants, as in [m] Zeland, Holland, and many parts of the continent drowned, as the [n] lake Erne in Ireland! [o] *Nihilque præter arcium cadavera patenti cernimus freto.* In the fenns of Freesland, 1230, by reason of tempests, [p] the sea drowned *multa hominum millia, et jumenta sine numero,* all the country almost, men and cattle in it. How doth the fire rage, that merciless element, consuming in an instant whole cities! What town, of any antiquity or note, hath not been once, again and again, by the fury of this merciless element, defaced, ruinated, and left desolate? In a word,

> [q] Ignis pepercit? unda mergit; aëris
> Vis pestilentis æquori ereptum necat;
> Bello superstes, tabidus morbo perit.
>
> Whom fire spares, sea doth drown; whom sea,
> Pestilent ayre doth send to clay;
> Whom war scapes, sickness takes away.

To descend to more particulars, how many creatures are at deadly feud with men! Lions, wolves, bears, &c. some with hoofs, horns, tusks, teeth, nails: how many noxious serpents and venemous creatures, ready to offend us with sting, breath, sight, or quite kill us! How many pernicious fishes, plants, gums, fruits, seeds, flowers, &c. could I reckon up on a sudden, which by their very smell, many of them, touch, taste, cause some grievous malady, if not death it self! Some make mention of a thousand several poysons: but these are but trifles in respect. [r] The greatest enemy to man is man, who, by the devils instigation, is still ready to do mischief—his own executioner, a wolf, a devil to himself and others. We are all brethren in Christ, or at least should be—members of one body, servants of one Lord; and yet no fiend can so torment, insult over, tyrannize, vex, as one man doth another. Let me not fall, therefore, (saith David, when wars, plague, famine, were offered) into the hands of men, merciless and wicked men:

> [s] ——————Vix sunt homines hoc nomine digni;
> Quamque lupi, sævæ plus feritatis habent.

We can, most part, foresee these epidemical diseases, and likely, avoid them. Dearths, tempests, plagues, our astrologers foretell us: earth-quakes, inundations, ruines of houses, consuming fires, come by little and little, or make some noise before-hand; but the knaveries, impostures, injuries, and villanies of men no art can avoid. We can keep our professed enemies from our cities, by gates, walls and towers, defend our selves from thieves and robbers by watchfulness and weapons: but this malice of men, and their pernicious endeavours, no caution can divert, no vigilancy foresee, we have

[k] Boterus de Inst. Urbium. [l] Lege hist. relationem Lod. Frois de rebus Japonicis ad annum 1596.
[m] *Guicciard.* descript. Belg. an. 1421. [n] Giraldus Cambrens. [o] Janus Dousa, ep. lib. 1. car. 10.
[p] *Munster. l. 3. Cos. cap. 462.* [q] Buchanan. Baptist. [r] Homo homini lupus; homo homini dæmon.
[s] *Ovid. de Trist. l. 5.*

so many secret plots and devices to mischief one another; sometimes by the devils help, as magicians, [t] witches; sometimes by impostures, mixtures, poysons, stratagems, single combats, wars, (we hack and hew, as if we were *ad internecionem nati*, like Cadmus souldiers born to consume one another: —'tis an ordinary thing to read of an hundred and two hundred thousand men slain in a battle) besides all manner of tortures, brasen bulls, racks, wheels, strappadoes, guns, engines, &c. [u] *Ad unum corpus humanum supplicia plura, quam membra:* we have invented more torturing instruments, than there be several members in a mans body, as Cyprian well observes. To come nearer yet, our own parents, by their offences, indiscretion, and intemperance, are our mortal enemies. [v] *The fathers have eaten sowr grapes; and the childrens teeth are set on edge.* They cause our grief many times, and put upon us hereditary diseases, inevitable infirmities: they torment us; and we are ready to injure our posterity, ——[w] *mox daturi progeniem vitiosiorem;* and the latter end of the world, as [x] Paul foretold, is still like to be worst. We are thus bad by nature, bad by kind, but far worse by art, every man the greatest enemy unto himself. We study many times to undo our selves, abusing those good gifts which God hath bestowed upon us, health, wealth, strength, wit, learning, art, memory, to our destruction: [y] *Perditio tua ex te.* As [z] Judas Maccabæus killed Apollonius with his own weapons, we arm ourselves to our own overthrows: and use reason, art, judgement, all that should help us, as so many instruments to undo us. Hector gave Ajax a sword, which, so long as he fought against enemies, served for his help and defence; but after he began to hurt harmless creatures with it, turned to his own hurtless bowels. Those excellent means, God hath bestowed on us, well imployed, cannot but much avail us: but, if otherwise perverted, they ruine and confound us; and so, by reason of our indiscretion and weakness, they commonly do: we have too many instances. This S. Austin acknowledgeth of himself in his humble Confessions; *promptness of wit, memory, eloquence, they were Gods good gifts; but he did not use them to his glory.* If you will particularly know how, and by what means, consult physicians; and they will tell you, that it is in offending some of those six non-natural things, of which I shall after [a] dilate more at large: they are the causes of our infirmities, our surfeiting, and drunkenness, our immoderate insatiable lust, and prodigious riot. *Plures crapula, quam gladius,* is a true saying—the board consumes more than the sword. Our intemperance it is, that pulls so many incurable diseases upon our heads, [b] that hastens old age, perverts our temperature, and brings upon us sudden death. And, last of all, that which crucifies us most, is our own folly, madness, (*quos Jupiter perdit, dementat;* by substraction of his assisting grace, God permits it) weakness, want of government, our facility, and proneness in yielding to several lusts, in giving way to every passion and perturbation of the mind; by which means we metamorphose our selves, and degenerate into beasts; all which that prince of [c] poets observed of Agamemnon, that, when he was well pleased, and could moderate his passion, he was—*os oculosque Jovi par*—like Jupiter in feature, Mars in valour, Pallas in wisdom, another God; but, when he became angry, he was a lyon, a tiger, a dog, &c. there appeared no sign or likeness of Jupiter in him: so we, as long as we are ruled by reason, correct our inordinate appetite, and conform our selves to Gods word, are as so many living saints: but, if we give reins to lust, anger, ambition, pride, and follow our own wayes, we degenerate into

[t] Miscent aconita noverca. [u] Lib. 2. epist. 2. ad Donatum. [v] Ezech. 18. 2. [w] Hor. l. 3. Od. 6. [x] 2 Tim. 3. 2. [y] Ezech. 18. 31. [z] 1 Macc. 3. 12. [a] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 2. [b] Nequitia est, quæ te non sinit esse senem. [c] Homer. Iliad.

beasts, transform our selves, overthrow our constitutions, [d] provoke God to anger, and heap upon us this of melancholy, and all kinds of incurable diseases, as a just and deserved punishment of our sins.

Subsect. II.—*The Definition, Number, Division of Diseases.*

What a disease is, almost every physician defines. [e] Fernelius calleth it an *affection of the body contrary to nature*—[f] Fuchsius and Crato, *an hindrance, hurt, or alteration of any action of the body, or part of it*—[g] Tholosanus, *a dissolution of that league which is between body and soul, and a perturbation of it; as health the perfection, and makes to the preservation of it*—[h] Labeo in Agellius, *an ill habit of the body, opposite to nature, hindering the use of it*—others otherwise, all to this effect.

Number of diseases.] How many diseases there are, is a question not yet determined. [i] Pliny reckons up 300, from the crown of the head, to the sole of the foot: elsewhere he saith, *morborum infinita multitudo*, their number is infinite. Howsoever it was in those times, it boots not; in our dayes, I am sure the number is much augmented:

> ——[j] macies, et nova febrium
> Terris incubuit cohors:

for, besides many epidemical diseases unheard of, and altogether unknown to Galen and Hippocrates, as *scorbutum, small pox, plica, sweating sickness, morbus Gallicus, &c.* we have many proper and peculiar almost to every part.

No man free from some disease or other.] No man amongst us so sound, of so good a constitution, that hath not some impediment of body or mind. *Quisque suos patimur manes;* we have all our infirmities, first or last, more or less. There will be, peradventure, in an age, or one of a thousand, like Zenophilus the musician in [k] Pliny, that may happily live 105 years without any manner of impediment; a Pollio Romulus, that can preserve himself [l] *with wine and oyle;* a man as fortunate as Q. Metellus, of whom Valerius so much braggs; a man as healthful as Otto Herwardus, a senator of Ausborrow in Germany, (whom [m] Leovitius the astrologer brings in for an example and instance of certainty in his art) who, because he had the significatours in his geniture fortunate, and free from the hostile aspects of Saturn and Mars, being a very old man, [n] *could not remember that ever he was sick.* [o] Paracelsus may brag, that he could make a man live 400 years or more, if he might bring him up from his infancy, and diet him as he list; and some physicians hold, that there is no certain period of mans life, but it may still, by temperance and physick, be prolonged. We find in the mean time, by common experience, that no man can escape, but that of [p] Hesiod is true:

> Πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα·
> Νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ, ἠδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ,
> Αὐτομάτοι φοιτῶσι.————
> Th' earth's full of maladies, and full the sea,
> Which set upon us both by night and day.

Division of diseases.] If you require a more exact division of these ordinary diseases which are incident to men, I refer you to physicians: [q] they will tell you of *acute* and *chronick, first* and *secundary, lethales, salutares, errant, fixed, simple, compound, connexed,* or *consequent*, belonging to *parts*

[d] Intemperantia, luxus, ingluvies, et infinita hujusmodi flagitia, quæ divinas pœnas merentur. Crato. [e] Fern. Path. l. c. 1. Morbus est affectus contra naturam corpori insidens. [f] Fuchs. Instit. l. 3. Sect. 1. c. 3. a quo primum vitiatur actio. [g] Dissolutio fœderis in corpore, ut sanitas est consummatio. [h] Lib. 4. cap. 2. Morbus est habitus contra naturam, qui usum ejus, &c. [i] Cap. 11. lib. 7. [j] Horat. [k] Cap. 50. lib. 7. Centum et quinque vixit annos sine ullo incommodo. [l] Intus mulso, foras oleo. [m] Exemplis genitur, præfixis Ephemer. cap. de infirmitat. [n] Qui, quoad pueritiæ ultimam memoriam recordari potest, non meminit se ægrotum decubuisse. [o] Lib. de vitâ *longâ.* [p] Oper. et dies. [q] See Fernelius, Path. lib. 1. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12. Fuchsius, instit. l. 3. *sect. 1. c. 7. Wecker. Synt.*

or the whole, in *habit* or in *disposition*, &c. My divison at this time (as most befitting my purpose) shall be into those of the body and mind. For them of the body (a brief catalogue of which Fuchsius hath made, *Institut. lib.* 3. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 11.) I refer you to the voluminous tomes of Galen, Aretæus, Rhasis, Avicenna, Alexander, Paulus, Aëtius, Cordonerius, and those exact neotericks, Savanarola, Cappivaccius, Donatus Altomarus, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Mercurialis, Victorius Faventinus, Wecker, Piso, &c. that have methodically and elaborately written of them all. Those of the mind and head I will briefly handle, and apart.

Subsect. III.—*Division of the Diseases of the Head.*

These diseases of the mind, forasmuch as they have their chief seat and organs in the head, are commonly repeated amongst the diseases of the head, which are divers, and vary much according to their site: for in the head, as there be several parts, so there be divers grievances, which, according to that division of [r] Heurnius, (which he takes out of Arculanus) are inward or outward (to omit all others which pertain to eyes and ears, nostrils, gums, teeth, mouth, palate, tongue, wesel, chops, face, &c.) belonging properly to the brain, as baldness, falling of hair, furfair, lice, &c. [s] Inward belonging to the skins next to the brain, called *dura* and *pia mater*, as all head aches, &c. or to the ventricles, caules, kells, tunicles, creeks, and parts of it, and their passions, as *caros*, *vertigo*, *incubus*, *apoplexie*, *falling sickness*. The diseases of the *nerves*; *crampes*, *stupor*, *convulsion*, *tremor*, *palsie*; or belonging to the excrements of the brain, *catarrhes*, *sneezing*, *rheumes*, *distillations*; or else those that pertain to the substance of the brain it self, in which are conceived, *phrensie*, *lethargie*, *melancholy*, *madness*, *weak memory*, *sopor*, or *coma vigilia* and *vigil coma*. Out of these again I will single such as properly belong to the *phantasie*, or *imagination*, or *reason* it self, which [t] Laurentius calls the diseases of the mind; and Hildesheim, *morbos imaginationis, aut rationis læsæ*, which are three or four in number, *phrensie*, *madness*, *melancholy*, *dotage*, and their kinds, as *hydrophobia*, *lycanthropia*, *chorus sancti Viti*, *morbi dæmoniaci*; which I will briefly touch and point at, insisting especially in this of *melancholy*, as more eminent than the rest, and that through all his kinds, causes, symptomes, prognosticks, cures; as Locinerus hath done *de Apoplexiâ*, and many other of such particular diseases. Not that I find fault with those which have written of this subject before, as Jason Pratensis, Laurentius Montaltus, T. Bright, &c. they have done very well in their several kinds and methods: yet that which one omits, another may haply see; that which one contracts, another may inlarge. To conclude with [u] Scribanius, *that which they had neglected, or perfunctorily handled, we may more thoroughly examine; that which is obscurely delivered in them, may be perspicuously dilated and amplified by us*, and so made more familiar and easie for every mans capacity, and the common good; which is the chief end of my discourse.

Subsect. IV.—*Dotage, Phrensie, Madness, Hydrophobia, Lycanthropia, Chorus sancti Viti, Extasis.*

Delirium, dotage.] Dotage, fatuity, or folly, is a common name to all the following species, as some will have it. [v] Laurentius and [w] Altomarus comprehended *madness*, *melancholy*, and the rest, under this name, and call it the *summum genus* of them all. If it be distinguished from them, it is *natural*

[r] Præfat. de morbis capitis. In capite ut variæ habitant partes, ita variæ querelæ ibi eveniunt. [s] Of which read Heurnius, Montaltus, Hildesheim, Quercetan, Jason Pratensis, &c. [t] Cap. 2. de melancholi. [u] Cap. 2. de Physologiâ sagarum. Quod alii minus recte fortasse dixerint, nos examinare, melius dijudicare, corrigere, studeamus. [v] Cap. 4. de mel. [w] Art. med. c. 7.

or *ingenite*, which comes by some defect of the organs, and over-moist brain, as we see in our common fools; and is for the most part intended or remitted in particular men, and thereupon some are wiser than other; or else it is acquisite, an appendix or symptome of some other disease, which comes or goes; or, if it continue, a sign of *melancholy* it self.

Phrensie.] *Phrenitis* (which the Greeks derive from the word φρὴν) is a disease of the mind, with a continual madness or dotage, which hath an acute fever annexed, or else an inflammation of the brain, or the membranes or kells of it, with an acute fever, which causeth madness and dotage. It differs from *melancholy* and *madness*, because their dotage is without an ague: this continual, with waking, or memory decayed, &c. *Melancholy* is most part silent, this clamorous; and many such like differences are assigned by physicians.

Madness.] *Madness*, *phrensie*, and *melancholy*, are confounded by Celsus, and many writers; others leave out *phrensie*, and make *madness* and *melancholy* but one disease; which [x] Jason Pratensis especially labours, and that they differ only *secundum majus* or *minus*, in quantity alone, the one being a degree to the other, and both proceeding from one cause. They differ *intenso et remisso gradu*, saith [y] Gordonius, as the humour is intended or remitted. Of the same mind is [z] Aretæus, Alexander Tertullianus, Guianerius, Savanarola, Heurnius; and Galen himself writes promiscuously of them both, by reason of their affinity; but most of our neotericks do handle them apart, whom I will follow in this treatise. *Madness* is therefore defined to be a vehement *dotage*; or raving without a fever, far more violent than *melancholy*, full of anger and clamour, horrible looks, actions, gestures, troubling the patients with far greater vehemency both of body and mind, without all fear and sorrow, with such impetuous force and boldness, that sometimes three or four men cannot hold them; differing only in this from *phrensie*, that it is without a fever, and their memory is, most part, better. It hath the same causes as the other, as choler adust, and blood incensed, brains inflamed, &c. [a] Fracastorius adds, *a due time and full age* to this definition, to distinguish it from children, and will have it *confirmed impotency*, to separate it from *such as accidently come and go again, as by taking henbane, nightshade, wine*, &c. Of this fury there be divers kinds, [b] *ecstacie*, which is familiar with some persons, as Cardan saith of himself, he could be in one when he list; in which the Indian priests deliver their oracles, and the witches in Lapland (as Olaus Magnus writeth, l. 3. cap. 18. *extasi omnia prædicere*) answer all questions in an extasis you will ask; what your friends do, where they are, how they fare, &c. The other *species* of this fury are *enthusiasms*, *revelations*, and *visions*, so often mentioned by Gregory and Beda in their works; obsession or possession of devils, *Sibylline prophets*, and poetical *Furies*; such as come by eating noxious herbs, tarantulas stinging, &c. which some reduce to this. The most known are *lycanthropia*, *hydrophobia*, *chorus sancti Viti*.

Lycanthropia.] *Lycanthropia*, which Avicenna calls *cucubuth*, others *lupinam insaniam*, or wolf-madness, when men run howling about graves and fields in the night, and will not be perswaded but that they are wolves, or some such beasts—[c] Aëtius and [d] Paulus call it a kind of *melancholy*; but I should rather refer it to *madness*, as most do. Some make a doubt of it, whether there be any such disease. [e] Donat. ab Altomari saith, that he saw two of them in his time: [f] Wierus tells a story of such a one at Padua,

[x] Plerique medici uno complexu perstringunt hos duos morbos, quod ex eâdem caussâ oriantur, quodque magnitudine et modo solum distent, et alter gradus ad alterum existat. Jason Pratens. [y] Lib. Med. [z] Pars maniæ mihi videtur. [a] Insanus est, qui ætate debitâ, et tempore debito, per se, non momentaneam et fugacem, ut vini, solani, hyoscyami, sed confirmatam habet impotentiam bene operandi circa intellectum. l. 2. de intellectione. [b] Of which read Felix Plater. cap. 3. de mentis alienatione. [c] Lib. 6. cap. 11. [d] Lib. 3. cap. 16. [e] Cap. 9. Art. med. [f] De præstig. *Dæmonum. l. 3. cap.* 21.

1541, that would not believe to the contrary, but that he was a wolf. He hath another instance of a Spaniard, who thought himself a bear. [g] Forestus confirms as much by many examples; one, amongst the rest, of which he was an eye witness, at Alcmaer in Holland—a poor husbandman that still hunted about graves, and kept in church-yards, of a pale, black, ugly, and fearful look. Such, belike, or little better, were king Prœtus [h] daughters, that thought themselves kine; and Nebuchadnezzar, in Daniel, as some interpreters hold, was only troubled with this kind of madness. This disease perhaps gave occasion to that bold assertion of [i] Pliny, *some men were turned into wolves in his time, and from wolves to men again;* and to that fable of Pausanias, of a man that was ten years a wolf, and afterwards turned to his former shape: to [j] Ovids tale of Lycaon, &c. He that is desirous to hear of this disease, or more examples, let him read Austin in his eighteenth book *de Civitate Dei, cap.* 5; *Mizaldus, cent.* 5. 77; *Schenkius, lib.* 1; *Hildesheim, spicil.* 2. *de Maniâ; Forestus, lib.* 10. *de Morbis Cerebri; Olaus Magnus; Vincentius Bellavicensis, spec. met. lib.* 31. *c.* 122; *Pierius, Bodine, Zuinger, Zeilgur, Peucer, Wierus, Spranger, &c.* This malady, saith Avicenna, troubleth men most in February, and is now a dayes frequent in Bohemia and Hungary, according to [k] Heurnius. Schernitzius will have it common in Livonia. They lye hid, most part, all day, and go abroad in the night, barking, howling, at graves and deserts; [l] *they have usually hollow eyes, scabbed legs and thighs, very dry and pale,* saith [m] Altomarus: he gives a reason there of all the symptomes, and sets down a brief cure of them.

Hydrophobia is a kind of madness, well known in every village, which comes by the biting of a mad dog, or scratching (saith [n] Aurelianus), touching, or smelling alone sometimes (as [o] Sckenkius proves), and is incident to many other creatures as well as men; so called, because the parties affected cannot endure the sight of water, or any liquor, supposing still they see a mad dog in it. And (which is more wonderful) though they be very dry, (as in this malady they are) they will rather die than drink. [p] Cœlius Aurelianus, an ancient writer, makes a doubt whether this hydrophobia be a passion of the body or the mind. The part affected is the brain: the cause, poyson that comes from the mad dog, which is so hot and dry, that it consumes all the moisture in the body. [q] Hildesheim relates of some that dyed so mad, and, being cut up, had no water, scarce blood, or any moisture left in them. To such as are so affected, the fear of water begins at fourteen dayes after they are bitten, to some again not till forty or sixty dayes after: commonly, saith Heurnius, they begin to rave, flye water, and glasses, to look red, and swell in the face, about twenty dayes after, (if some remedy be not taken in the mean time), to lye awake, to be pensive, sad, to see strange visions, to bark and howl, to fall into a swoun, and oftentimes fits of the falling sickness. [r] Some say, little things like whelps will be seen in their urines. If any of these signs appear, they are past recovery. Many times these symptomes will not appear till six or seven moneths after, saith [s] Codronchus; and some times not till seven or eight years, as Guianerius; twelve, as Albertus; six or eight moneths after, as Galen holds. Baldus the great lawyer dyed of it: an Augustin frier, and a woman in Delph, that were [t] Forestus patients were miserably consumed with it. The common cure in the countrey (for such at least as dwell near the sea side) is to duck them over head and ears in sea water; some use charms; every good wife can prescribe medicines. But the best cure to be

[g] Observat. lib. 10. de morbis cerebri, c. 15. [h] Hippocrates, lib. de insaniâ. [i] Lib. 8. cap. 22. Homines interdum lupos fieri; et contra. [j] Met. l. 1. [k] Cap. de Man. [l] Ulcerata crura; sitis ipsis adest immodica; lingua sicca. [m] Cap. 9. art. Hydrophobia. [n] Lib. 3. cap. 9. [o] Lib. 7. de Venenis. [p] Lib. 3. cap. 13. de morbis acutis. [q] Spicil. 2. [r] Sckenkius, 7. lib. de Venenis. [s] Lib. de Hydrophobiâ. [t] Observat. lib. 10. 25.

had in such cases, is from the most approved physicians. They that will read of them, may consult with Dioscorides, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 37. Heurnius, Hildesheim, Capivaccius, Forestus, Sckenkius, and, before all others, Codronchus an Italian, who hath lately written two exquisite books of this subject.

Chorus sancti Viti.] *Chorus sancti Viti*, or S. Vitus dance; the lascivious dance, [u] Paracelsus calls it, because they that are taken with it, can do nothing but dance till they be dead, or cured. It is so called, for that the parties so troubled were wont to go to S. Vitus for help; and, after they had danced there a while, they were [v] certainly freed. 'Tis strange to hear how long they will dance, and in what manner, over stools, forms, tables: even great-bellied women sometimes (and yet never hurt their children) will dance so long that they can neither stir hand nor foot, but seem to be quite dead. One in red cloaths they cannot abide. Musick, above all things, they love; and therefore magistrates in Germany will hire musicians to play to them, and some lusty sturdy companions to dance with them. This disease hath been very common in Germany, as appears by those relations of [w] Sckenkius, and Paracelsus in his book of Madness, who brags how many several persons he hath cured of it. Felix Platerus (*de Mentis Alienat. cap.* 3.) reports of a woman in Basil whom he saw, that danced a whole moneth together. The Arabians call it a kind of *palsie*. Bodine, in his fifth book *de Repub. cap.* 1. speaks of this infirmity; Monavius, in his last epistle to Scoltizius, and in another to Dudithus, where you may read more of it.

The last kind of madness or melancholy is that demoniacal (if I may so call it) obsession or possession of devils, which Platerus and others would have to be præternatural: stupend things are said of them, their actions, gestures, *contortions*, fasting, prophesying, speaking languages they were never taught, &c. many strange stories are related of them, which because some will not allow, (for Deacon and Darrel have written large volumes on this subject *pro et con.*) I voluntarily omit.

[x] Fuchsius, *Institut. lib.* 3. *sec.* 1. *cap.* 11, Felix Plater, [y] Laurentius, add to these another *fury* that proceeds from *love*, and another from *study*, another divine or *religious fury*; but these more properly belong to *melancholy*; of all which I will speak [z] apart, intending to write a whole book of them.

Subsect. V.—*Melancholy in Disposition, improperly so called. Æquivocations.*

Melancholy, the subject of our present discourse, is either in disposition, or habit. In disposition is that transitory *melancholy* which comes and goes upon every small occasion of sorrow, need, sickness, trouble, fear, grief, passion, or perturbation of the mind, any manner of care, discontent, or thought, which causeth anguish, dulness, heaviness and vexation of spirit, any wayes opposite to pleasure, mirth, joy, delight, causing frowardness in us, or a dislike. In which equivocal and improper sense, we call him melancholy, that is dull, sad, sowr, lumpish, ill disposed, solitary, any way moved, or displeased. And from these melancholy dispositions [a] no man living is free, no Stoick, none so wise, none so happy, none so patient, so generous, so godly, so divine, that can vindicate himself; so well composed, but more or less, some time or other, he feels the smart of it. Melancholy, in this sense, is the character of mortality. [b] *Man, that is born of a woman, is of short continuance, and full of trouble.* Zeno, Cato, Socrates himself,—whom

[u] Lascivam choream. To. 4. de morbis amentium. Tract. 1. [v] Eventu, ut plurimum, rem ipsam comprobante. [w] Lib. 1. cap. de Maniâ. [x] Cap. 3. de mentis alienat. [y] Cap. 4. de mel. [z] *PART. 3.* [a] De quo homine securitas? de quo certum gaudium? Quocunque se convertit, in terrenis rebus amaritudinem animi inveniet. Aug. in Psal. 8. 5. [b] Job 1. 14.

[c] Ælian so highly commends for a moderate temper, that *nothing could disturb him; but, going out, and coming in, still Socrates kept the same serenity of countenance, what misery soever befell him*—(if we may believe Plato his disciple) was much tormented with it. Q. Metellus, in whom [d] Valerius gives instance of all happiness, *the most fortunate man then living, born in that most flourishing city of Rome, of noble parentage, a proper man of person, well qualified, heathful, rich, honourable, a senator, a consul, happy in his wife, happy in his children, &c.* yet this man was not void of melancholy; he had his share of sorrow. [e] Polycrates Samius, that flung his ring into the sea, because he would participate of discontent with others, and had it miraculously restored to him again shortly after by a fish taken as he angled, was not free from melancholy dispositions. No man can cure himself: the very gods had bitter pangs, and frequent passions, as their own [f] poets put upon them. In general, [g] *as the heaven, so is our life, sometimes fair, sometimes overcast, tempestuous, and serene; as in a rose, flowers and prickles; in the year itself, a temperate summer sometimes, a hard winter, a drowth, and then again pleasant showers; so is our life intermixt with joyes, hopes, fears, sorrows, calumnies: Invicem cedunt dolor et voluptas:* there is a succession of pleasure and pain.

> ——————[h] medio de fonte leporum
> Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat.

Even in the midst of laughing there is sorrow (as [i] Solomon holds): even in the midst of all our feasting and jollity (as [j] Austin infers in his Com. on Psal. 41) there is grief and discontent. *Inter delicias, semper aliquid sævi nos strangulat:* for a pint of honey, thou shalt here likely find a gallon of gaul; for a dram of pleasure, a pound of pain; for an inch of mirth, an ell of moan: as ivy doth an oak, these miseries encompass our life: and 'tis most absurd and ridiculous for any mortal man to look for a perpetual tenour of happiness in his life. Nothing so prosperous and pleasant, but it hath [k] some bitterness in it, some complaining, some grudging; 'tis all γλυκύπικρον, a mixt passion, and, like a chequer table, black and white; men, families, cities, have their falls and wanes, now trines, sextiles, then quartiles and oppositions. We are not here, as those angels, celestial powers and bodies, sun and moon, to finish our course without all offence, with such constancy, to continue for so many ages; but subject to infirmities, miseries, interrupt, tossed and tumbled up and down, carried about with every small blast, often molested and disquieted upon each slender occasion, [l] uncertain, brittle; and so is all that we trust unto. [m] *And he that knows not this, and is not armed to endure it, is not fit to live in this world* (as one condoles our time); *he knows not the condition of it, where, with a reciprocal tye, pleasure and pain are still united, and succeed one another in a ring. Exi e mundo;* get thee gone hence, if thou canst not brook it: there is no way to avoid it, but to arm thy self with patience, with magnanimity, to [n] oppose thy self unto it, to suffer affliction as a good souldier of Christ, as

[c] Omni tempore Socratem eodem vultu videri, sive domum rediret, sive domo egrederetur. [d] Lib. 7. cap. 1. Natus in florentissimâ totius orbis civitate, nobilissimis parentibus, corporis vires habuit, et rarissimas animi dotes, uxorem conspicuam, pudicam, felices liberos, consulare decus, sequentes triumphos, &c. [e] Ælian. [f] Homer. Iliad. [g] Lipsius, cent. 3. ep. 45. Ut cœlum, sic nos homines sumus: illud ex intervallo nubibus obducitur et obscuratur. In rosario flores spinis intermixti. Vita similis aëri; udum modo, sudum, tempestas, serenitas: ita vices rerum sunt, præmia gaudiis, et sequaces curæ. [h] Lucretius, l. 4. l. 1124. [i] Prov. 14. 3. Extremum gaudii luctus occupat. [j] Natalitia inquit celebrantur; nuptiæ hic sunt; at ibi quid celebratur, quod non dolet, quod non transit? [k] Apuleius, 4. florid. Nihil quidquid homini tam prosperum divinitus datum, quin ei admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis, ut etiam ampllssimâ quâquâ lætitiâ, subsit quæpiam vel parva querimonia, conjugatione quâdam mellis et fellis. [l] Caduca nimirum et fragilia, et puerilibus consentanea crepundiis, sunt ista quæ vires et opes humanæ vocantur: affluunt subito; repente dilabuntur; nullo in loco, nullâ in personâ, stabilibus nixa radicibus consistunt; sed incertissimo flatu fortunæ, quos in sublime extulerunt, improviso recursu destitutos in profundo miseriarum valle miserabiliter immergunt. Valerius, l. 6. c. 9. [m] Huic seculo parum aptus es; aut potius omnium nostrorum conditionem ignoras, quibus reciproco quodam nexu, &c. Lorchanus Gallobelgicus, lib. 3. ad annum 1598. [n] Horsum omnia studia dirigi debent, ut humana fortiter feramus.

[o] Paul adviseth, constantly to bear it. But forasmuch as so few can embrace this good counsel of his, or use it aright, but rather, as so many bruit beasts, give way to their passion, voluntarily subject and precipitate themselves into a labyrinth of cares, woes, miseries, and suffer their souls to be overcome by them, cannot arm themselves with that patience as they ought to do, it falleth out oftentimes that these *dispositions* become *habits*, and *many affects contemned* (as [p]Seneca notes) *make a disease. Even as one destillation, not yet grown to custome, makes a cough, but continual and inveterate causeth a consumption of the lungs;* so do these our melancholy provocations; and, according as the humour it self is intended or remitted in men, as their temperature of body or rational soul is better able to make resistance, so are they more or less affected: for that which is but a fleabiting to one, causeth unsufferable torment to another; and which one by his singular moderation and well composed carriage can happily overcome, a second is no whit able to sustain; but, upon every small occasion of misconceived abuse, injury, grief, disgrace, loss, cross, rumour, &c. (if solitary, or idle) yields so far to passion, that his complexion is altered, his digestion hindred, his sleep gone, his spirits obscured, and his heart heavy, his hypocondries mis-affected; wind, crudity, on a sudden overtake him, and he himself overcome with *melancholy*. As it is with a man imprisoned for debt, if once in the gaol, every creditor will bring his action against him, and there likely hold him—if any discontent seise upon a patient, in an instant all other perturbations (for, *quâ data porta, ruunt*) will set upon him: and then, like a lame dog or broken-winged goose, he droops, and pines away, and is brought at last to that ill habit or malady of melancholy it self: so that, as the philosophers make [q] eight degrees of heat and cold, we may make eighty eight of *melancholy*, as the parts affected are diversely seised with it, or have been plunged more or less into this infernal gulf, or waded deeper into it. But all these *melancholy* fits, howsoever pleasing at first, or displeasing, violent and tyrannizing over those whom they seise on for the time—yet these fits, I say, or men affected, are but improperly so called, because they continue not, but come and go, as by some objects they are moved. This *melancholy*, of which we are to treat, is an habit, *morbus sonticus*, or *chronicus*, a cronick or continuate disease, a setled humour, as [r] Aurelianus and [s] others call it, not errant, but fixed; and as it was long increasing, so, now being (pleasant or painful) grown to an habit, it will hardly be removed.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Digression of Anatomy.*

Before I proceed to define the disease of *melancholy*, what it is, or to discourse farther of it, I hold it not impertinent to make a brief digression of the anatomy of the body and faculties of the soul, for the better understanding of that which is to follow; because many hard words will often occur, as *myrache, hypochondries, hæmorrhoids, &c. imagination, reason, humours, spirits, vital, natural, animal, nerves, veins, arteries, chylus, pituita;* which of the vulgar will not so easily be perceived, what they are, how sited, and to what end they serve. And, beside, it may peradventure give occasion to some men to examine more accurately, search farther into this most excellent subject, (and thereupon, with that royal [t] prophet, to praise God; *for a man is fearfully and wonderfully made, and curiously*

[o] 2 Tim. 2. 3. [p] Epist. 96. l. 10. Affectus frequentes contemptique morbum faciunt. Destillatio una, nec adhuc in morem adducta, tussim facit; assidua et violenta, phthisim. [q] Calidum ad octo: frigidum ad octo. Una hirundo non facit æstatem. [r] Lib. 1. c. 6. [s] Fuchsius, l. 3. sec. cap. 7. *Hildesheim, fol.* 130. [t] Psal. 39. 13.

wrought) that have time and leisure enough, and are sufficiently informed in all other worldly businesses, as to make a good bargain, buy and sell, to keep and make choice of a fair hauk, hound, horse, &c. but, for such matters as concern the knowledge of themselves, they are wholly ignorant and careless; they know not what this body and soul are, how combined, of what parts and faculties they consist, or how a man differs from a dog. And what can be more ignominious and filthy (as [u] Melancthon well inveighs) *than for a man not to know the structure and composition of his own body? especially since the knowledge of it tends so much to the preservation of his health, and information of his manners.* To stir them up therefore to this study, to peruse those elaborate works of [v] Galen, Bauhinus, Plater, Vesalius, Falopius, Laurentius, Remelinus, &c. which have written copiously in *Latin*—or that which some of our industrious countreymen have done in our mother tongue, not long since, as that translation of [w] Columbus, and [x] Microcosmographia, in thirteen books—I have made this brief digression. Also because, [y] Wecker, [z] Melancthon, [a] Fernelius, [b] Fuchsius, and those tedious tracts *de Animâ* (which have more compendiously handled and written of this matter) are not at all times ready to be had—to give them some small taste or notice of the rest, let this epitome suffice.

Subsect. II.—*Division of the Body. Humours. Spirits.*

Of the parts of the Body there may be many divisions: the most approved is that of [c] Laurentius, out of Hippocrates, which is, into parts *contained* or *containing*. *Contained* are either *humours* or *spirits*.

Humours.] A humour is a liquid or fluent part of the body, comprehended in it, for the preservation of it, and is either innate or born with us, or adventitious and acquisite. The radical or innate is daily supplyed by nourishment, which some call *cambium*, and make those secundary humours of *ros* and *gluten* to maintain it; or acquisite, to maintain these four first primary humours, coming and proceeding from the first concoction in the liver, by which means *chylus* is excluded. Some divide them into profitable and excrementitious. But [d] Crato (out of Hippocrates) will have all four to be juyce, and not excrements, without which no living creature can be sustained; which four, though they be comprehended in the mass of blood, yet they have their several affections, by which they are distinguished from one another, and from those adventitious, *peccant, or* [e] *diseased humours*, as Melancthon calls them.

Blood.] Blood is a hot, sweet, temperate, red humour, prepared in the *mesaraicke* veins, and made of the most temperate parts of the *chylus* in the liver, whose office is to nourish the whole body, to give it strength and colour, being dispersed, by the veins, through every part of it. And from it *spirits* are first begotten in the heart, which afterwards, by the *arteries*, are communicated to the other parts.

Pituita, or phlegm, is a cold and moist humour, begotten of the colder part of the *chylus* (or white juyce coming out of the meat digested in the stomach) in the liver; his office is to nourish and moisten the members of the body, which, as the tongue, are moved, that they be not over-dry.

Choler is hot and dry, bitter, begotten of the hotter parts of the *chylus*, and gathered to the gall: it helps thē natural heat and senses, and serves to the expelling of excrements.

Melancholy.] *Melancholy*, cold and dry, thick, black, and sowr, begotten of the more fæculent part of nourishment, and purged from the spleen, is

[u] De animâ. Turpe enim est homini ignorare sui corporis (ut ita dicam) ædificium, præsertim cum ad valetudinem et mores hæc cognitio plurimum conducat. [v] De usu part. [w] History of man. [x] D. Crooke. [y] In Syntaxi. [z] De animâ. [a] Instit. lib. 1. [b] Physiol. l. 1, 2. [c] Anat. l. 1. c. 18. [d] In Micro. Succos, sine quibus animal sustentari non potest. [e] Morbosos humores.

a bridle to the other two hot humours, *blood* and *choler*, preserving them in the blood, and nourishing the bones. These four humours have some analogy with the four elements, and to the four ages in man.

Serum, Sweat, Tears.] To these humours you may add *serum*, which is the matter of urine, and those excrementitious humours of the third concoctions, sweat and tears.

Spirits.] Spirit is a most subtle vapour, which is expressed from the *blood*, and the instrument of the soul, to perform all his actions; a common tye or *medium* betwixt the body and the soul, as some will have it; or (as [f] Paracelsus) a fourth soul of it self. Melancthon holds the fountain of these spirits to be the *heart;* begotten there, and afterward conveyed to the brain, they take another nature to them. Of these spirits there be three kinds, according to the three principal parts, *brain, heart, liver; natural, vital, animal.* The *natural* are begotten in the *liver*, and thence dispersed through the veins, to perform those natural actions. The *vital spirits*, are made in the heart of the *natural*, which, by the arteries, are transported to all the other parts: if these *spirits* cease, then life ceaseth, as in a *syncope* or swouning. The *animal spirits*, formed of the *vital*, brought up to the brain, and diffused by the nerves, to the subordinate members, give sense and motion to them all.

Subsect. III.—*Similar Parts.*

Similar parts.] Containing parts, by reason of their more solid substance, are either *homogeneal* or *heterogeneal, similar* or *dissimilar;* (so Aristotle divides them, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. *de Hist. Animal.* Laurentius, *cap.* 20. *lib.* 1.) *Similar*, or *homogeneal*, are such as, if they be divided, are still severed into parts of the same nature, as water into water. Of these some be *spermatical*, some *fleshy*, or carnal. [g] *Spermatical* are such as are immediately begotten of the seed, which are *bones, gristles, ligaments, membranes, nerves, arteries, veins, skins, fibers or strings, fat.*

Bones.] The bones are dry and hard, begotten of the thickest of the seed, to strengthen and sustain other parts: some say there be three hundred and four, some three hundred and seven, or three hundred and thirteen, in mans body. They have no nerves in them, and are therefore without sense.

A *gristle* is a substance softer than bone, and harder than the rest, flexible, and serves to maintain the parts of motion.

Ligaments are they that tye the bones together, and other parts to the bones, with their subserving tendons. *Membranes* office is to cover the rest.

Nerves, or sinews, are membranes without, and full of marrow within: they proceed from the brain, and carry the animal spirits for sense and motion. Of these some be harder, some softer: the softer serve the senses; and there be seven pair of them. The first be the optick *nerves*, by which we see; the second move the eyes; the third pair serve for the tongue to taste; the fourth pair for the taste in the palat; the fifth belong to the ears; the sixth pair is most ample, and runs almost over all the bowels; the seventh pair moves the tongue. The harder sinews serve for the motion of the inner parts, proceeding from the marrow in the back, of whom there be thirty combinations—seven of the neck, twelve of the breast, &c.

Arteries.] *Arteries* are long and hollow, with a double skin to convey the vital spirits; to discern which the better, they say that Vesalius the anatomist was wont to cut up men alive. [h] They arise in the left side of the heart, and are principally two, from which the rest are derived, *aorta*, and *venosa*. *Aorta* is the root of all the other, which serves the whole body; the other goes to the lungs, to fetch ayr to refrigerate the heart.

[f] *Spiritalis anima.* [g] Laurentius, c. 20. l. 1. Anat. [h] In these they observe the beating of the pulse.

Veins.] Veins are hollow and round like pipes; arising from the liver, carrying blood and natural spirits, they feed all the parts. Of these there be two chief, *vena porta*, and *vena cava*, from which the rest are corrivated. That *vena porta* is a vein coming from the concave of the liver, and receiving those mesaraical veins, by whom he takes the *chylus* from the stomach and guts, and conveys it to the liver. The other derives blood from the liver, to nourish all other dispersed members. The branches of that *vena porta* are *the mesaraical* and *hæmorrhoids*. The branches of the *cava* are *inward* or *outward—inward—seminal* or *emulgent—outward*, in the head, arms, feet, &c. and have several names.

Fibræ, Fat, Flesh.] *Fibræ* are strings, white and solid, dispersed through the whole member, and right, oblique, transverse, all which have their several uses. *Fat* is a similar part, moist, without blood, composed of the most thick and unctuous matter of the blood. The [i]skin covers the rest, and hath *cuticulam*, or a little skin under it. *Flesh* is soft and ruddy, composed of the congealing of blood, &c.

Subsect. IV.—*Dissimilar parts.*

Dissimilar parts are those which we call *organical*, or *instrumental;* and they be *inward*, or *outward*. The chiefest outward parts are situate forward or backward. *Forward*, the crown and foretop of the head, skull, face, forehead, temples, chin, eyes, ears, nose, &c. neck, breast, chest, upper and lower part of the belly, hypochondries, navel, groyn, flank, &c. *Backward*, the hinder part of the head, back, shoulders, sides, loyns, hip-bones, *os sacrum*, buttocks, &c. Or joynts, arms, hands, feet, leggs, thighs, knees, &c. Or common to both, which, because they are obvious and well known, I have carelessly repeated, *eaque præcipua et grandiora tantum: quod reliquum, ex libris de animâ, qui volet, accipiat.*

Inward organical parts, which cannot be seen, are divers in number, and have several names, functions, and divisions: but that of [j]Laurentius is most notable, into *noble*, or *ignoble* parts. Of the *noble* there be three principal parts, to which all the rest belong, and whom they serve—*brain*, *heart*, *liver;* according to whose site, three regions, or a threefold division is made of the whole body; as, first, of the *head*, in which the animal organs are contained, and brain it self, which by his nerves gives sense and motion to the rest, and is (as it were) a privy counsellour, and chancellour, to the *heart*. The second region is the chest, or middle *belly*, in which the heart as king keeps his court, and by his arteries communicates life to the whole body. The third region is the lower *belly*, in which the liver resides as a legate *a latere*, with the rest of those natural organs, serving for concoction, nourishment, expelling of execrements. This lower region is distinguished from the upper by the *midriff*, or *diaphragma*, and is subdivided again by [k]some into three concavities, or regions, upper, middle, and lower—the upper, of the hypochondries, in whose right side is the *liver*, the left the *spleen* (from which is denominated hypochondriacal melancholy) the second, of the navel and flanks, divided from the first by the *rim*—the last, of the water-course, which is again subdivided into three other parts. The Arabians make two parts of this region, *epigastrium*, and *hypogastrium;* upper, or lower. *Epigastrium* they call *mirach*, from whence comes *mirachialis melancholia*, sometimes mentioned of them. Of these several regions I will treat in brief apart; and, first, of the third region, in which the natural organs are contained.

[i] Cujus est pars similaris a vicutificâ, ut interiora muniat. Capivac. Anat. pap. 252. [j] Anat. lib. 1. c. 19. Celebris est et pervulgata partium divisio in principes et ignobiles partes. [k] D. Crook, out of Galen and others.

The lower region. Natural Organs.] But you that are readers, in the mean time, *suppose you were now brought into some sacred temple, or majestical palace,* (as [l] Melancthon saith) *to behold not the matter only, but the singular art, workmanship, and counsel of this our great Creator. And 'tis a pleasant and profitable speculation, if it be considered aright.* The parts of this *region*, which present themselves to your consideration and view, are such as serve to *nutrition* or *generation.* Those of *nutrition* serve to the first or second concoction, as the *œsophagus* or gullet, which brings meat and drink into the *stomach.* The *ventricle* or stomach, which is seated in the midst of that part of the belly beneath the *midriff*, the kitchen (as it were) of the first concoction, and which turns our meat into *chylus.* It hath two mouths, one above, another beneath. The upper is sometimes taken for the stomach it self: the lower and nether door (as Wecker calls it) is named *pylorus.* This stomach is sustained by a large kell or kaull, called *omentum;* which some will have the same with *peritonæum*, or rim of the belly. From the *stomach* to the very *fundament*, are produced the *guts* or *intestina*, which serve a little to alter and distribute the *chylus*, and convey away the excrements. They are divided into small and great, by reason of their site and substance, slender or thicker: the slender is *duodenum*, or whole gut, which is next to the stomach, some twelve inches long (saith [m] Fuchsius). *Jejunum*, or empty gut, continuate to the other, which hath many *mesaraick veins* annexed to it, which take part of the *chylus* to the liver from it. *Ilion*, the third, which consists of many crinkles, which serves with the rest to receive, keep, and distribute the *chylus* from the *stomach.* The thick guts are three, the *blind gut, colon*, and *right gut.* The *blind* is a thick and short gut, having one mouth in which the *ilion* and *colon* meet: it receives the excrements, and conveys them to the *colon.* This *colon* hath many windings, that the excrements pass not away too fast: the *right gut* is straight, and conveys the excrements to the *fundament*, whose lower part is bound up with certain *muscles*, called *sphincteres*, that the excrements may be the better contained, until such time a man be willing to go to the stool. In the midst of these guts is situated the *mesenterium* or *midriff*, composed of many veins, arteries, and much fat, serving chiefly to sustain the guts. All these parts serve the first concoction. To the second, which is busied either in refining the good nourishment, or expelling the bad, is chiefly belonging the liver, like in colour to congealed blood, the shop of blood, situate in the right *hypochondry*, in figure like to an half moon; *generosum membrum*, Melancthon stiles it; a generous part; it serves to turn the *chylus* to blood, for the nourishment of the body. The excrements of it are either *cholerick* or *watery*, which the other subordinate parts convey. The *gall*, placed in the concave of the *liver*, extracts *choler* to it: the *spleen, melancholy;* which is situate on the left side, over against the *liver*, a spungy matter that draws this black *choler* to it by a secret vertue, and feeds upon it, conveying the rest to the bottom of the stomach, to stir up appetite, or else to the guts as an excrement. That watery matter the two kidneys expurgate by those emulgent veins, and *ureters.* The emulgent draw this superfluous moisture from the blood; the two *ureters* convey it to the *bladder*, which, by reason of his site in the lower belly, is apt to receive it, having two parts, neck and bottom: the bottom holds the water; the neck is constringed with a muscle, which, as a porter, keeps the water from running out against our will.

Members of generation are common to both sexes, or peculiar to one; which, because they are impertinent to my purpose, I do voluntarily omit.

Middle Region.] Next in order is the *middle region*, or chest, which

[l] Vos vero veluti in templum ac sacrarium quoddam vos duci putetis, &c. Suavis et utilis cognitio.
[m] *Lib. 1. cap. 12. sect. 5.*

comprehends the vital faculties and parts; which (as I have said) is separated from the lower belly by the *diaphragma* or *midriff*, which is a skin consisting of many nerves, membranes; and, amongst other uses it hath, is the instrument of laughing. There is also a certain thin membrane, full of sinews, which covereth the whole chest within, and is called *pleura*, the seat of the disease called *pleurisie*, when it is inflamed. Some add a third skin, which is termed *mediastinus*, which divides the chest into two parts, right and left. Of this region the principal part is the *heart*, which is the seat and fountain of life, of heat, of spirits, of pulse, and respiration: the sun of our body, the king and sole commander of it: the seat and organ of all passions and affections; (*primum vivens, ultimum moriens*: it lives first, and dies last in all creatures) of a pyramidical form, and not much unlike to a pine-apple; [n] a part worthy of admiration, that can yield such variety of affections, by whose motion it is dilated or contracted, to stir and command the humours in the body; as, in sorrow, melancholy; in anger, choler; in joy, to send the blood outwardly; in sorrow, to call it in; moving the humours, as horses do a chariot. This *heart*, though it be one sole member, yet it may be divided into two creeks, *right* and *left*. The *right* is like the moon increasing, bigger than the other part, and receives blood from *vena cava*, distributing some of it to the *lungs*, to nourish them, the rest to the left side, to ingender spirits. *The left creek* hath the form of a *cone*, and is the seat of life, which (as a torch doth oyl) draws blood unto it, begetting of it spirits and fire; and, as fire in a torch, so are spirits in the blood; and, by that great *artery* called *aorta*, it sends vital spirits over the body, and takes aire from the lungs, by that *artery* which is called *venosa*; so that both creeks have their vessels; the right two veins; the left two arteries, besides those two common anfractuous ears, which serve them both; the one to hold blood, the other aire, for several uses. The *lungs* is a thin spungy part, like an oxe hoof, (saith [o] Fernelius) the town-clark or cryer ([p] one terms it), the instrument of voice, as an orator to a king; annexed to the heart, to express his thoughts by voice. That it is the instrument of voice is manifest, in that no creature can speak or utter any voice, which wanteth these lights. It is, besides, the instrument of respiration, or breathing; and its office is to cool the *heart*, by sending ayre unto it by the *venosal artery*, which vein comes to the lungs by that *aspera arteria*, which consists of many gristles, membranes, nerves, taking in ayre at the nose and mouth, and, by it likewise, exhales the fumes of the *heart*.

In the upper *region* serving the animal faculties, the chief organ is the *brain*, which is a soft, marrowish, and white substance, ingendred of the purest part of seed and spirits, included by many skins, and seated within the skull or brain-pan; and it is the most noble organ under heaven, the dwelling house and seat of the soul, the habitation of wisdom, memory, judgement, reason, and in which man is most like unto God: and therefore nature hath covered it with a skull of hard bone, and two skins or membranes, whereof the one is called *dura mater*, or *meninx*, the other *pia mater*. The *dura mater* is next to the skull, above the other, which includes and protects the brain. When this is taken away, the *pia mater* is to be seen, a thin membrane, the next and immediate cover of the brain, and not covering only, but entering into it. The *brain* it self is divided into two parts, the *fore* and *hinder part*. The *fore part* is much bigger than the other, which is called the *little brain* in respect of it. This *fore part* hath many concavities, distinguished by certain ventricles, which are the receptacles of the spirits, brought hither by the arteries from the

[n] Hæc res est præcipue digna admiratione, quod tantâ affectuum varietate cietur cor, quod omnes res tristes et lætæ statim corda feriunt et movent. [o] Physio. l. 1. c. 8. [p] Ut orator regi, sic pulmo, vocis instrumentum, annectitur cordi, &c. Melancth.

heart, and are there refined to a more heavenly nature, to perform the actions of the soul. Of these ventricles there be three, *right*, *left*, and *middle*. The *right* and *left* answer to their site, and beget animal spirits; if they be any way hurt, sense and motion ceaseth. These ventricles, moreover, are held to be the seat of the common sense. The *middle ventricle* is a common concourse and cavity of them both, and hath two passages; the one to receive *pituita*; and the other extends itself to the fourth creek; in this they place *imagination* and *cogitation*: and so the three ventricles of the fore part of the *brain* are used. The fourth creek, behind the head, is common to the *cerebel* or little brain, and marrow of the back-bone, the least and most solid of all the rest, which receives the animal spirits from the other ventricles, and conveys them to the marrow in the back, and is the place where they say the memory is seated.

Subsect. V.—*Of the Soul and her Faculties.*

According to [q] Aristotle, the soul is defined to be *ἐντελέχεια*, *perfectio et actus primus corporis organici, vitam habentis in potentiâ*—the perfection or first act of an organical body, having power of life; which most [r] philosophers approve. But many doubts arise about the *essence*, *subject*, *seat*, *distinction*, and subordinate faculties, of it. For the essence and particular knowledge, of all other things it is most hard (be it of man or beast) to discern, as [s] Aristotle himself, [t] Tully, [u] Picus Mirandula, [v] Tolet, and other neoterick philosophers, confess. [w] *We can understand all things by her; but what she is we cannot apprehend.* Some therefore make one *soul*, divided into three principal faculties; others, three distinct *souls*; (which question of late hath been much controverted by Picolomineus, and Zarabel) [x] Paracelsus will have four *souls*, adding to the three granted faculties, a *spiritual soul*; (which opinion of his, Campanella, in his book *de* [y] *Sensu rerum*, much labours to demonstrate and prove, because carkasses bleed at the sight of the murderer; with many such arguments:) and [z] some, again, one soul of all creatures whatsoever, differing only in organs; and that beasts have reason as well as men, though, for some defect of organs, not in such measure. Others make a doubt, whether it be all in all, and all in every part; which is amply discussed in Zabarel among the rest. The [a] common division of the *soul* is into three principal faculties, *vegetal*, *sensitive*, and *rational*, which make three distinct kind of living creatures—*vegetal* plants, *sensible* beasts, *rational* men. How these three principal faculties are distinguished and connected, *humano ingenio inaccessum videtur*, is beyond humane capacity, as [b] Taurellus, Philip, Flavius, and others suppose. The inferiour may be alone; but the superiour cannot subsist without the other; so *sensible* includes *vegetal*, *rational*, both which are contained in it, (saith Aristotle) *ut trigonus in tetragono*, as a triangle in a quadrangle.

Vegetal soul.] *Vegetal*, the first of the three distinct faculties, is defined to be *a substantial act of an organical body, by which it is nourished, augmented, and begets another like unto it self*: in which definition, three several operations are specified, *altrix*, *auctrix*, *procreatrix*. The first is [c] nutrition, whose object is nourishment, meat, drink, and the like; his organ the liver, in sensible creatures; in plants, the root or sap. His office is to turn the nutriment into the substance of the body nourished, which he performs

[q] De anim. c. 1. [r] Scalig. exerc. 307. Tolet. in lib. de animâ, cap. 1, &c. [s] De animâ. cap. 1. [t] Tuscul. quæst. [u] Lib. 6. Doct. Val. Gentil. c. 13. pag. 1216. [v] Aristot. [w] Animâ quæque intelligimus; et tamen, quæ sit ipsa, intelligere non valemus. [x] Spiritualem animam a reliquis distinctam tuetur, etiam in cadavere inhærentem post mortem per aliquot menses. [y] Lib. 3. cap. 31. [z] Cœlius, lib. 2. c. 31. Plutarch. in Gryllo. Lips. cen. 1. ep. 50. Jossius de Risu et Fletu, Averroes, Campanella, &c. [a] Philip de Animâ, ca. 1. Cœlius, 20. antiq. cap. 3. Plutarch. de placit. Philos. [b] De vit. et mort. part. 2. c. 3. prop. 1. de vit. et mort. 2. c. 22. [c] Nutritio est alimenti transmutatio, *viro naturalis*. Scalig. exerc. 101. sect. 17.

by natural heat. The nutritive operation hath four other subordinate functions or powers belonging to it—*attraction, retention, digestion, expulsion.*

Attraction.] [d] *Attraction* is a ministring faculty, which (as a loadstone doth iron) draws meat into the stomach, or as a lamp doth oyle; and this attractive power is very necessary in plants, which suck up moisture by the root, as another mouth, into the sap, as a like stomach.

Retention.] *Retention* keeps it, being attracted unto the stomach, until such time it be concocted; for, if it should pass away straight, the body could not be nourished.

Digestion.] *Digestion* is performed by natural heat; for, as the flame of a torch consumes oyle, wax, tallow, so doth it alter and digest the nutritive matter. Indigestion is opposite unto it, for want of natural heat. Of this *digestion* there be three differences, *maturation, elixation, assation.*

Maturation.] *Maturation* is especially observed in the fruits of trees, which are then said to be ripe, when the seeds are fit to be sown again. *Crudity* is opposed to it, which gluttons, Epicures, and idle persons are most subject unto, that use no exercise to stir up natural heat, or else choke it, as too much wood puts out a fire.

Elixation.] *Elixation* is the seething of meat in the stomach, by the said natural heat, as meat is boyled in a pot; to which corruption or putrefaction is opposite.

Assation.] *Assation* is a concoction of the inward moisture by heat; his opposite is *semiustulation.*

Order of concoction four-fold.] Besides these three several operations of *digestion*, there is a fourfold order of concoction; *mastication*, or chewing in the mouth; *chylification* of this so chewed meat in the stomach; the third is in the *liver*, to turn this *chylus* into blood, called *sanguification*; the last is *assimulation*, which is in every part.

Expulsion.] *Expulsion* is a power of *nutrition*, by which it expells all superfluous excrements and reliques of meat and drink, by the guts, bladders, pores; as by purging, vomiting, spitting, sweating, urine, hairs, nails, &c.

Augmentation.] As this *nutritive faculty* serves to nourish the body, so doth the *augmenting faculty* (the second operation or power of the *vegetal faculty*) to the increasing of it in quantity, according to all dimensions, long, broad, thick, and to make it grow till it come to his due proportion and perfect shape; which hath his period of augmentation, as of consumption, and that most certain, as the poet observes:

> Stat sua cuique dies; breve et irreparabile tempus
> Omnibus est vitæ———
>
> A term of life is set to every man,
> Which is but short; and pass it no one can.

Generation.] The last of these *vegetal faculties* is *generation*, which begets another by means of seed, like unto it self, to the perpetual preservation of the *species.* To this faculty they ascribe three subordinate operations: the first to turn nourishment unto seed, &c.

Life and death concomitants of the vegetal faculties.] Necessary concomitants or affections of this *vegetal faculty* are life, and his privation, death. To the preservation of life the natural heat is most requisite, though siccity and humidity, and those first qualities, be not excluded. This heat is likewise in plants, as appears by their increasing, fructifying, &c. though not so easily perceived. In all bodies it must have radical [e] moisture to preserve it, that it be not consumed; (to which preservation our clime, countrey, temperature, and the good or bad use of those six non-natural things, avail much)

[d] See more of attraction in Scal. exerc. 343. [e] Vita consistit in calido et humido.

for, as this natural heat and moisture decayes, so doth our life it self: and, if not prevented before by some violent accident, or interrupted through our own default, is in the end dryed up by old age, and extinguished by death for want of matter, as lamp, for defect of oyl to maintain it.

Subsect. VI.—*Of the sensible Soul.*

Next in order is the *sensible faculty*, which is as far beyond the other in dignity, as a beast is preferred to a plant, having those vegetal powers included in it. 'Tis defined an *act of an organical body, by which it lives, hath sense, appetite, judgement, breath, and motion.* His object, in general, is a sensible or passible quality, because the sense is affected with it. The general organ is the brain, from which principally the sensible operations are derived. The *sensible soul* is divided into two parts, *apprehending* or *moving.* By the *apprehensive* power, we perceive the species of sensible things, present or absent, and retain them as wax doth the print of a seal. By the moving, the body is outwardly carried from one place to another, or inwardly moved by spirits and pulse. The *apprehensive* faculty is subdivided into two parts, *inward* or *outward—outward*, as the five senses, of *touching, hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting;* to which you may add Scaligers sixth sense of *titillation*, if you please, or that of *speech*, which is the sixth external sense, according to Lullius. *Inward* are three, *common sense, phantasie, memory.* Those five outward senses have their object in outward things only, and such as are present, as the eye sees no colour except it be at hand, the ear sound. Three of these senses are of commodity, *hearing, sight*, and *smell;* two of necessity, *touch* and *taste*, without which we cannot live. Besides, the *sensitive* power is *active* or *passive—active*, as, in sight, the eye sees the colour; *passive*, when it is hurt by his object, as the eye by the sun beams, (according to that axiom, *visibile forte destruit sensum*) or if the object be not pleasing, as a bad sound to the ear, a stinking smell to the nose, &c.

Sight.] Of these five senses, *sight* is held to be most precious, and the best, and that by reason of his object; it sees the whole body at once; by it we learn, and discern all things—a sense most excellent for use. To the *sight* three things are required; the *object*, the *organ*, and the *medium.* The *object* in general is *visible*, or that which is to be seen, as colours, and all shining bodies. The *medium* is the illumination of the air, which comes from [f] light, commonly called *diaphanum;* for, in dark, we cannot see. The *organ* is the eye, and chiefly the apple of it, which, by those optick nerves concurring both in one, conveys the sight to the common sense. Betwixt the organ and the object, a true distance is required, that it be not too near, or too far off. Many excellent questions appertain to this sense, discussed by philosophers; as, whether this sight be caused *intra mittendo, vel extra mittendo, &c.* by receiving in the visible species, or sending of them out; which [g] Plato, [h] Plutarch, [i] Macrobius, [j] Lactantius, and others, dispute. And, besides, it is the subject of the *perspectives*, of which Alhazen the Arabian, Vitellio, Roger Bacon, Baptista Porta, Guidus Ubaldus, Aquilonius, &c. have written whole volumes.

Hearing.] Hearing, a most excellent outward sense, *by which we learn and get knowledge.* His object is sound, or that which is heard; the *medium*, ayre; *organ*, the ear. To the sound, which is a collision of the air, three things are required; a body to strike, as the hand of a musician; the body strucken, which must be solid and able to resist; as a bell, lute-string; not wooll, or spunge; the *medium*, the air, which is *inward* or

[f] *Lumen est actus perspicui.* Lumen a luce provenit; lux est in corpore lucido. [g] In Phædon.
[h] *Satur. 7. c. 14.* [i] Lac. cap. 8. de opif. Dei, 1. [j] De pract. Philos. 4.

outward; the outward, being struck or collided by a solid body, still strikes the next air, until it come to that inward natural air, which, as an exquisite organ, is contained in a little skin formed like a drum-head, and, struck upon by certain small instruments like drum-sticks, conveys the sound, by a pair of nerves appropriated to that use, to the *common sense*, as to a judge of sounds. There is great variety and much delight in them; for the knowledge of which consult with Boëthius, and other musicians.

Smelling.] Smelling is an *outward sense, which apprehends by the nostrils drawing in air*; and, of all the rest, it is the weakest sense in men. The organ in the nose, or two small hollow pieces of flesh a little above it: the *medium* the air to men, as water to fish: the *object*, *smell*, arising from a mixt body resolved, which whether it be a quality, fume, vapour, or exhalation, I will not now dispute, or of their differences, and how they are caused. This sense is an organ of health, as sight and hearing (saith [k] Agellius) are of discipline; and that by avoiding bad smells, or by choosing good, which do as much alter and affect the body many times, as *diet* it self.

Taste.] *Taste*, a necessary sense, *which perceives all savours by the tongue and palat, and that by means of a thin spittle, or watery juice.* His *organ* is the *tongue* with his tasting nerves; the *medium*, a watery juice; the *object*, *taste*, or savour, which is a quality in the juice, arising from the nature of things tasted. Some make eight species or kinds of savour, bitter, sweet, sharp, salt, &c. all which sick men (as in an ague) cannot discern, by reason of their organs misaffected.

Touching.] *Touch*, the last of the senses, and most ignoble, yet of as great necessity as the other, and of as much pleasure. This sense is exquisite in men, and, by his nerves dispersed all over the body, perceives any tactile quality. His *organ*, the *nerves*; his *object*, those first qualities, hot, dry, moist, cold; and those that follow them, hard, soft, thick, thin, &c. Many delightsome questions are moved by philosophers about these five senses, their organs, objects, mediums, which for brevity I omit.

Subsect. VII.—*Of the Inward Senses.*

Common sense.] *Inner senses* are three in number, so called, because they be within the brain-pan, as *common sense*, *phantasie*, *memory*. Their objects are not only things present, but they perceive the sensible species of things *to come*, *past*, *absent*, such as were before in the sense. *This common sense* is the judge or moderator of the rest, by whom we discern all differences of objects; for by mine eye I do not know that I see, or by mine ear that I hear, but by my *common sense*, who judgeth of sounds and colours; they are but the organs to bring the species to be censured; so that all their objects are his, and all their offices are his. The forepart of the brain is his organ or seat.

Phantasie.] *Phantasie*, or imagination, which some call *æstimative*, or *cogitative*, (confirmed, saith [l] Fernelius, by frequent meditation) is an inner sense, which doth more fully examine the species perceived by *common sense*, of things present or absent, and keeps them longer, recalling them to mind again, or making new of his own. In time of sleep, this faculty is free, and many times conceives strange, stupend, absurd shapes, as in sick men we commonly observe. His *organ* is the middle cell of the brain; his *objects*, all the species communicated to him by the *common sense*, by comparison of which, he feigns infinite other unto himself. In *melancholy* men, this faculty is most powerful and strong, and often hurts, producing many monstrous and prodigious things, especially if it be stirred up by some terrible object, presented to it from *common sense* or *memory*. In poets and painters,

[k] Lib. 19. cap. 2. [l] Phys. l. 5. c. 3.

imagination forcibly works, as appears by their several fictions, anticks, images, as Ovid's house of Sleep, Psyches palace in Apuleius, &c. In men it is subject and governed by *reason*, or at least should be; but, in brutes, it hath no superiour, and is *ratio brutorum*, all the reason they have.

Memory.] *Memory* layes up all the species which the senses have brought in, and records them as a good *register*, that they may be forthcoming when they are called for by *phantasie* and *reason*. His object is the same with *phantasie;* his seat and *organ*, the back part of the brain.

Affections of the senses, sleep and waking.] The affections of these senses are *sleep* and *waking*, common to all sensible creatures. *Sleep is a rest or binding of the outward senses, and of the common sense, for the preservation of body and soul* (as [m] Scaliger defines it); for, when the common sense resteth, the outward senses rest also. The phantasie alone is free, and his commander reason; as appears by those imaginary dreams, which are of divers kinds, *natural, divine, dæmoniacal, &c.* which vary according to humours, diet, actions, objects, &c. of which, Artemidorus, Cardanus, and Sambucus, with their several interpretators, have written great volumes. This ligation of senses proceeds from an inhibition of spirits, the way being stopped by which they should come; this stopping is caused of vapours arising out of the stomach, filling the nerves, by which the spirits should be conveyed. When these vapours are spent, the passage is open, and the spirits perform their accustomed duties; so that *waking is the action and motion of the senses, which the spirits, dispersed over all parts, cause.*

Subsect. VIII.—*Of the Moving Faculty.*

Appetite.] This *moving faculty* is the other power of the *sensitive soul*, which causeth all those *inward and outward animal motions in the body*. It is divided into two faculties, the power of *appetite* and of *moving from place to place*. This of appetite is threefold, (so some will have it) *natural*, as it signifies any such inclination, as of a stone to fall downward, and such actions as *retention, expulsion*, which depend not of sense, but are *vegetal*, as the appetite of meat and drink, hunger and thirst. *Sensitive* is common to men and brutes. *Voluntary*, the third, or intellective, which commands the other two in men, and is a curb unto them, or at least should be (but for the most part is captivated and over-ruled by them: and men are led like beasts by sense, giving reins to their concupiscence and several lusts); for by this appetite the soul is led or inclined to follow that good which the senses shall approve, or avoid that which they hold evil. His object being good or evil, the one he embraceth, the other he rejecteth—according to that aphorism, *omnia appetunt bonum*, all things seek their own good, or at least seeming good. This power is inseparable from sense; for, where sense is, there is likewise pleasure and pain. His *organ* is the same with the *common sense*, and is divided into two powers, or inclinations, *concupiscible* or *irascible*, or (as [n] one translates it) *coveting, anger-invading*, or impugning. *Concupiscible* covets alwayes pleasant and delightsome things, and abhorrs that which is distasteful, harsh, and unpleasant. *Irascible,* [o] *quasi aversans per iram et odium*, as avoiding it with anger and indignation. All affections and perturbations arise out of these two fountains, which although the Stoicks make light of, we hold natural, and not to be resisted. The good affections are caused by some object of the same nature; and, if present, they procure joy, which dilates the heart, and preserves the body: if absent, they cause hope, love, desire, and concupiscence. The bad are *simple* or *mixt: simple*, for some bad object present, as sorrow, which contracts the heart, macerates

[m] *Exercit. 280.* [n] T. W. Jesuit, in his Passions of the Mind. [o] Velcurio.

the soul, subverts the good estate of the body, hindering all the operations of it, causing melancholy, and many times death itself; or future, as fear. Out of these two, arise those mixt affections and passions of anger, which is a desire of revenge—hatred, which is inveterate anger—zeal, which is offended with him who hurts that he loves—and *ἐπικαιρεκακία*, a compound affection of joy and hate, when we rejoyce at other mens mischief, and are grieved at their prosperity—pride, self-love, emulation, envy, shame, &c. of which elsewhere.

Moving from place to place, is a faculty necessarily following the other: for in vain were it otherwise to desire and to abhor, if we had not likewise power to prosecute or eschew, by moving the body from place to place. By this faculty therefore we locally move the body, or any part of it, and go from one place to another: to the better performance of which, three things are requisite—that which moves; by what it moves; that which is moved. That which moves is either the efficient cause, or end. The end is the object, which is desired or eschewed, as in a dog to catch a hare, &c. The efficient cause in man is *reason*, or his subordinate phantasie, which apprehends good or bad objects; in brutes, *imagination* alone, which moves the *appetite*, the *appetite* this faculty, which, by an admirable league of nature, and by mediation of the spirit, commands the organ by which it moves; and that consists of nerves, muscles, cords, dispersed through the whole body, contracted and relaxed as the spirits will, which move the muscles, or [p] nerves in the midst of them, and draw the cord, and so, *per consequens*, the joynt, to the place intended. That which is moved is the body or some member apt to move. The motion of the body is divers, as going, running, leaping, dancing, sitting, and such like, referred to the predicament of *situs*. Worms creep, birds flye, fishes swim; and so of parts, the chief of which is *respiration* or breathing, and is thus performed: the outward air is drawn in by the *vocal artery*, and sent by mediation of the *midriff* to the lungs, which dilating themselves as a pair of bellows, reciprocally fetch it in, and send it out to the heart to cool it; and from thence, now being hot, convey it again, still taking in fresh. Such a like motion is that of the *pulse*, of which, because many have written whole books, I will say nothing.

Subsect. IX.—*Of the Rational Soul.*

In the precedent subsections, I have anatomized those inferiour faculties of the soul; the *rational* remaineth, a *pleasant, but a doubtful subject* (as [q] one terms it), and with the like brevity to be discussed. Many erroneous opinions are about the essence and original of it; whether it be fire, as Zeno held; harmony, as Aristoxenus; number, as Xenocrates; whether it be organical, or inorganical; seated in the brain, heart, or blood; mortal, or immortal; how it comes into the body. Some hold that it is *ex traduce*, as *Phil.* 1. *de Animâ, Tertullian, Lactantius de opific. Dei, cap.* 19. *Hugo, lib. de Spiritu et Animâ, Vincentius Bellavic. spec. natural, lib.* 23. *cap.* 2. *et* 11. Hippocrates, Avicenna, and many [r] late writers; that one man begets another, body and soul; or, as a candle from a candle, to be produced from the seed: otherwise, say they, a man begets but half a man, and is worse than a beast, that begets both matter and form; and, besides, the three faculties of the soul must be together, infused; which is most absurd, as they hold, because in beasts they are begot (the two inferiour I mean), and may not be well separated in men. [s] Galen supposeth the soul *crasin esse*, to be the temperature itself; Trismegistus, Musæus, Orpheus, Homer,

[p] Nervi a spiritu moventur, spiritus ab animâ. Melanct. [q] Velcurio. Jucundum et anceps subjectum. [r] Goclenius, in Ψυχολ. pag. 308. Bright, in Phys. Scrib. l. 1. David Crusius, Melancthon, Hippius Hernius, Levinus Lemnius, &c. [s] Lib. an mores sequantur, &c.

Pindarus, Pherecydes Syrius, Epictetus, with the Chaldees and Ægyptians, affirmed the soul to be immortal, as did those Britan [t] Druides of old. The [u] Pythagoreans defend *metempsychosis and palingenesia*—that souls go from one body to another, *epotâ prius Lethes undâ*, as men into wolves, bears, dogs, hogs, as they were inclined in their lives, or participated in conditions:

——— [v] inque ferinas
Possumus ire domos, pecudumque in pectora condi.

[w] Lucians cock was first Euphorbus, a captain:

Ille ego, (nam memini) Trojani tempore belli,
Panthoïdes Euphorbus eram,

a horse, a man, a spunge. [x] Julian the Apostate thought Alexanders soul was descended into his body: Plato, in Timæo, and in his Phædon, (for ought I can perceive) differs not much from this opinion, that it was from God at first, and knew all; but, being inclosed in the body, it forgets, and learns anew, which he calls *reminiscentia*, or *recalling*: and that it was put into the body for a punishment, and thence it goes into a beasts, or mans, (as appears by his pleasant fiction *de sortitione animarum, lib.* 10. *de rep.*) and, after [y] ten thousand years, is to return into the former body again:

——— [z] post varios annos, per mille figuras,
Rursus ad humanæ fertur primordia vitæ.

Others deny the immortality of it, which Pomponatus of Padua decided out of Aristotle not long since, *Plinius Avunculus, cap.* 7. *lib.* 2. *et lib.* 7. *cap.* 55. *Seneca, lib.* 7. *epist. ad Lucilium, epist.* 55. *Dicæarchus, in Tull. Tusc. Epicurus, Aratus, Hippocrates, Galen, Lucretius, lib.* 1.

(Præterea gigni pariter cum corpore, et unâ
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere, mentem)

Averroes, and I know not how many neotericks. [a] *This question of the immortality of the soul is diversely and wonderfully impugned and disputed, especially amongst the Italians of late*, saith Jab. Colerus, *lib. de immort. animæ, cap.* 1. The Popes themselves have doubted of it. Leo Decimus, that Epicurean Pope, as [b] some record of him, caused this question to be discussed *pro* and *con* before him, and concluded at last, as a prophane and atheistical moderator, with that verse of Cornelius Gallus, *Et redit in nihilum, quod fuit ante nihil*; it began of nothing, and in nothing it ends. Zeno and his Stoicks (as [c] Austin quotes him) supposed the soul so long to continue, till the body was fully putrified, and resolved into *materia prima*; but, after that, *in fumos evanescere*, to be extinguished and vanish; and in the mean time whilst the body was consuming, it wandred all abroad, *et e longinquo multa annunciare*, and (as that Clazomenian Hermotimus averred) saw pretty visions, and suffered I know not what. [d] *Errant exsangues sine corpore et ossibus umbræ.* Others grant the immortality thereof; but they make many fabulous fictions in the mean time of it, after the departure from the body—like Platos Elysian fields, and the Turkie paradise. The souls of good men they deified; the bad (saith [e] Austin) *became devils*, as they supposed; with many such absurd tenents, which he hath confuted. Hierom, Austin, and other fathers of the church, hold that the soul is immortal, created of nothing, and so infused into the child or *embrio* in his mothers womb, six months after the [f] conception; not as those of brutes, which are *ex traduce*, and, dying with them, vanish into nothing—to whose divine treatises, and to the Scriptures themselves, I rejourn all such atheistical spirits, as Tully did Atticus,

[t] Cæsar. 6. com. [u] Read Æneas Gazeus dial. of the immortality of the soul. [v] Ovid. met. 15. [w] In Gallo, Idem. [x] Nicephorus, hist. l. 10. c. 35. [y] Phæd. [z] Claudian. lib. 1. de rapt. Proserp. [a] Hæc quæstio multos per annos varie ac mirabiliter impuguata, &c. [b] Colerus, ibid. [c] De eccles. dog. cap. 16. [d] Ovid. 4. Met. [e] Bonorum lares. malorum vero larvas et lemures. [f] Some say *at three days, some* six weeks, others otherwise.

doubting of this point, to Platos Phædon: or, if they desire philosophical proofs and demonstrations, I refer them to *Niphus, Nic. Faventinus* Tracts of this subject, to *Fran.* and *John Picus in digress. sup.* 3. *de Animâ, Tholosanus, Eugubinus, To Soto, Canas, Thomas, Peresius, Dandinus, Colerus,* to that elaborate Tract in Zanchius, to Tolets Sixty Reasons, and Lessius Twenty-two Arguments, to prove the immortality of the soul. Campanella, *lib. de sensu rerum* is large in the same discourse, Albertinus the Schoolman, Jacob. Nactantus, *tom.* 2. *op.* handleth it in four questions—Antony Brunus, Aonius Palearius, Marinus Marcennus, with many others. This *reasonable soul,* which Austin calls a spiritual substance moving it self, is defined by philosophers to be *the first substantial act of a natural, humane, organical body, by which a man lives, perceives, and understands, freely doing all things, and with election:* out of which definition we may gather, that this *rational soul* includes the powers, and performs the duties, of the two other, which are contained in it; and all three faculties make one soul, which is inorganical of it self (although it be in all parts), and incorporeal, using their organs, and working by them. It is divided into two chief parts, differing in office only, not in essence—the *understanding,* which is the *rational* power *apprehending;* the *will,* which is the *rational* power *moving;* to which two, all the other rational powers are subject and reduced.

Subsect. X.—*Of the Understanding.*

Understanding is a power of the soul, [g] *by which we perceive, know, remember, and judge, as well singulars as universals, having certain innate notices or beginnings of arts, a reflecting action, by which it judgeth of his own doings, and examines them.* Out of this definition, (besides his chief office, which is to apprehend, judge all that he performs, without the help of any instruments or organs) three differences appear betwixt a man and a beast: as, first, the sense only comprehends *singularities,* the understanding *universalities:* secondly, the sense hath no innate notions: thirdly, brutes cannot reflect upon themselves. Bees indeed make neat and curious works, and many other creatures besides; but when they have done, they cannot judge of them. His object is God, *Ens,* all nature, and whatsoever is to be understood; which successively it apprehends. The object first moving the *understanding,* is some sensible thing; after, by discoursing, the mind finds out the corporeal substance, and from thence the spiritual. His actions (some say) are *apprehension, composition, division, discoursing, reasoning, memory,* (which some include in *invention*), and *judgement.* The common divisions are of the understanding, *agent,* and *patient; speculative,* and *practick;* in *habit,* or in *act; simple,* or *compound.* The *agent* is that which is called the *wit* of man, *acumen* or subtlety, *sharpness* of invention, when he doth invent of himself without a teacher, or learns anew—which abstracts those intelligible species from the phantasie, and transferrs them to the passive understanding, [h] *because there is nothing in the understanding, which was not first in the sense.* That which the imagination hath taken from the sense, this agent judgeth of, whether it be true or false; and, being so judged, he commits it to the *passible* to be kept. The *agent* is a doctor or teacher; the *passive* a scholar; and his office is to keep and farther judge of such things as are committed to his charge; as a bare and rased table at first, capable of all forms and notions. Now these notions are two-fold, *actions* or *habits;* actions, by which we take notions of, and perceive things: *habits,* which are durable lights and notions, which we may use when we will. [i] Some reckon up eight kinds of them, *sense, experience, intelligence,*

[g] Melanct. [h] Nihil in intellectu, quod non prius fuerat in sensu. [i] Velcurio.

faith, suspicion, errour, opinion, science; to which are added *art, prudency, wisdom;* as also [j] *synteresis, dictamen rationis, conscience;* so that, in all, there be fourteen species of the *understanding*, of which some are *innate*, as the three last mentioned; the other are gotten by doctrine, learning, and use. Plato will have all to be innate: Aristotle reckons up but five intellectual habits: two *practick*, as *prudency*, whose end is to practise, to fabricate; *wisdom*, to comprehend the use and experiments of all notions and habits whatsoever: which division of Aristotle (if it be considered aright) is all one with the precedent: for, three being innate, and five acquisite, the rest are improper, imperfect, and, in a more strict examination, excluded. Of all these I should more amply dilate, but my subject will not permit. Three of them I will only point at, as more necessary to my following discourse.

Synteresis, or the purer part of the conscience, is an innate habit, and doth signifie *a conservation of the knowledge of the law of God and Nature, to know good or evil:* and (as our divines hold) it is rather in the *understanding*, than in the *will*. This makes the *major* proposition in a practick *syllogism*. The *dictamen rationis* is that which doth admonish us to do good or evil, and is the *minor* in the *syllogism*. The conscience is that which approves good or evil, justifying or condemning our actions, and is the conclusion of the *syllogism;* as in that familiar example of Regulus the Roman, taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and suffered to go to Rome, on that condition he should return again, or pay so much for his ransom. The *synteresis* proposeth the question; his word, oath, promise, is to be religiously kept, although to his enemy, and that by the law of nature—[k] *do not that to another, which thou wouldest not have done to thy self. Dictamen* applies it to him, and dictates this or the like: Regulus, thou wouldst not another man should falsifie his oath, or break his promise with thee: *conscience* concludes, Therefore, Regulus, thou dost well to perform thy promise, and oughtest to keep thine oath. More of this, in *Religious Melancholy*.

Subsect. XI.—*Of the Will.*

Will is the other power of the *rational soul*, [l] *which covets or avoids such things as have been before judged and apprehended by the understanding.* If good, it approves; if evil, it abhors it: so that his object is either good or evil. Aristotle calls this our *rational appetite;* for as, in the *sensitive*, we are moved to good or bad by our *appetite*, ruled and directed by sense; so, in this, we are carried by *reason*. Besides, the *sensitive appetite* hath a particular object, good or bad; this, an universal immaterial: that respects only things delectable and pleasant; this, honest. Again, they differ in liberty. The *sensual appetite* seeing an object, if it be a convenient good, cannot but desire it; if evil, avoid it: but this is free in his essence,—[m] *much now depraved, obscured, and faln from his first perfection, yet, in some of his operations, still free*, as to go, walk, move at his pleasure, and to choose whether it will do, or not do, steal, or not steal. Otherwise in vain were laws, dehortations, exhortations, counsels, precepts, rewards, promises, threats, and punishments: and God should be the author of sin. But in [n] spiritual things, we will no good; prone to evil, (except we be regenerate, and led by the Spirit,) we are egged on by our natural concupiscence, and there is ἀταξία, a confusion in our powers; [o] *our whole will is averse from God and*

[j] The pure part of the conscience. [k] Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. [l] Res ab intellectu monstratis recipit, vel rejicit; approbat, vel improbat. Philip.—Ignoti nulla cupido. [m] Melancthon. Operationes plerumque ferè, etsi libera sit illa in essentiâ suâ. [n] In civilibus libera, sed non in *spiritualibus*. Osiander. [o] Tota voluntas aversa a Deo. Omnis homo mendax.

his law, not in natural things only, as to eat and drink, lust, to which we are led headlong by our temperature and inordinate appetite:

> [p] Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum,
> Sufficimus.———

we cannot resist; our concupiscence is originally bad, our heart evil; the seat of our affections captivates and enforceth our will: so that, in voluntary things, we are averse from God and goodness, bad by nature, by [q] ignorance worse; by art, discipline, custome, we get many bad habits, suffering them to domineer and tyrannize over us; and the devil is still ready at hand with his evil suggestions, to tempt our depraved will to some ill disposed action, to precipitate us to destruction, except our *will* be swayed and counterpoised again with some divine precepts, and good motions of the Spirit, which many times restrain, hinder and check us, when we are in the full career of our dissolute courses. So David corrected himself when he had Saul at a vantage. Revenge and malice were as two violent oppugners on the one side; but honesty, religion, fear of God, withheld him on the other.

The actions of the *will* are *velle* and *nolle*, to will and nill (which two words comprehend all; and they are good or bad, accordingly as they are directed) and some of them freely performed by himself; although the *Stoicks* absolutely deny it, and will have all things inevitably done by *destiny*, imposing a fatal necessity upon us, which we may not resist: yet we say that our will is free in respect of us, and things contingent, howsoever, in respect of Gods determinate counsel, they are inevitable and necessary. Some other actions of the *will* are performed by the inferiour powers, which obey him, as the *sensitive* and *moving appetite;* as to open our eyes, to go hither and thither, not to touch a book, to speak fair or foul: but this appetite is many times rebellious in us, and will not be contained within the lists of sobriety and temperance. It was (as I said) once well agreeing with reason; and there was an excellent consent and harmony betwixt them: but that is now dissolved, they often jar; *reason* is overborne by *passion*, (*Fertur equis auriga; neque audit currus habenas*) as so many wild horses run away with a chariot, and will not be curbed. We know many times what is good, but will not do it, as she said,

> ——[r] Trahit invitam nova vis; aliudque cupido,
> Mens aliud, suadet:

lust counsels one thing, reason another; there is a new reluctancy in men. [s] *Odi; nec possum, cupiens, non esse, quod odi.* We cannot resist; but, as Phædra confessed to her nurse, [t] *quæ loqueris, vera sunt; sed furor suggerit sequi pejora:* she said well and true (she did acknowledge it); but head-strong passion and fury made her to do that which was opposite. So David knew the filthiness of his fact, what a loathsome, foul, crying sin adultery was; yet, notwithstanding, he would commit murther, and take away another mans wife—enforced, against reason, religion, to follow his appetite.

Those *natural* and *vegetal* powers are not commanded by *will* at all; for *who can add one cubit to his stature?* These other may, but are not: and thence come all those head-strong passions, violent perturbations of the mind, and many times vitious habits, customs, feral diseases, because we give so much way to our *appetite*, and follow our inclination, like so many beasts. The principal *habits* are two in number, *vertue* and *vice*, whose peculiar definitions, descriptions, differences, and kinds, are handled at large in the *ethicks*, and are indeed the subject of *moral philosophy*.

[p] Virg. [q] Vel propter ignorantiam, quod bonis studiis non sit instructa mens, ut debuit, aut divinis præceptis exculta. [r] Medea, Ovid. [s] Ovid. [t] Seneca, Hipp.

MEMB. III.

Subsect. I.—*Definition of Melancholy, Name, Difference.*

Having thus briefly anatomized the body and soul of man, as a preparative to the rest—I may now freely proceed to treat of my intended object, to most mens capacity: and, after many ambages, perspicuously define what this *melancholy* is, shew his *name*, and *differences*. The *name* is imposed from the matter, and disease denominated from the material cause (as Bruel observes) Μελαγχολία, *quasi* Μελαινχόλη, from black choler. And, whether it be a cause or an effect, a disease, or symptome, let Donatus Altomarus, and Salvianus, decide; I will not contend about it. It hath several descriptions, notations, and definitions. [u] Fracastorius, in his second book of intellect, calls those *melancholy, whom abundance of that same depraved humour of black choler hath so misaffected, that they become mad thence, and dote in most things, or in all, belonging to election, will, or other manifest operations of the understvnding.* [v] Melanelius out of Galen, Ruffus, Aëtius, describe it to be *a bad and pievish disease, which makes men degenerate into beasts;* Galen, *a privation or infection of the middle cell of the head, &c.* defining it from the part affected; which [w] Hercules de Saxoniâ approves, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 16. calling it *a deprivation of the principal function:* Fuchsius, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 23. Arnoldus Breviar, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 18. Guianerius, and others. *By reason of black choler,* Paulus adds. Halyabbas simply calls it, a *commotion of the mind;* Aretæus [x] *a perpetual anguish of the soul, fastned on one thing, without an ague;* which definition of his, Merrialis (*de affect. cap. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10.) taxeth; but Ælianus Montaltus, defends, (*lib. de morb. cap.* 1. *de Melan.* for sufficient and good. The common sort define it to be *a kind of dotage without a fever, having, for his ordinary companions, fear and sadness, without any apparent occasion.* So doth Laurentius, *cap.* 4. Piso, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 43. Donatus Altomarus, *cap.* 7. *art. medic.* Jacchinus, *in com. in lib.* 9. Rhasis ad Almansor, *cap.* 15. Valesius, *exerc.* 17. Fuchsius, *institut.* 3. *sec.* 1. *c.* 11, *&c.* which common definition, howsoever approved by most, [y] Hercules de Saxoniâ will not allow of, nor David Crusius, *Theat. morb. Herm. lib.* 2. *cap.* 6: he holds it unsufficient, [z] *as rather shewing what it is not, than what it is;* as omitting the specifical difference, the phantasie and brain: but I descend to particulars. The *summum genus* is *dotage*, or *anguish of the mind*, saith Aretæus;—*of a principal part*, Hercules de Saxoniâ adds, to distinguish it from cramp and palsie, and such diseases as belong to the outward sense and motions; "*depraved*," [a] to distinguish it from folly and madness, (which Montaltus makes *angor animi*, to separate) in which those functions are not depraved, but rather abolished; "*without an ague*" is added by all, to sever it from *phrensie*, and that *melancholy* which is a pestilent fever. "*Fear* and *sorrow*" make it differ from *madness:* "*without a cause*" is lastly inserted, to specifie it from all other ordinary passions of "*fear* and *sorrow.*" We properly call that *dotage*, as [b] Laurentius interprets it, *when some one principal faculty of the mind, as imagination or reason, is corrupted, as all melancholy persons have.* It is without a fever, because the humour is, most part, cold and dry, contrary to putrefaction. *Fear* and *sorrow* are the true characters and inseparable companions of most *melancholy*, not all, as Her. de

[u] Melancholicos vocamus, quos exsuperantia vel pravitas melancholiæ ita male habet, ut inde insaniant vel in omnibus, vel in pluribus, iisque manifestis, sive ad rectam rationem, voluntatem, pertinent, vel electionem, vel intellectûs operationes. [v] Pessimum et pertinacissimum morbum, qui homines in bruta degenerare cogit. [w] Panth. Med. [x] Angor animi in unâ contentione defixus, absque febre. [y] Ca. 16. l. 1. [z] Eorum definitio, morbus quid non sit, potius quam quid sit, explicat. [a] Animæ functiones imminuuntur in fatuitate, tolluntur in maniâ, depravantur solum in melancholiâ. *Herc. de Sax. cap.* 1. *tract. de Melanch.* [b] Cap. 4. de mel.

Saxoniâ (*Tract. postumo de Melancholiâ, cap.* 2.) well excepts; for, to some, it is most pleasant, as to such as laugh most part; some are bold again, and free from all manner of fear and grief, as hereafter shall be declared.

SUBSECT. II.—*Of the parts affected. Affection. Parties affected.*

SOME difference I find amongst writers, about the principal part affected in this disease, whether it be the *brain* or *heart*, or some other member. Most are of opinion that it is the *brain;* for, being a kind of *dotage*, it cannot otherwise be, but that the *brain* must be affected, as a similar part, be it by [c] *consent* or *essence*, not in his ventricles, or any obstructions in them, (for then it would be an apoplexie, or epilepsie, as [d] Laurentius well observes) but in a cold dry distemperature of it in his substance, which is corrupt and become too cold, or too dry, or else too hot, as in madmen, and such as are inclined to it; and this [e] Hippocrates confirms, Galen, Arabians, and most of our new writers. Marcus de Oddis (in a consultation of his, quoted by [f] Hildesheim), and five others there cited, are of the contrary part, because fear and sorrow, which are passions, be seated in the heart. But this objection is sufficiently answered by [g] Montaltus, who doth not deny that the heart is affected (as [h] Malanelius proves out of Galen) by reason of his vicinity; and so is the *midriff* and many other parts. They do *compati*, and have a fellow-feeling by the law of nature: but, for as much as this malady is caused by precedent *imagination*, with the *appetite*, to whom spirits obey, and are subject to those principal parts; the *brain* must needs primarily be mis-affected, as the seat of *reason;* and then the *heart*, as the seat of *affection*. [i] Capivaccius and Mercurialis have copiously discussed this question; and both conclude the subject is the inner *brain*, and from thence it is communicated to the *heart*, and other inferiour parts, which sympathize and are much troubled, especially when it comes by consent, and is caused by reason of the *stomach* or *myrache* (as the Arabians term it), or whole body, liver, or [j] spleen, which are seldom free, *pylorus*, *mesaraick veins*, *&c.* For our body is like a clock; if one wheel be amiss, all the rest are disordered; the whole fabrick suffers: with such admirable art and harmony is a man composed, such excellent proportion, as Lodovicus Vives, in his *Fable of man*, hath elegantly declared.

As many doubts almost arise about the [k] *affection*, whether it be *imagination* or *reason* alone, or both. Hercules de Saxoniâ proves it out of Galen, Aëtius, and Altomarus, that the sole fault is in [l] *imagination:* Bruel is of the same mind: Montaltus (in his 2 *cap.* of *Melancholy*) confutes this tenet of theirs, and illustrates the contrary by many examples, as of him that thought himself a shell-fish: of a nun, and of a desperate monk that would not be perswaded but that he was damned. *Reason* was in fault (as well as *imagination*), which did not correct this error. They make away themselves oftentimes, and suppose many absurd and ridiculous things. Why doth not *reason* detect the fallacy, settle, and perswade, if she be free? [m] Avicenna therefore holds both corrupt; to whom most Arabians subscribe. The same is maintained by [n] Aretæus, Gorgonius, [o] Guianerius, &c. To end the controversie, no man doubts of *imagination*, but that it is hurt and misaffected here. For the other, I determine (with [p] Albertinus Bottonus, a doctor of

[c] Per consensum, sive per essentiam. [d] Cap. 4. de mel. [e] Sec. 7. de mor. vulgar. lib. 6. [f] Spicil. de melancholiâ. [g] Cap. 3. de mel. Pars affecta cerebrum, sive per consensum, sive per cerebrum contingat; et procerum auctoritate et ratione stabilitur. [h] Lib. de mel. Cor vero, vicinitatis ratione, unâ afficitur, ac septum transversum, ac stomachus, cum dorsali spinâ, &c. [i] Lib. 1. cap. 10. Subjectum est cerebrum interius. [j] Raro quisquam tumorem effugit lienis qui hoc morbi, afficitur. Piso. Quis affectus. [k] See Donat ab Altomar. [l] Facultas imaginandi, non cogitandi, nec memorandi, læsa hic. [m] Lib. 3. Fen. 1. Tract. 4. cap. 8. [n] Lib. 3. cap. 5. Lib. Med. cap. 19. part. 2. Tract. 15. cap. 2. [p] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de Melanc. fol. 207, et fol. 127. Quandoque etiam rationalis si affectus inveteratus sit.

Padua) that it is first in *imagination, and afterwards in reason, if the disease be inveterate, or as it is more or less of continuance*; but by accident, as [q] Herc. de Saxoniâ adds: *faith, opinion, discourse, ratiocination, are all accidentally depraved by the default of imagination.*

Parties affected.] To the part affected, I may here add the parties, which shall be more opportunely spoken of elsewhere, now only signified. Such as have the *Moon, Saturn, Mercury* mis-affected in their genitures—such as live in over-cold or over-hot climes—such as are born of *melancholy* parents, as offend in those six non-natural things, are black, or of an high sanguine complexion, [r] that have little heads, that have a hot heart, moist brain, hot liver and cold stomach, have been long sick—such as are solitary by nature, great students, given to much contemplation, lead a life out of action—are most subject to *melancholy*. Of sexes both, but men more often; yet [s] women mis-affected are far more violent, and grievously troubled. Of seasons of the year, the *autumn* is most melancholy. Of peculiar times, old age, from which natural melancholy is almost an inseparable accident; but this artificial malady is more frequent in such as are of a [t] middle age. Some assign forty years; Gariopontus, 30; Jubertus excepts neither young nor old from this adventitious. [u] Daniel Sennertus involves all of all sorts, out of common experience; *in omnibus omnino corporibus, cujuscunque constitutionis, dominatur.* Aëtius and Aretæus ascribe into the number *not only* [v] *discontented, passionate, and miserable persons, swarthy, black, but such as are most merry and pleasant, scoffers, and high coloured. Generally,* [w] saith Rhasis, [x] *the finest wits, and most generous spirits, are, before other, obnoxious to it.* I cannot except any complexion, any condition, sex, or age, but [y] fools and *Stoicks*, which (according to [z] Synesius) are never troubled with any manner of passion, but (as Anacreons *cicada, sine sanguine et dolore*) *similes fere diis sunt.* Erasmus vindicates fools from this melancholy catalogue, because they have most part moist brains and light hearts; [a] *they are free from ambition, envy, shame, and fear; they are neither troubled in conscience, nor macerated with cares, to which our whole life is most subject.*

Subsect. III.—*Of the matter of Melancholy.*

Of the matter of *melancholy*, there is much question betwixt Avicen and Galen, as you may read in [b] Cardans Contradictions, [c] Valesius controversies, Montanus, Prosper Calenus, Capivaccius, [d] Bright, [e] Ficinus, that have written either whole tracts, or copiously of it, in their several treatises of this subject. [f] *What this humour is, or whence it proceeds, how it is ingendred in the body, neither Galen, nor any old writer, hath sufficiently discussed, as Jacchinus thinks:* the neotericks cannot agree. Montanus, in his Consultations, holds *melancholy* to be *material* or *immaterial*; and so doth Arculanus. The *material* is one of the four humours before mentioned, and natural; the *immaterial* or adventitious, acquisite, redundant, unnatural, artificial, which [g] Hercules de Saxoniâ will have reside in the spirits alone, and to proceed from an *hot, cold, dry, moist distemperature, which, without*

[q] Lib. postumo de Melanc. edit. 1620. Depravatur fides, discursus, opinio, &c. per vitium imaginationis, ex accidenti. [r] Qui parvam caput habent, insensati plerique sunt. Arist. in physiognomiâ. [s] Aretæus, lib. 3. c. 5. [t] Qui prope statum sunt. Aret. Mediis convenit ætatibus. Piso. [u] De quartano. [v] Pronus ad melancholiam non tam mœstus, sed et hilares, jocosi, cachinnantes, irrisores, et qui plerumque prærubri sunt. [w] Lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 11. [x] Qui sunt subtilis ingenii, et multæ perspicacitatis, de facili incidunt in melancholiam. lib. 4. cont. tract. 9. [y] Nunquam sanitate mentis excidit, aut dolore capitur. Erasm. [z] In laud. calvit. [a] Vacant conscientiæ carnificinâ, nec pudefiunt, nec verentur, nec dilacerantur millibus curarum, quibus tota vita obnoxia est. [b] Lib. 1. tract. 3. contradic. 18. [c] Lib. 1. cont. 21. [d] Bright, cap. 16. [e] Lib. 1. cap. 6. de sanit. tuendâ. [f] Quisve aut qualis sit humor, aut quæ istius differentiæ, et quomodo gignatur in corpore, scrutandum; hac enim in re multi veterum laboraverunt; nec facile accipere ex Galeno sententiam, ob loquendi varietatem. Leon. Jac. com. in 9. Rhasis, cap. 15. cap. 16. in 9. Rhasis. [g] Tract. postum. de Melan. edit. Venetiis, 1620. cap. 7. et 8. Ab intemperie calidâ, humidâ, &c.

matter, alters the brain and functions of it. Paracelsus wholly rejects and derides this division of four humours and complexions; but our Galenists generally approve of it, subscribing to this opinion of Montanus.

This material *melancholy* is either simple or *mixt*—offending in *quantity* or *quality*, varying according to his place, where it setleth, as brain, spleen, mesaraick veins, heart, womb, and stomach—or differing according to the mixture of those natural humours amongst themselves, or four unnatural adust humours, as they are diversly tempered and mingled. If natural *melancholy* abound in the body, which is cold and dry, *so that it be more* [h] *than the body is well able to bear, it must needs be distempered* (saith Faventius) *and diseased:* and so the other, if it be depraved, whether it arise from that other *melancholy* of *choler* adust, or from *blood*, produceth the like effects, and is, as Montaltus contends, if it come by adustion of humours, most part hot and dry. Some difference I find, whether this *melancholy* matter may be ingendred of all four humours, about the colour and temper of it. Galen holds it may be ingendred of three alone, excluding *flegm*, or *pituita;* whose true assertion [i] Valesius and Menardus stifly maintain: and so doth [j] Fuchsius, Montaltus, [k] Montanus. How (say they) can white become black? But Hercules de Saxoniâ (*l. post. de mela. c.* 8.) and [l] Cardan are of the opposite part (it may be ingendred of flegm, *etsi raro contingat*, though it seldom come to pass); so is [m] Guianerius, and Laurentius (*c.* 1), with Melancthon, (in his book *de Animâ*, and chapter of humours; he calls it *asininam*, dull, swinish *melancholy*, and saith that he was an eye witness of it); so is [n] Wecker. From *melancholy* adust ariseth one kind, from *choler* another, which is most brutish; another from *flegm*, which is dull; and the last from *blood*, which is best. Of these, some are cold and dry, others hot and dry, [o] varying according to their mixtures, as they are intended and remitted. And indeed, as Rodericus a Fons. (*cons.* 12. *l.*) determines, ichorous, and those serous matters, being thickned, become flegm; and flegm degenerates into choler; choler adust becomes *æruginosa melancholia*, as vinegar out of purest wine putrified, or by exhalation of purer spirits, is so made, and becomes sowr and sharp; and, from the sharpness of this humour, proceed much waking, troublesome thoughts and dreams, &c. so that I conclude as before. If the humour be cold, it is (saith [p] Faventinus) *a cause of dotage, and produceth milder symptomes: if hot, they are rash, raving mad, or inclining to it.* If the brain be hot, the animal spirits are hot, much madness follows, with violent actions: if cold, fatuity and sottishness ([q] Capivaccius.) [r] *The colour of this mixture varies likewise according to the mixture, be it hot or cold; 'tis sometimes black, sometimes not* (Altomarus). The same [s] Melanelius proves out of Galen: and Hippocrates, in his book of *Melancholy* (if at least it be his) giving instance in a burning coal, *which, when it is hot, shines; when it is cold, looks black; and so doth the humour.* This diversity of melancholy matter produceth diversity of effects. If it be within the [t] body, and not putrified, it causeth black jaundise; if putrified, a quartan ague; if it break out to the skin, leprosie; if to parts, several maladies, as scurvy, &c. If it trouble the mind, as it is diversly mixt, it produceth several kinds of madness and dotage; of which in their place.

[h] Secundum magis aut minus: si in corpore fuerit ad intemperiem, plusquam corpus salubriter ferre poterit; inde corpus morbosum efficitur. [i] Lib. 1. controvers. cap. 21. [j] Lib. 1. sect. 4. c. 4. [k] Consil. 26. [l] Lib. 2. contradic. cap. 11. [m] De feb. tract. diff. 2. c. 1. Non est negandum ex hac fieri melancholicos. [n] In Syntax. [o] Varie aduritur et miscetur, unde variæ amentium species. Melanct. [p] Humor frigidus delirii causa; furoris calidus, &c. [q] Lib. 1. cap. 10. de affect. cap. [r] Nigrescit hic humor, aliquando supercalefactus, aliquando superfrigefactus, cap. 7. [s] Humor hic nigro aliquando præter modum calefactus, et alias refrigeratus evadit: nam recentibus carbonibus ei quid simile accidit, qui, durante flammâ, pellucidissime candent, eâ exstinctâ prorsus nigrescunt. Hippocrates. [t] Guianerius, diff. 2. cap. 7.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Of the species or kinds of Melancholy.*

WHEN the matter is divers and confused, how should it otherwise be, but that the species should be divers and confused? Many new and old writers have spoken confusedly of it, confounding *melancholy* and *madness*, as [u] Heurnius, Guianerius, Gordonius, Sallustius, Salvianus, Jason Pratensis, Savanarola, that will have *madness* no other than *melancholy* in extent, differing (as I have said) in degrees. Some make two distinct species, as Ruffus Ephesius an old writer, Constantinus Africanus, Aretæus, [v]Aurelianus, [w] Paulus Ægineta: others acknowledge a multitude of kinds, and leave them indefinite, as Aëtius (in his *Tetrabiblos*), [x] Avicenna, (*lib.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *cap.* 18), Arculanus (*cap.* 16. *in* 9), Rhasis, Montanus (*med. part.* 1.) [y] *If natural melancholy be adust, it maketh one kind; if blood, another; if choler, a third, differing from the first; and so many several opinions there are about the kinds, as there be men themselves.* [z] Hercules de Saxoniâ sets down two kinds, *material and immaterial; one from spirits alone, the other from humours and spirits.* Savanarola (*Rub.* 11. *Tract.* 6. *cap.* 1. *de ægritud. capitis*) will have the kinds to be infinite; one from the *myrache*, called *myrachialis* of the Arabians; another *stomachalis* from the *stomach*; another from the *liver, heart, womb, hæmorrhoids*; [a] *one beginning, another consummate.* Melancthon seconds him; [b] *as the humour is diversely adust and mixt, so are the species divers.* But what these men speak of species, I think ought to be understood of symptomes; and so doth [c]Arculanus interpret himself: infinite species, *id est*, symptomes: and, in that sense, (as Jo. Gorrhæus acknowledgeth in his medicinal definitions) the species are infinite; but they may be reduced to three kinds, by reason of their seat—*head, body, and hypochondries.* This threefold division is approved by Hippocrates in his book of Melancholy, (if it be his, which some suspect) by Galen (*lib.* 3. *de loc. affectis, cap.* 6), by Alexander (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 16), Rhasis (*lib.* 1. *Continent. Tract.* 9, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 16), Avicenna, and most of our new writers, Th. Erastus makes two kinds: one perpetual, which is *head melancholy*; the other interrupt, which comes and goes by fits, which he subdivides into the other two kinds, so that all comes to the same pass. Some again make four or five kinds with Rodericus à Castro (*de morbis mulier, lib.* 2. *c.* 3.) and Lod. Mercatus, who (in his second book *de mulier. affect. cap.* 4.) will have that melancholy of nuns, widows, and more antient maids, to be a peculiar species of melancholy differing from the rest. Some will reduce enthusiasts, extatical and dæmoniacal persons, to this rank, adding [d] *love melancholy* to the first, and *lycanthropia*. The most received division is into three kinds. The first proceeds from the sole fault of the *brain*, and is called *head melancholy*: the second sympathetically proceeds from the *whole body*, when the whole temperature is melancholy: the third ariseth from the bowels, liver, spleen, or membrane called *mesenterium*, named *hypochondriacal*, or *windy melancholy*, which [e] Laurentius subdivides into three parts, from those three members, *hepatick, splenetick, mesaraick. Love melancholy* (which Avicenna calls *illishi*) and *lycanthropia* (which he calls *cucubuthe*) are commonly included in head melancholy: but of this last (which Gerardus de Solo calls *amoreos*, and most *knight melancholy*), with that of *religious melancholy, viryinum, et viduarum* (maintained by Rod. à Castro and Mercatus), and

[u] Non est mania, nisi extensa melancholia. [v] Cap. 6. lib. 1. [w] 2 Ser. 2. cap. 9. Morbus hic est omnifarius. [x] Species indefinitæ sunt. [y] Si aduratur naturalis melancholia, alia sit species; si sanguis, alia; si flava bilis, alia, diversa a primis. Maxima est inter has differentia; et tot doctorum sententiæ, quot ipsi numero sunt. [z] Tract. de mel. cap. 7. [a] Quædam insipiens, quædam consummata. [b] Cap. de humor. lib. de animâ. Varie aduritur et miscetur ipsa melancholia; unde variæ amentium species. [c] Cap. 16. in 9. Rhasis. [d] Laurentius, cap. 4. de mel. [e] Cap. 13.

the other kinds of *love melancholy*, I will speak apart by themselves in my third partition. The three precedent species are the subject of my present discourse, which I will anatomize, and treat of, through all their causes, symptomes, cures, together, and apart; that every man, that is in any measure affected with this malady, may know how to examine it in himself, and apply remedies unto it.

It is a hard matter, I confess, to distinguish these three species one from the other, to express their several causes, symptomes, cures, being that they are so often confounded amongst themselves, having such affinity, that they can scarce be discerned by the most accurate physicians; and so often intermixt with other diseases, that the best experienced have been plunged. Montanus (*consil.* 26.) names a patient that had this disease of melancholy, and *caninus appetitus*, both together; and (*consil.* 23.) with *vertigo*— [f] Julius Cæsar Claudinus, with stone, gout, jaundice—Trincavellius, with an ague, jaundice, *caninus appetitus*, &c. [g] Paulus Regoline, a great doctor in his time, consulted in this case, was so confounded with a confusion of symptomes, that he knew not to what kind of melancholy to refer it. [h] Trincavellius, Fallopius, and Francanzanus, famous doctors in Italy, all three conferred with about one party at the same time, gave three different opinions: and, in another place, Trincavellius being demanded what he thought of a melancholy young man, to whom he was sent for, ingenuously confessed that he was indeed melancholy, but he knew not to what kind to reduce it. In his seventeenth consultation, there is the like disagreement about a melancholy monk. Those symptomes, which others ascribe to misaffected parts and humours, [i] Herc. de Saxoniâ attributes wholly to distempered spirits, and those immaterial, as I have said. Sometimes they cannot well discern this disease from others. In Reinerus Solinanders Counsels, *sect. consil.* 5. he and Dr. Brande both agreed, that the patients disease was hypochondriacal melancholy. Dr. Matholdus said it was *asthma*, and nothing else. [j] Solinander and Guarionius, lately sent for to the melancholy duke of Cleve, with others, could not define what species it was, or agree amongst themselves; the species are so confounded; as in Cæsar Claudinus his forty fourth consultation for a Polonian count: in his judgement, [k] *he laboured of head melancholy, and that which proceeds from the whole temperature, both at once.* I could give instance of some that have had all three kinds *semel et simul*, and some successively. So that I conclude of our melancholy species, as [l] many politicians do of their pure forms of common-wealths—monarchies, aristocracies, democracies, are most famous in contemplation; but, in practice, they are temperate and usually mixt, (so [m] Polybius enformeth us) as the Lacedæmonian, the Roman of old, German now, and many others. What physicians say of distinct species in their books, it much matters not, since that in their patients bodies they are commonly mixt. In such obscurity therefore, variety and confused mixture of symptomes, causes, how difficult a thing is it to treat of several kinds apart; to make any certainty or distinction among so many casualties, distractions, when seldom two men shall be like affected *per omnia!* 'Tis hard, I confess; yet nevertheless I will adventure through the midst of these perplexities, and, led by the clue or thread of the best writers, extricate my self out of a labyrinth of doubts and errours, and so proceed to the causes.

[f] 180. et 116. consult. consil. 12. [g] Hildesheim. spicil. 2. fol. 166. [h] Trincavellius, tom. 1. consil. 15 et 16. [i] Cap. 13. tract. post. de melan. [j] Guarion. cons. med. 2. [k] Laboravit per essentiam, et a toto corpore. [l] Machiavel, &c. Smithus, de rep: Angl. cap. 8. lib. 1. Buscoldus, discur. polit. discurs. 5. cap. 7. Arist. l. 3. polit. cap. ult. Keckerm. alii, &c. [m] Lib. 6.

SECT. II.—MEMB. I.

Subsect. I.—*Causes of Melancholy. God a cause.*

It is in vain to speak of cures, or think of remedies, until such time as we have considered of the causes; so [n] Galen prescribes (Glauco); and the common experience of others confirms, that those cures must be unperfect, lame, and to no purpose, wherein the causes have not first been searched, as [o] Prosper Calenius well observes in his tract *de atrâ bile* to Cardinal Cæsius: insomuch that [p] Fernelius *puts a kind of necessity in the knowledge of the causes, and, without which, it is impossible to cure or prevent any manner of disease.* Empericks may ease, and sometimes help, but not thoroughly root out: *sublatâ caussa tollitur effectus,* as the saying is; if the cause be removed, the effect is likewise vanquished. It is a most difficult thing (I confess) to be able to discern these causes, whence they are, and, in such [q] variety, to say what the beginning was. [r] He is happy that can perform it aright. I will adventure to guess as near as I can, and rip them all up, from the first to the last, *general* and *particular,* to every *species,* that so they may the better be descried.

General causes are either *supernatural* or *natural. Supernatural are from God and his angels,* or, *by God's permission, from the devil* and his ministers. That God himself is a cause for the punishment of sin, and satisfaction of his justice, many examples and testimonies of holy Scriptures make evident unto us: Psal. 107. 17. *Foolish men are plagued for their offence, and by reason of their wickedness:* Gehazi was strucken with leprosie (2 *Reg.* 5. 27), Jehoram with dysentery and flux, and great diseases of the bowels (2 Chron. 21. 15), David plagued for numbering his people (1 *Par.* 21), Sodom and Gomorrah swallowed up. And this disease is peculiarly specified, Psal. 127. 12. *He brought down their heart through heaviness.* Deut. 28. 28. *He stroke them with madness, blindness, and astonishment of heart.* [s] *An evil spirit was sent by the Lord upon Saul, to vex him.* [t] Nebuchadnezzar did eat grass like an oxe; *and his heart was made like the beasts of the field.* Heathen stories are full of such punishments. Lycurgus, because he cut down the vines in the country, was by Bacchus driven into madness; so was Pentheus, and his mother Agave, for neglecting their sacrifice. [u] Censor Fulvius ran mad for untiling Juno's temple, to cover a new one of his own, which he had dedicated to Fortune, [v] *and was confounded to death with grief and sorrow of heart.* When Xerxes would have spoiled [w] Apollos temple at Delphos of those infinite riches it possessed, a terrible thunder came from heaven, and struck 4000 men dead; the rest ran mad. [x] A little after, the like happened to Brennus (lightning, thunder, earthquakes) upon such a sacrilegious occasion. If we may believe our pontificial writers, they will relate unto us many strange and prodigious punishments in this kind, inflicted by their saints;—how [y] Clodoveus, sometime king of France, the son of Dagobert, lost his wits for uncovering the body of S. Denis; and how a [z] sacrilegious Frenchman, that would have stolen away a silver image of S. John, at Birgburge, became frantick on a suddain, raging and tyrannizing over his own flesh;—of a [a] lord of Rhadnor,

[n] Primo artis curativæ. [o] Nostri primum sit propositi affectionum caussas indagare. Res ipsa hortari videtur; nam alioqui earum curatio manca et inutilis esset. [p] Path. lib. 1. cap. 11. Rerum cognoscere caussas, medicis imprimis necessarium; sine quo, nec morbum curare, nec præcavere, licet. [q] Tanta enim morbi varietas ac differentia, ut non facile dignoscatur, unde initium morbus sumpserit. Melanelius, e Galeno. [r] Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere caussas! [s] 1 Sam. 16. 14. [t] Dan. 5. 21. [u] Lactant. instit. lib. 2. cap. 8. [v] Mente captus, et summo animi mœrore consumptus. [w] Munster. cosmog. lib. 4. cap. 43. De cœlo substernebantur; tamquam insani, de saxis præcipitati, &c. [x] Livius, lib. 38. [y] Gaguin. l. 3. c. 4. Quod Dionysii corpus discooperuerat, in insaniam incidit. [z] Idem, lib. 9. sub Carol. 6. Sacrorum contemptor, templi foribus effractis, dum D. Johannis argenteum simulacrum rapere contendit, simulacrum aversâ facie dorsum ei versat; nec mora, sacrilegus mentis inops, atque in semet insaniens, in proprios artus desævit. [a] Giraldus Cambrensis, *lib. 1. cap. 1.* Itinerar. Cambriæ.

that, coming from hunting late at night, put his dogs into S. Avans church, (Llan Avan they called it) and, rising betimes next morning, as hunters use to do, found all his dogs mad, himself being suddenly stricken blind;—of Tiridates, an [b] Armenian king, for violating some holy nuns, that was punished in like sort, with loss of his wits. But poets and papists may go together for fabulous tales; let them free their own credits. Howsoever they fain of their Nemesis, and of their saints, or, by the devils means, may be deluded; we find it true, that *ultor a tergo Deus*, [c] *He is God the avenger*, as David stiles him; and that it is our crying sins that pull this and many other maladies on our own heads; that he can, by his angels, which are his ministers, strike and heal (saith [d] Dionysius) whom he will; that he can plague us by his creatures, sun, moon, and stars, which he useth as his instruments, as a husbandman (saith Zanchius) doth an hatchet. Hail, snow, winds, &c. [e] *Et conjurati veniunt in classica venti;* as in Joshuas time, as in Pharaohs reign in Ægypt) they are but as so many executioners of his justice. He can make the proudest spirits stoop, and cry out, with Julian the Apostate, *Vicisti, Galilæe!* or, with Apollos priest in [f] Chrysostome, *O cœlum! o terra! unde hostis hic?* What an enemy is this? and pray with David, acknowledging his power, *I am weakned and sore broken; I roar for the grief of mine heart; mine heart panteth, &c.* (Psal. 38. 8.) *O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chastise me in thy wrath.* (Psal. 38. 1.) *Make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoice.* (Psal. 51. 8. and verse 12.) *Restore to me the joy of thy salvation, and stablish me with thy free spirit.* For these causes, belike [g] Hippocrates would have a physician take special notice whether the disease come not from a divine supernatural cause, or whether it follow the course of nature. But this is farther discussed by Fran. Valesius (*de sacr. philos. cap.* 8.), [h] Fernelius, and [i] J. Cæsar Claudinus, to whom I refer you, how this place of Hippocrates is to be understood. Paracelsus is of opinion, that such spiritual diseases (for so he calls them) are spiritually to be cured, and not otherwise. Ordinary means in such cases will not avail: *non est reluctandum cum Deo.* When that monster-taming Hercules overcame all in the Olympicks, Jupiter at last, in an unknown shape, wrestled with him; the victory was uncertain, till at length Jupiter descried himself, and Hercules yielded. No striving with supream powers: *Nil juvat immensos Cratero promittere montes:* physicians and physick can do no good; [j] *we must submit ourselves under the mighty hand of God*, acknowledge our offences, call to him for mercy. If he strike us, *una eademque manus vulnus opemque feret*, as it is with them that are wounded with the spear of Achilles; he alone must help; otherwise our diseases are incurable, and we not to be relieved.

Subsect. II.—*A Digression of the nature of Spirits, bad Angels, or Devils, and how they cause Melancholy.*

How far the power of spirits and devils doth extend, and whether they can cause this or any other disease, is a serious question, and worthy to be considered: for the better understanding of which, I will make a brief digression of the nature of spirits. And, although the question be very obscure, (according to [k] Postellus) *full of controversie and ambiguity*, beyond the reach of humane capacity—(*fateor excedere vires intentionis meæ*), saith [l] Austin; I confess I am not able to understand it; *finitum de infinito non potest statuere:* we can sooner determine with Tully, (*de nat. deorum,*) *quid non sint,*

[b] Delrio, tom. 3. lib. 8. sect. 3. quæst. 3. [c] Psal. 44. 1. [d] Lib. 8. cap. de Hierar. [e] Claudian. [f] De Babilâ martyre. [g] Lib. cap. 5. prog. [h] Lib. 1. de abditis rerum. [i] Respons. med. 12. resp. [j] 1 Pet. 5. 6. [k] Lib. 1. c. 7. de orbis concordiâ. In nullâ re major fuit altercatio, major obscuritas, minor opinionum concordia, quam de dæmonibus et substantiis separatis. [l] Lib. 3. de Trinit. cap. 1.

quam quid sint; our subtle schoolmen, Cardans, Scaligers, profound Thomists, *Fracastoriana et Ferneliana acies*, are weak, dry, obscure, defective, in these mysteries; and all our quickest wits, as an owles eyes at the suns light, wax dull, and are not sufficient to apprehend them)—yet, as in the rest, I will adventure to say something to this point. In former times, (as we read, Acts 23,) the Sadducees denied that there were any such spirits, devils, or angels. So did Galen the physician, the Peripateticks, even Aristotle himself, as Pomponatius stoutly maintains, and Scaliger in some sort grants; though Dandinus the Jesuite (*com. in lib. 2. de animâ*) stifly denies it. *Substantiæ separatæ*, and intelligences, are the same which Christians call angels, and Platonists devils; for they name all the spirits, *dæmones*, be they good or bad angels, as Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon, lib. 1. cap. 1.*) observes. Epicures and atheists are of the same mind in general, because they never saw them. Plato, Plotinus, Porphyrius, Jamblicus, Proclus, (insisting in the steps of Trismegistus, Pythagoras and Socrates) make no doubt of it; nor Stoicks, but that there are such spirits, though much erring from the truth. Concerning the first beginning of them, the [m] Thalmudists say that Adam had a wife called Lilis, before he marryed Eve, and of her he begat nothing but devils. The Turks [n] Alcoran is altogether as absurd and ridiculous in this point; but the Scripture informs us Christians, how Lucifer, the chief of them, with his associates, [o] fell from heaven for his pride, and ambition—created of God, placed in heaven, and sometimes an angel of light, now cast down into the lower aërial sublunary parts, or into hell, and *delivered into chains of darkness* (2 Pet. 2. 4.) *to be kept unto damnation.*

Nature of Devils.] There is a foolish opinion, which some hold, that they are the souls of men departed; good and more noble were deified; the baser groveled on the ground, or in the lower parts, and were devils; the which, with Tertullian, Porphyrius the philosopher, M. Tyrius, ser. 27. maintains. *These spirits*, he [p] saith, *which we call angels and devils, are nought but souls of men departed, which, either through love and pity of their friends yet living, help and assist them, or else persecute their enemies, whom they hated;* as Dido threatned to persecute Æneas: *Omnibus umbra locis adero: dabis, improbe, pœnas.*

They are (as others suppose) appointed by those higher powers to keep men from their nativity, and to protect or punish them, as they see cause; and are called *boni* and *mali genii* by the Romans—*heroes, lares*, if good, *lemures* or *larvæ*, if bad—by the Stoicks, governours of countries, men, cities, saith [q] Apuleius; *Deos apellant, qui ex hominum numero, juste ac prudenter vitæ curriculo gubernato, pro numine, postea ab hominibus præditi fanis et cæremoniis vulgo admittuntur, ut in Ægypto Osiris, &c. Præstites*, Capella calls them *which protected particular men as well as princes.* Socrates had his *dæmonium saturninum et igneum*, which, of all spirits, is best, *ad sublimes cogitationes animum erigentem*, as the Platonists supposed; Plotinus, his; and we Christians, our assisting angel, as Andreas Victorellus, a copious writer of this subject, Ludovicus de La-Cerda the Jesuite in his voluminous tract, de *Angelo Custode*, Zanchius, and some divines, think. But this absurd tenent of Tyrius, Proclus confutes at large in his book *de Animâ et Dæmone.*

[r] Psellus, a Christian, and sometimes tutor (saith Cuspinian) to Michael Parapinatius, emperour of Greece, a great observer of the nature of devils, holds they are [s] corporeal, and have *aërial bodies; that they are mortal, live*

[m] Pererius, in Genesin, lib. 4. in cap. 3. v. 23. [n] See Strozzius Cicogna, omnifariæ Mag. lib. 2. c. 15. J. Aubanus, Bredenbachius. [o] Angelus per superbiam separatus a Deo, qui in veritate non stetit. Austin. [p] Nihil aliud sunt Dæmones, quam nudæ animæ, quæ corpore deposito, priorem miserati vitam, cognatis succurrunt, commoti misericordiâ, &c. [q] De Deo Socratis. [r] He lived *500 years* since. [s] Apuleius. Spiritus animalia sunt animo passibilia, mente rationalia, corpore *aëria, tempore sempiterna.*

and dye (which Martianus Capella likewise maintains, but our Christian philosophers explode); *that* [t] *they are nourished, and have excrements; that they feel pain, if they be hurt* (which Cardan confirms, and Scaliger justly laughs him to scorn for; *si pascantur aëre, cur non pugnant ob puriorem aëra? &c.*) *or stroken:* and, if their bodies be cut, with admirable celerity they come together again. Austin (*in Gen. lib.* 3. *lib. arbit.*) approves as much: *mutata casu corpora in deteriorem qualitatem aëris spissioris:* so doth Hierom (*Comment. in epist. ad Ephes. cap.* 3.), Origen, Tertullian, Lactantius, and many ancient fathers of the church, that, in their fall, their bodies were changed into a more aërial and gross substance. Bodine (*lib.* 4. *Theatri Naturæ,*) and David Crusius (*Hermeticæ Philosophiæ, lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.) by several arguments proves angels and spirits to be corporeal: *quidquid continetur in loco, corporeum est: at spiritus continetur in loco,* ergo. *Si spiritus sunt quanti, erunt corporei: at sunt quanti,* ergo. *Sunt finiti,* ergo *quanti, &c.* [u] Bodine goes further yet, and will have these *animæ separatæ, genii,* spirits, angels, devils, and so likewise souls of men departed, if corporeal (which he most eagerly contends), to be of some shape, and that absolutely round, like sun and moon, because that is the most perfect form, *quæ nihil habet asperitatis, nihil angulis incisum, nihil anfractibus involutum, nihil eminens, sed inter corpora perfecta est perfectissimum:* therefore all spirits are corporeal (he concludes), and in their proper shapes round. That they can assume other aërial bodies, all manner of shapes at their pleasures, appear in what likeness they will themselves; that they are most swift in motion, can pass many miles in an instant, and so likewise [v] transform bodies of others into what shape they please, and with admirable celerity remove them from place to place; as the angel did Habakkuk to Daniel, and as Philip the deacon was carried away by the spirit, when he had baptized the eunuch; so did Pythagoras and Apollonius remove themselves and others, with many such feats) that they can represent castles in the ayre, pallaces, armies, spectrums, prodigies, and such strange objects to mortal mens eyes, [w] cause smells, savours, &c. deceive all the senses; most writers of this subject credibly believe; and that they can foretell future events, and do many strange miracles. Junos image spake to Camillus, and Fortunes statue to the Roman matrons, with many such. Zanchius, Bodine, Spondanus, and others, are of opinion that they cause a true metamorphosis, (as Nabuchadnezar was really translated into a beast, Lots wife into a pillar of salt, Ulysses companions into hogs and dogs by Circes charms) turn themselves and others, as they do witches into cats, dogs, hares, crows, &c. (Strozzius Cicogna hath many examples, *lib.* 3. *omnif. mag. cap.* 4. *et* 5. which he there confutes, as Austin likewise doth, *de civ. Dei lib.* 18.)—that they can be seen when and in what shape, and to whom they will (saith Psellus, *Tametsi nil tale viderim, nec optem videre,* though he himself never saw them nor desired it), and use sometimes carnal copulation (as elsewhere I shall [x] prove more at large) with women and men. Many will not believe they can be seen; and, if any man shall say, swear, and stifly maintain, (though he be discreet and wise, judicious and learned) that he hath seen them, they account him a timorous fool, a melancholy dizard, a weak fellow, a dreamer, a sick or a mad man; they contemn him, laugh him to scorn; and yet Marcus, of his credit, told Psellus that he had often seen them. And Leo Suavius, a Frenchman, (*c.* 8. *in Commentar. l.* 1. *Paracelsi de vitâ longâ,* out

[t] Nutriuntur, et excrementa habent; quod pulsata doleant, solido percussa corpore. [u] Lib. 4. Theol. nat. fol. 535. [v] Cyprianus, in Epist. Montes etiam et animalia transferri possunt: as the devil did Christ to the top of the pinnacle; and witches are often translated. See more in Strozzius Cicogna, lib. 3. cap. 4. omnif. mag. Per aëra subducere, et in sublime corpora ferre possunt. Biarmanus.—Percussi dolent, et uruntur in conspicuos cineres. Agrippa, lib. 3. cap. de occul. Philos. [w] Agrippa, de occult. Philos. lib. 3. cap. 18. [x] Part. 3. sect. 2. Mem. 1. Subs. 1. Love Melancholy.

of some Platonists) will have the ayre to be as full of them as snow falling in the skies, and that they may be seen, and withal sets down the means how men may see them; *Si irreverberatis oculis, sole splendente, versus cælum continuaverint obtutus, &c.* and saith moreover he tryed it, (*præmissorum feci experimentum*) and it was true, that the Platonists said. Paracelsus confesseth that he saw them divers times, and conferred with them; and so doth Alexander ab [y] Alexandro, *that he found it so by experience, when as before he doubted of it.* Many deny it, saith Lavater, (*de spectris, part* 1. *c.* 2. *et part.* 2. *c.* 11.) *because they never saw themselves:* But, as he reports at large all over his book, especially c. 19. part 1, they are often seen and heard, and familiarly converse with men, as Lod. Vives assureth us, innumerable records, histories, and testimonies evince in all ages, times, places, and [z] all travellers besides. In the West Indies, and our northern climes, *nihil familiarius quam in agris et urbibus spiritus videre, audire, qui vetent, jubeant, &c.* Hieronymus (*vita Pauli*), Basil (*ser.* 40), Nicephorus, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus, [a] Jacobus Boissardus (in his tract *de spirituum apparitionibus*), Petrus Loyerus (*l. de spectris*), Wierus (l. 1.) have infinite variety of such examples of apparitions of spirits, for him to read that farther doubts, to his ample satisfaction. One alone I will briefly insert. A noble man in Germany was sent embassadour to the king of Sueden, (for his name, the time, and such circumstances, I refer you to Boissardus, mine [b] author). After he had done his business, he sailed for Livonia, on set purpose to see those familiar spirits, which are there said to be conversant with men, and do their drudgery works. Amongst other matters, one of them told him where his wife was, in what room, in what cloaths, what doing, and brought him a ring from her, which at his return, *non sine omnium admiratione*, he found to be true; and so believed that ever after, which before he doubted of. Cardan (*l.* 19. *de subtil.*) relates of his father Facius Cardan, that, after the accustomed solemnities, *An.* 1491, 13 August, he conjured up seven devils in Greek apparel, about 40 years of age, some ruddy of complexion, and some pale, as he thought: he asked them many questions; and they made ready answer, that they were aërial devils, that they lived and died as men did, save that they were far longer liv'd, (seven or eight hundred [c] years,) and that they did as much excel men in dignity, as we do juments, and were as far excelled again of those that were above them: our [d] governours and keepers they are moreover, (which [e] Plato in Critias delivered of old,) and subordinate to one another: *ut enim homo homini, sic dæmon dæmoni dominatur;* they rule themselves as well as us; and the spirits of the meaner sort had commonly such offices, as we make horse-keepers, neat-herds, and the basest of us, overseers of our cattle; and that we can no more apprehend their natures and functions, than a horse a mans. They knew all things, but might not reveal them to men; and ruled and domineered over us, as we do over our horses; the best kings amongst us, and the most generous spirits, were not comparable to the basest of them. Sometimes they did instruct men and communicate their skill, reward and cherish, and sometimes again terrifie and punish, to keep them in awe, as they thought fit; *nihil magis cupientes* (saith Lysius, *Phys. Stoicorum*) *quam adorationem hominum.* The same author Cardan in his Hyperchen, out of the doctrine of Stoicks, will have some of these genii (for so he calls them) to be [f] desirous

[y] Genial. dierum. Ita sibi visum et compertum, quum prius, an essent, ambigeret.—Fidem suam liberet. [z] Lib. 1. de verit. Fidei. Benzo, &c. [a] Lib. de Divinatione et Magiâ [b] Cap. 8. Transportavit in Livoniam, cupiditate videndi, &c. [c] Sic Hesiodus de Nymphis, vivere dicit 10 ætates phœnicum. [d] Custodes hominum ei provinciarum, &c. tanto meliores hominibus, quanto hi brutis animantibus. [e] Præsides, pastores, gubernatores hominum, ut illi animalium. [f] Naturâ familiares *ut canes hominibus;* multi aversantur et abhorrent.

of men's company, very affable, and familiar with them, as dogs are; others again to abhor as serpents, and care not for them. The same, belike, Trithemius calls *igneos et sublunares, qui nunquam demergunt ad inferiora, aut vix ullum habent in terris commercium*: [g] *generally they far excel men in worth, as a man the meanest worm*; though some of them are *inferiour to those of their own rank in worth, as the black guard in a princes court, and to men again, as some degenerate, base, rational creatures are excelled of brute beasts.*

That they are mortal, besides those testimonies of Cardan, Martianus, &c. many other divines and philosophers hold (*post prolixum tempus moriuntur omnes*), the [h] Platonists, and some Rabbines, Porphyrius and Plutarch, as appears by that relation of Thamus: [i] *The great god Pan is dead:* Apollo Pythius ceased; and so the rest. S. Hierome, in the life of Paul the eremite, tells a story, how one of them appeared to S. Antony in the wilderness, and told him as much. [j] Paracelsus, of our late writers, stifly maintains that they are mortal, live and die, as other creatures do. Zosimus (l. 2.) farther adds that religion and policy dies and alters with them. The [k] Gentiles gods, he saith, were expelled by Constantine; and, together with them, *imperii Romani majestas et fortuna interiit, et profligata est*; the fortune and majesty of the Roman empire decayed and vanished; as that heathen in [l] Minutius formerly bragged, when the Jews were overcome by the Romans, the Jews god was likewise captivated by that of Rome; and Rabsakeh to the Israelites, no god should deliver them out of the hands of the Assyrians. But these paradoxes of their power, corporeity, mortality, taking of shapes, transposing bodies, and carnal copulations, are sufficiently confuted by Zanch. (*c.* 10. *l.* 4) Pererius, (in his comment) and Tostatus (questions on the sixth of Gen.) Th. Aquin. S. Austin, Wierus, Th. Erastus, Delrio, (*tom.* 2. *l.* 2. *quæst.* 29.) Sebastian Michaelis (*cap.* 2. *de spiritibus*), D. Reinolds (*lect.* 47). They may deceive the eyes of men, yet not take true bodies, or make a real metamorphosis: but, as Cicogna proves at large, they are [m] *illusoriæ et præstigiatrices transformationes* (*omnif. mag. lib.* 4. *cap.* 4.), meer illusions and cozenings, like that tale of *Pasetis obulus* in Suidas, or that of Autolycus, Mercuries son, that dwelt in Parnassus, who got so much treasure by cozenage and stealth. His father Mercury, because he could leave him no wealth, taught him many fine tricks to get means; [n] for he could drive away mens cattel, and, if any pursued him, turn them into what shapes he would, and so did mightily enrich himself; *hoc astu maximam prædam est adsequutus.* This, no doubt, is as true as the rest; yet thus much in general, Thomas Durand, and others grant, that they have understanding far beyond men can probably conjecture, and [o] foretell many things; they can cause and cure most diseases, deceive our senses; they have excellent skill in all arts and sciences; and that the most illiterate devil is *quovis homine scientior*, as [p] Cicogna maintains out of others. They know the vertues of herbs, plants, stones, minerals, &c. of all creatures, birds, beasts, the four elements, stars, planets; can aptly apply and make use of them as they see good, perceiving the causes of all meteors, and the like: *Dant se coloribus*, (as [q] Austin hath it) *accommodant se figuris, adhærent sonis, subjiciunt se odoribus, infundunt se saporibus, omnes sensus, etiam ipsam intelligentiam, dæmones fallunt:* they deceive all our senses, even

[g] Ab homine plus distant, quam homo ab ignobilissimo vermi; et tamen quidam ex his ab hominibus superantur, ut homines a feris, &c. [h] Cibo et potu uti, et Venere cum hominibus, ac tandem mori. Cicogna, l. part. lib. 2. c. 3. [i] Plutarch. de defect. oraculorum. [j] Lib. de Zilphis et Pygmæis. [k] Dii gentium a Constantino profligati sunt, &c. [l] Octavian. dial. Judæorum deum fuisse Romanorum nominibus una cum gente captivum. [m] Omnia spiritibus plena; et ex eorum concordiâ et discordiâ omnes boni et mali effectus promanant, omnia humana reguntur. Paradox. veterum, de quo Cicogna, omnif. mag. l. 2. c. 3. [n] Oves, quas abacturus erat, in quascunque formas vertebat. Pausanias, Hyginus. [o] Austin. in l. 2. de Gen. a literam, cap. 17. Partim quia subtilioris sensûs acumine, partim scientiâ callidiore vigent, et experientiâ propter magnam longitudinem vitæ, partim ab angelis discunt, &c. [p] Lib. 3. omnif. mag. cap. 3. [q] Lib. 18. quæst.

our understanding itself, at once. [r]They can produce miraculous alterations in the ayre, and most wonderful effects, conquer armies, give victories; help, further, hurt, cross, and alter humane attempts and projects (*Dei permissu*) as they see good themselves. [s]When Charles the great intended to make a channel betwixt the Rhine and Danubius, look, what his workmen did in the day, these spirits flung down in the night; *ut conatu rex desisteret, pervicere.* Such feats can they do. But that which Bodine (*l.* 4. *Theat. nat.*) thinks (following Tyrius belike and the Platonists) they can tell the secrets of a mans heart, *aut cogitationes hominum*, is most false: his reasons are weak, and sufficiently confuted by Zanch. (*lib.* 4. *cap.* 9.) Hierom, (*lib.* 2. *com. in Mat. ad cap.* 14.) Athanasius (*quæst.* 27. *ad Antiochum Principem*), and others.

Orders.] As for those orders of good and bad devils—which the Platonists hold, is altogether erroneous; and those Ethnicks *boni* and *mali genii* are to be exploded. These heathen writers agree not in this point among themselves, as Dandinus notes; *an sint* [t]*mali, non conveniunt*; some will have all spirits good or bad to us by a mistake: as, if an oxe or horse could discourse, he would say the butcher was his enemy because he killed him, the grasier his friend because he fed him; an hunter preserves and yet kills his game; and is hated nevertheless of his game; *nec piscatorem piscis amare potest, &c.* But Jamblicus, Psellus, Plutarch, and most Platonists, acknowledge bad, *et ab eorum maleficiis cavendum*, for they are enemies of mankind; and this Plato learned in Egypt, that they quarrelled with Jupiter, [u]and were driven by him down to hell. That which [v]Apuleius, Xenophon, and Plato contend of Socrates *dæmonium*, is most absurd; that which Plotinus of his, that he had likewise *Deum pro dæmonio*; and that which Porphyry concludes of them all in general, if they be neglected in their sacrifice, they are angry; nay more, as Cardan in his Hyperchen will, they feed on mens souls: *elementa sunt plantis elementum, animalibus plantæ, hominibus animalia, erunt et homines diis, non autem diis; nimis enim remota est eorum natura a nostrâ; qua propter dæmonibus:* and so, belike, that we have so many battels fought in all ages, countries, is to make them a feast, and their sole delight. But to return to that I said before—if displeased, they fret and chafe, (for they feed, belike, on the souls of beasts, as we do on their bodies) and send many plagues amongst us: but, if pleased, then they do much good; is as vain as the rest, and confuted by Austin (*l.* 9. *c.* 8. *de Civ. Dei*), Euseb. (*l.* 4. *præpar. Evang. c.* 6.), and others. Yet thus much I find, that our school-men and other [w]divines make nine kinds of bad spirits, as Dionysius hath done of angels. In the first rank, are those false gods of the Gentiles, which were adored heretofore in several idols, and gave oracles at Delphos, and elsewhere; whose prince is Beelzebub. The second rank is of lyars and æquivocators, as Apollo Pythius, and the like. The third are those vessels of anger, inventers of all mischief; as that Theutus in Plato; Esay calls them [x]vessels of fury; their prince is Belial. The fourth are malicious revenging devils; and their prince is Asmodæus. The fifth kind are cozeners, such as belong to magicians and witches; their prince is Satan. The sixth are those aërial devils, that [y]corrupt the aire, and cause plagues, thunders, fires, &c. spoken of in the Apocalyps, and Paul to the Ephesians names them the princes of the ayre; Meresin is their prince.

[r]Quum tanta sit et tam profunda spirituum scientia, mirum non est tot tantasque res visu admirabiles ab ipsis patrari, et quidem rerum naturalium ope, quas multo melius intelligunt, multoque peritius suis locis et temporibus applicare nôrunt quam homo. Cicogna. [s]Aventinus. Quidquid interdiu exhauriebatur, nocte explebatur. Inde pavefacti curatores, &c. [t]In lib. 2. de animâ, text. 29. Homerus indiscriminatim omnes spiritus dæmones vocat. [u]A Jove ad inferos pulsi, &c. [v]De Deo Socratis. Adest mihi divinâ sorte dæmonium quoddam, a primâ pueritiâ me sequutum; sæpe dissuadet; impellit nonnunquam, instar vocis. Plato. [w]Agrippa, lib. 3. de occul. ph. c. 18. Zanch. Pictorius, Pererius, Cicogna, l. 3. cap. 1. [x]Vasa iræ, c. 13. [y]Quibus datum est nocere *terræ et mari, &c.*

The seventh is a destroyer, captain of the Furies, causing wars, tumults, combustions, uproars, mentioned in the Apocalyps, and called Abaddon. The eighth is that accusing or calumniating devil, whom the Greeks call Διάβολος, that drives men to despair. The ninth are those tempters in several kinds; and their prince is Mammon. Psellus makes six kinds, yet none above the moon. Wierus, in his *Pseudomonarchiâ Dæmonis*, out of an old book, makes many more divisions and subordinations, with their several names, numbers, offices, &c. but Gazæus (cited by [a] Lipsius) will have all places full of angels, spirits, and devils, above and beneath the moon, ætherial and aërial, which Austin cites out of *Varro, l. 7. de Civ. Dei, c. 6. The celestial devils above, and aërial beneath*, or as [a] some will, gods above, *semidei* or half gods beneath, *lares, heroes, genii*, which clime higher, if they lived well (as the Stoicks held), but grovel on the ground, as they were baser in their lives, nearer to the earth; and are *manes, lemures, lamiæ*, &c. [b] They will have no place void, but all full of spirits, devils, or some other inhabitants; *Plenum cœlum, aër, aqua, terra, et omnia sub terrâ*, saith Gazæus; though Anthony Rusca (in his book *de Inferno, lib. 5. cap. 7.*) would confine them to the middle region, yet they will have them every where; [c] not so much as an hair breadth empty in heaven, earth, or waters, above or under the earth. The air is not so full of flies in summer, as it is at all times of invisible devils: this [d] Paracelsus stifly maintains, and that they have every one their several *chaos:* others will have infinite worlds, and each world his peculiar spirits, gods, angels, and devils, to govern and punish it.

> Singula [e] nonnulli credunt quoque sidera posse
> Dici orbes: terramque appellant sidus opacum,
> Cui minimus divûm præsit.———

[f] Gregorius Tholosanus makes seven kinds of ætherial spirits or angels, according to the number of the seven planets, Saturnine, Jovial, Martial, &c. of which Cardan discourseth, *lib. 20. de subtil.* he calls them, *substantias primas; Olympicos dæmones*, Trithemius, *qui præsunt Zodiaco, &c.* and will have them to be good angels above, devils beneath the moon; their several names and offices he there sets down, and (which Dionysius, of angels) will have several spirits for several countreys, men, offices, &c. which live about them, and as so many assisting powers, cause their operations; will have, in a word, innumerable, and as many of them as there be stars in the skies. [g] Marcilius Ficinus seems to second this opinion, out of Plato, or from himself, I know not, (still ruling their inferiours, as they do those under them again, all subordinate; and the nearest to the earth rule us; whom we subdivide into good and bad angels, call gods or devils, as they help or hurt us, and so adore, love, or hate) but it is most likely from Plato, for he, relying wholly on Socrates, *quem mori potius quam mentiri voluisse scribit*, out of Socrates authority alone, made nine kinds of them: which opinion, belike, Socrates took from Pythagoras, and he from Trismegistus, he from Zoroaster—first, God, secondly, ideæ, thirdly, intelligences, fourthly, arch-angels, fifthly, angels, sixthly, devils, seventhly, heroes, eighthly, principalities, ninthly, princes; of which some were absolutely good, as gods, some bad, some indifferent *inter deos et homines*, as heroes and *dæmones*, which ruled men, and were called *genii*, or (as [h] Proclus and Jamblicus will) the middle betwixt God and men, principalities and princes, which commanded and swayed kings and countreys, and had places in the sphears perhaps; for, as every sphear is higher, so hath it more excellent in-

[a] Physiol. Stoïcorum e Senec. lib. 1. cap. 28. [b] Usque ad lunam animas esse æthereas, vocarique heroas, lares, genios. [b] Mart. Capella. [c] Nihil vacuum ab his, ubi vel capillum in aërem vel aquam jacias. [d] Lib. de Zilp. [e] Palingenius. [f] Lib. 7. cap. 34. et 5. Syntax. art. mirab. [g] Comment. in dial. Plat. de amore, c. 5. Ut sphæra quælibet super nos, ita præstantiores habet habitatores suæ sphæræ consortes, ut habet nostra. [h] Lib. de animâ et dæmone. Medii inter deos et homines, divina ad nos, et nostra æqualiter ad deos ferunt.

habitants; which, belike, is that Galilæus a Galilæo and Kepler aims at in his *Nuncio Siderio*, when he will have [i] *Saturnine* and *Jovial* inhabitants, and which Tycho Brahe doth in some sort touch or insinuate in one of his epistles: but these things [j] Zanchius justly explodes, *cap.* 3. *lib.* 4 P. Martyr. in 4. Sam. 28.

So that, according to these men, the number of ætherial spirits must needs be infinite: for, if that be true that some of our mathematicians say, that if a stone could fall from the starry heaven, or eighth sphear, and should pass every hour an hundred miles, it would be sixty-five years, or more, before it would come to ground, by reason of the great distance of heaven from earth, which contains (as some say) one hundred and seventy millions eight hundred and three miles,—besides those other heavens, (whether they be chrystalline or watery, which Maginus adds) which peradventure holde as much more,—how many such spirits may it contain? And yet, for all this, [k] Thomas, Albertus, and most, hold that there be far more angels than devils.

Sublunary devils, and their kinds.] But, be they more or less, *quod supra nos, nihil ad nos.* Howsoever, as Martianus foolishly supposeth, *ætherii dæmones non curant res humanas;* they care not for us, do not attend our actions, or look for us; those ætherial spirits have other worlds to reign in, belike, or business to follow. We are only now to speak in brief of these sublunary spirits or devils. For the rest, our divines determine that the devil hath no power over stars, or heavens. [l] *Carminibus cœlo possunt deducere lunam, &c.* Those are poetical fictions; and that they can [m] *sistere aquam fluviis, et vertere sidera retro, &c.* as Canidia in Horace, 'tis all false. [n] They are confined, until the day of judgement, to this sublunary world, and can work no further than the four elements, and as God permits them. Wherefore, of these sublunary devils, though others divide them otherwise according to their several places and offices, Psellus makes six kinds, fiery, aërial, terrestrial, watery, and subterranean devils, besides those fairies, satyrs, nymphs, &c.

Fiery spirits or devils are such as commonly work by blazing stars, fire-drakes, or *ignes fatui*, which lead men often *in flumina, aut præcipitia*, saith Bodine, (*lib.* 2. *Theat. naturæ, fol.* 221.) *Quos, inquit, arcere si volunt viatores, clará voce Deum appellare, aut pronâ facie terram contingente adorare oportet: et hoc amuletum majoribus nostris acceptum ferre debemus, &c.* Likewise they counterfeit suns and moons, stars oftentimes, and sit on ship masts: *in navigiorum summitatibus visuntur;* and are called *Discuri* (as Eusebius, *l. contra Philosophos*, c. 48, informeth us, out of the authority of Zenophanes); or little clouds, *ad motum nescio quem volantes;* which never appear, saith Cardan, but they signifie some mischief or other to come unto men, though some again will have them to portend good, and victory to that side they come towards in sea fights; St. Elmes fires they commonly call them, and they do likely appear after a sea storm. Radzivilius, the Polonian duke, calls this apparition *Sancti Germani sidus;* and saith moreover, that he saw the same after in a storm, as he was sayling, 1582, from Alexandria to Rhodes. Our stories are full of such apparitions in all kinds. Some think they keep their residence in that Hecla mountain in Island, Ætna in Sicily, Lipara, Vesuvius, &c. The devils were worshipped heretofore by that superstitious πυρομαντεία, and the like.

Aërial spirits or devils are such as keep quarter, most part, in the [o] air, cause many tempests, thunder, and lightnings, tear oaks, fire steeples, houses,

[i] Saturninas et Joviales accolas. [j] In loca detrusi sunt infra cœlestes orbes, in aërem scilicet et infra, ubi judicio generali reservantur. [k] Q. 36. art. 9. [l] Virg. 8. Ec. [m] Æn. 4. [n] Austin. Hoc dixi, ne quis existimet habitare ibi mala dæmonia, ubi solem et lunam et stellas Deus ordinavit. Et alibi; nemo arbitraretur dæmonem cœlis habitare cum angelis suis, unde lapsum credimus. Id. Zanch. l. 4. c. 3. de angel. malis. Pererius, in Gen. cap. 6. lib. 8. in ver. 2. [o] Domus diruunt, muros dejiciunt, immiscent se turbinibus et procellis, et pulverem instar columnæ evehunt. Cicogna, l. 3. c. 5.

strike men and beasts, make it rain stones (as in Livies time), wooll, frogs, &c. counterfeit armies in the air, strange noises, swords, &c. as at Vienna before the coming of the Turks, and many times in Rome, as Scheretzius, *l. de spect. c.* 1. *part* 1. Lavater, *de spect. part.* 1. c 17, Julius Obsequens, an old Roman, in his book of prodigies, *ab urd. cond.* 505. [p] Machiavel hath illustrated by many examples, and Josephus in his book *de bello Judiaco*, before the destruction of Jerusalem. All which Guil. Postellus (in his first book, *c.* 7. *de orbis concordiâ*) useth as an effectual argument (as indeed it is) to perswade them that will not believe there be spirits or devils. They cause whirlwinds on a sudden, and tempestuous storms; which though our meteorologists generally refer to natural causes, yet I am of Bodines mind (*Theat. Nat. l.* 2.) they are more often caused by those aërial devils, in their several quarters; for *tempestatibus se ingerunt*, saith [q] Rich. Argentine; as when a desperate man makes away with himself, which by hanging or drowning they frequently do, (as Kornmannus observes, *de mirac. mort. part.* 7. *c.* 76.) *tripudium agentes*, dancing and rejoicing at the death of a sinner. These can corrupt the air, and cause plagues, sickness, storms, shipwracks, fires, inundations. At Mons Draconis in Italy, there is a most memorable example in [r] Jovianus Pontanus; and nothing so familiar (if we may believe those relations of Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Damianus A. Goes) as for witches and sorcerers, in Lapland, Lithuania, and all over Scandia, to sell winds to marriners, and cause tempests; which Marcus Paulus the Venetian relates likewise of the Tartars. These kind of devils are much [s] delighted in sacrifices, (saith Porphyry) held all the world in awe, and had several names, idols, sacrifices in Rome, Greece, Ægypt, and at this day tyrannize over, and deceive, those Ethnicks and Indians, being adored and worshipped for [t] gods: for the Gentiles gods were devils (as [u] Trismegistus confesseth in his Asclepius; and he himself could make them come to their images by magick spells), and are now as much *respected by our papists* (saith [v] Pictorius) *under the name of saints.* These are they which, Cardan thinks, desire so much carnal copulation with witches (*Incubi* and *Succubi*), transform bodies, and are so very cold, if they be touched; and that serve magicians. His father had one of them, ([w] as he is not ashamed to relate) an aërial devil, bound to him for twenty and eight years. As Agrippas dog had a devil tyed to his coller, some think that Paracelsus (or else Erastus belies him) had one confined to his sword pummel; others wear them in rings, &c. Jannes and Jambres did many things of old by their help, Simon Magus, Cinops, Apollonius Tyaneus, Jamblicus, and Trithemius of late, that shewed Maximilian the emperour his wife, after she was dead; *et verrucam in collo ejus* (saith [x] Godolman), so much as the wart in her neck. Delrio (*lib.* 2.) hath divers examples of their feats; Cicogna, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3, and Wierus in his book *de præstig. dæmonum*, Boissardus, *de magis et veneficis.*

Water-devils are those *naiades* or water nymphs which have been heretofore conversant about waters or rivers. The water (as [y] Paracelsus thinks) is their chaos, wherein they live. Some call them *fairies*, and say that Habundia is their queen. These cause inundations, many times shipwracks, and deceive men divers wayes, as *Succubæ*, or otherwise, appearing most part (saith Trithemius) in womens shapes. Paracelsus hath several stories of them that have lived and been married to mortal men, and so continued for certain years with them, and after, upon some dislike, have forsaken them. Such a one as Egeria, with whom Numa was so familiar, Diana, Ceres, &c.

[p] Quæst. in Liv. [q] De præstigiis dæmonum, c. 16. Convelli culmina videmus, prosterni sata, &c. [r] De bello Neapolitano, lib. 5. [s] Suffitibus gaudent. Idem Just. Mart. Apol. pro Christianis. [t] In Dei imitationem, saith Eusebius. [u] Dii gentium dæmonia, &c. ego in eorum statuas pellexi. [v] Et nunc sub divorum nomine coluntur a pontificiis. [w] Lib. 11. de rerum var. [x] Lib. 3. cap. 3. de magis et veneficis, &c. [y] Lib. de Zilphis.

[a] Olaus Magnus hath a long narration of one Hotherus, a king of Sweden, that, having lost his company as he was hunting one day, met with these water nymphs or fairies, and was feasted by them; and Hector Boëthius, of Macbeth and Banco, two Scottish lords, that, as they were wandering in woods, had their fortunes told them by three strange women. To these heretofore they did use to sacrifice, by that ἰδρομαντεία, or divination by waters.

Terrestrial devils are those [a] *lares, genii, faunes, satyrs,* [b] wood-nymphs, foliots, fairies, *Robin Goodfellows, Trulli, &c.* which as they are most conversant with men, so they do them most harm. Some think it was they alone that kept the heathen people in awe of old, and had so many idols and temples erected to them. Of this range was Dagon amongst the Philistins, Bel amongst the Babylonians, Astartes amongst the Sidonians, Baal amongst the Samaritans, Isis and Osiris amongst the Ægyptians, &c. Some put our [c] fairies into this rank, which have been in former times adored with much superstition, with sweeping their houses, and setting of a pail of clean water, good victuals, and the like; and then they should not be pinched, but find money in their shoes, and be fortunate in their enterprizes. These are they that dance on heaths and greens, as [d] Lavater thinks with Trithemius, and, as [e] Olaus Magnus adds, leave that green circle, which we commonly find in plain fields, which others hold to proceed from a meteor falling, or some accidental rankness of the ground; so nature sports herself. They are sometimes seen by old women and children. Hieron. Pauli, in his description of the city of Bercino in Spain, relates how they have been familiarly seen near that town, about fountains and hills: *nonnunquam* (saith Trithemius) *in sua latibula montium simpliciores homines ducunt, stupenda mirantibus ostendentes miracula, molarum sonitus, spectacula, &c.* Giraldus Cambrensis gives instance in a monk of Wales that was so deluded. [f] Paracelsus reckons up many places in Germany, where they do usually walk in little coats, some two foot long. A bigger kind there is of them, called with us *hobgoblins,* and *Robin Goodfellows,* that would, in those superstitious times, grind corn for a mess of milk, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery work. They would mend old irons in those Æolian isles of Lipara, in former ages, and have been often seen and heard. [g] Tholosanus calls them *Trullos* and *Getulos,* and saith that in his dayes they were common in many places in France. Dithmarus Bleskenius, in his description of Island, reports for a certainty, that almost in every family they have yet some such familiar spirits; and Felix Malleolus, in his book *de crudel. dæmon.* affirms as much, that these *Trolli* or *Telchines,* are very common in Norwey, *and* [h] *seen to do drudgery work;* to draw water, saith Wierus, (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 22.) dress meat, or any such thing. Another sort of these there are, which frequent forlorn [i] houses, which the Italians call *foliots,* most part innoxious, [j] Cardan holds: *They will make strange noises in the night, howl sometimes pittifully, and then laugh again, cause great flames and sudden lights, fling stones, rattle chains, shave men, open doors, and shut them, fling down platters, stools, chests, sometimes appear in the likenesse of hares, crows, black dogs, &c.* of which read [k] Pet. Thryæus the Jesuit (in his Tract *de locis infestis, part.* 1. *et cap.* 4.) who will have them to be devils, or the souls of damned men that seek revenge, or else souls out of purgatory that seek

[a] Lib. 3. [a] Pro salute hominum excubare se simulant; sed in eorum perniciem omnia moliuntur. Aust. [b] Dryades, Oriades, Hamadryades. [c] Elvas Olaus vocat. lib. 3. [d] Part 1. cap. 19. [e] Lib. 3. cap. 11. Elvarum choreas Olaus lib. 3. vocat. Saltum adeo profunde in terras imprimunt, ut locus insigni deinceps virore orbicularis sit, et gramen non perrat. [f] Lib. de Zilph. et Pygmæis, Olaus, l. 3. [g] Lib. 7. cap. 14. Qui et in famulitio viris et feminis inserviunt, conclavia scopis purgant, patinas mundant, ligna portant, equos curant, &c. [h] Ad ministeria utuntur. [i] Where treasure is hid (as some think), or some murder, or such like villany committed. [j] Lib. 16. de rerum varietat. [k] *Vel spiritus sunt hujusmodi damnatorum, vel e purgatorio, vel ipsi dæmones, c. 4.*

ease. For such examples, peruse [l]Sigismundus Scheretzius, *lib. de spectris, part.* 1. *c.* 1, which he saith he took out of Luther most part; there be many instances. [m]Plinius Secundus remembers such a house at Athens, which Athenodorus the philosopher hired, which no man durst inhabit for fear of devils. Austin (*de Civ. Dei, lib.* 22. *cap.* 8.) relates as much of Hesperius the tribunes house at Zubeda near their city of Hippo, vexed with evil spirits to his great hinderance; *cum afflictione animalium et servorum suorum.* Many such instances are to be read in Niderius, *Formicar. lib.* 5. *cap.* 12. 3, *&c.* Whether I may call these *Zim* and *Othim*, which Isay, *cap.* 13. 21. speaks of, I make a doubt. See more of these in the said Scheretz. *lib.* 1. *de spect. cap.* 4: he is full of examples. These kind of devils many times appear to men, and affright them out of their wits, sometimes walking at [n]noon-day, sometimes at nights, counterfeiting dead mens ghosts, as that of Caligula, which (saith Suetonius) was seen to walk in Lavinias garden: where his body was buried, spirits haunted, and the house where he dyed: [o]*Nulla nox sine terrore transacta, donec incendio consumpta;* every night this hapned, there was no quietness, till the house was burned. About Hecla in Island, ghosts commonly walk, *animas mortuorum simulantes*, saith Jo. Anan. *lib.* 4. *de nat. dæm.* Olaus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 2. Natal. Tallopid. *lib. de apparit. spir.* Kornmannus, *de mirac. mort. part.* 1. *cap.* 44. Such sights are frequently seen *circa sepulcra et monasteria*, saith Lavat. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 19. in monasteries and about church-yards, *loco paludinosa, ampla ædificia, solitaria, et cæde hominum notata, &c.* Thyreus adds, *ubi gravius peccatum est commissum, impii, pauperum oppressores, et nequiter insignes habitant.* These spirits often foretell mens deaths, by several signs, as knocking, groanings, &c. [p]though Rich. Argentine, *c.* 18. *de præstigiis dæmonum*, will ascribe these predictions to good angels, out of the authority of Ficinus and others; *prodigia in obitu principum sæpius contingunt, &c.* as, in the Lateran church in [q]Rome, the popes deaths are foretold by Sylvesters tomb. Near Rupes Nova in Finland, in the kingdom of Sweden, there is a lake, in which, before the governour of the castle dyes, a *spectrum*, in the habit of Arion with his harp, appears, and makes excellent musick, like those blocks in Cheshire, which (they say) presage death to the master of the family; or that [r]oak in Lanthadran park in Cornwall, which foreshews as much. Many families in Europe are so put in mind of their last, by such predictions, and many men are forewarned (if we may believe Paracelsus) by familiar spirits, in divers shapes, as cocks, crows, owls, which often hover about sick mens chambers, *vel quia morientium fœditatem sentiunt*, as [s]Baracellus conjectures, *et ideo super tectum infirmorum crocitant*, because they smell a corse; or for that (as [t]Bernardinus de Bustis thinketh) God permits the devil to appear in the form of crows, and such like creatures, to scare such as live wickedly here on earth. A little before Tullies death, (saith Plutarch) the crows made a mighty noise about him; *tumultuose perstrepentes*, they pulled the pillow from under his head, Rob. Gaguinus, *hist. Franc. lib.* 8. telleth such another wonderful story at the death of Johannes de Monteforti, a French lord, *anno* 1345. *Tanta corvorum multitudo ædibus morientis insedit, quantum esse in Galliâ nemo judicâsset.* Such prodigies are very frequent in authors. See more of these in the said Lavater. Thyreus, *de locis infestis, part.* 3. *cap.* 58, Pictorius, Delrio, Cicogna, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 9. Necromancers take upon them to raise and lay them at their plea-

[l]Quidam lemures domesticis instrumentis noctu ludunt: patinas, ollas, cantharas, et alia vasa, dejiciunt: et quidam voces emittunt, ejulant, resum emittunt, &c. ut canes nigri, feles, variis formis, &c. [m]Epist. l. 7. [n]Meridionales dæmones Cicogna calls them, or Alastores, l. 3. cap. 9. [o]Sueton. c. 69. in Caligulâ. [p]Strozzius Cicogna, lib. 3. mag. cap. 5. [q]Idem. c. 18. [r]M. Cary. Survey of Cornwall, lib. 2. fol. 140. [s]Horto Geniali, fol. 137. [t]Part. 1. c. 19. Abducunt eos a rectâ viâ, et viam iter facientibus intercludunt.

sures; and so likewise those which Mizaldus calls *Ambulones*, that walk about midnight on great heaths and desart places, which (saith [u]Lavater) *draw men out of the way, and lead them all night a by-way, or quite bar them of their way.* These have several names in several places; we commonly call them *pucks.* In the desarts of Lop in Asia, such illusions of walking spirits are often perceived, as you may read in M. Paulus the Venetian his travels. If one lose his company by chance, these devils will call him by his name, and counterfeit voices of his companions to seduce him. Hieronym. Pauli, in his book of the hills of Spain, relates of a great [v]mount in Cantabria, where such *spectrums* are to be seen. Lavater and Cicogna have variety of examples of spirits and walking devils in this kind. Sometimes they sit by the high-way side, to give men falls, and make their horses stumble and start as they ride, (if you will believe the relation of that holy man Ketellus, [w]in Nubrigensis,) that had an especial grace to see devils, *gratiam divinitus collatam*, and talk with them, *et impavidus cum spiritibus sermonem miscere*, without offence: and if a man curse or spur his horse for stumbling, they do heartily rejoyce at it; with many such pretty feats.

Subterranean devils are as common as the rest, and do as much harm. Olaus Magnus (*lib.* 6. *cap.* 19.) makes six kinds of them, some bigger, some less. These (saith [x]Munster) are commonly seen about mines of metals, and are, some of them, noxious; some again do no harm. The metal-men in many places account it good luck, a sign of treasure and rich ore, when they see them. Georgius Agricola (in his book *de subterraneis animantibus*, *cap.* 37.) reckons two more notable kinds of them, which he calls [y]*Gætuli* and *Cobali*; both are *cloathed after the manner of metal-men, and will many times imitate their works.* Their office, as Pictorius and Paracelsus think, is to keep treasure in the earth, that it be not all at once revealed; and, besides, [z]Cicogna averrs, that they are the frequent causes of those horrible earth-quakes, *which often swallow up, not only houses, but whole islands and cities:* in his third book, *cap.* 11, he gives many instances.

The last are conversant about the center of the earth, to torture the souls of damned men to the day of judgement. Their egress and regress some suppose to be about Ætna, Lipara, Mons Hecla in Island, Vesuvius, Terra del Fuego, &c. because many shreeks and fearful cryes are continually heard thereabouts, and familiar apparitions of dead men, ghosts, and goblins.

Their offices, operations, study.] Thus the devil reigns, in a thousand several shapes, *as a roaring lyon still seeks whom he may devour*, (1 Pet. 5.) by earth, sea, land, air, as yet unconfined, though [a]some will have his proper place the air—all that place betwixt us and the moon, for them that transgressed the least, and hell for the wickedest of them; *hic velut in carcere ad finem mundi, tunc in locum funestiorem trudendi*, as Austin holds, *de Civit. Dei, c.* 22. *lib.* 14. *cap.* 3. *et* 23. But, be where he will, he rageth while he may, to comfort himself (as [b]Lactantius thinks) with other mens falls, he labours all he can to bring them into the same pit of perdition with him: for [c]*mens miseries, calamities, and ruines, are the devils banqueting dishes.* By many temptations and several engines, he seeks to captivate our

[u] Lib. 1. cap. 44. Dæmonum cernunter et audiuntur ibi frequentes illusiones; unde viatoribus cavendum, ne se dissocient, aut a tergo maneant; voces enim fingunt sociorum, ut a recto itinere abducant, &c. [v] Mons sterilis et nivosus, ubi intempestâ nocte umbræ apparent. [w] Lib. 2. cap. 21. Offendicula. faciunt transeuntibus in viâ; et petulanter rident, cum vel hominem vel jumentum ejus pedes atterere faciant, et maxime si homo maledictis et calcaribus sæviat. [x] In cosmogr. [y] Vestiti more metallicorum, gestus et opera eorum imitantur. [z] Immisso in terræ carceres vento, horribiles terræ motus efficiunt, quibus sæpe non domus modo et turres, sed civitates integræ et insulæ, haustæ sunt. [a] Hieron. in 3 Ephes. Idem Michaelis c. 4. de spiritibus. Idem Thyreus de locis infestis. [b] Lactantius, 2. de origine erroris, cap. 15. Hi maligni spiritus per omnem terram vagantur, et solatium perditionis suæ perdendis hominibus operantur. [c] Mortalium calamitates epulæ sunt malorum dæmonum. Synesius.

souls. The lord of lyes, saith [d] Austin; *as he was deceived himself, he seeks to deceive others;* the ring-leader to all naughtiness; as he did by Eve and Cain, Sodom and Gomorrha, so would he do by all the world. Sometimes he tempts by covetousness, drunkenness, pleasure, pride, &c. errs, dejects, saves, kills, protects, and rides some men, as they do their horses. He studies our overthrow and generally seeks our destruction; and, although, he pretend many times humane good, and vindicate himself for a god, by curing of several diseases, *ægris sanitatem, et cæcis luminis usum restituendo,* (as Austin declares, *lib.* 10. *de civit. Dei, cap.* 6.) as Apollo, Æsculapius, Isis, of old have done; divert plagues, assist them in wars, pretend their happiness; yet *nihil his impurius, scelestius, nihil humano generi infestius;* nothing so impure, nothing so pernicious, as may well appear by their tyrannical and bloody sacrifices of men to Saturn and Moloch (which are still in use amongst those barbarous Indians), their several deceits and cozenings to keep men in obedience, their false oracles, sacrifices, their superstitious impositions of fasts, penury, &c. heresies, superstitions, observations of meats, times, &c. by which they [e] crucifie the souls of mortal men, as shall be shewed in our treatise of religious melancholy. *Modico adhuc tempore sinitur malignari,* as [f] Bernard expresseth it: by Gods permission he rageth a while, hereafter to be confined to hell and darkness, *which is prepared for him and his angels,* Matt. 25.

How far their power doth extend, it is hard to determine. What the ancients held of their effects, force, and operations, I will briefly shew you. Plato, in Critias, and after him, his followers, gave out that these spirits or devils *were mens governours and keepers, our lords and masters, as we are of our cattle.* [g] *They govern provinces and kingdoms by oracles, auguries,* dreams, rewards, and punishments, prophesies, inspirations, sacrifices, and religious superstitions, varied in as many forms, as there be diversity of spirits: they send wars, plagues, peace, sickness, health, dearth, plenty, [h] *adstantes hic jam nobis, spectantes et arbitrantes, &c.* (as appears by those histories of Thucydides, Livius, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, with many others, that are full of their wonderful stratagems) and were therefore, by those Roman and Greek common-wealths, adored and worshipped for gods, with prayers and sacrifices, &c. [i] In a word, *nihil magis quærunt, quam metum et admirationem hominum;* and (as another hath it) *dici non potest, quam impotenti ardore in homines dominium, et divinos cultus, maligni spiritus affectent.* Trithemius, in his book *de septem secundis,* assigns names to such angels as are governours of particular provinces (by what authority I know not), and gives them several jurisdictions. Asclepiades a Grecian, Rabbi Achiba the Jew, Abraham Avenezra, and Rabbi Azareel, Arabians (as I find them cited by [j] Cicogna) farther add, that they are not our governours only, *sed ex eorum concordiâ et discordiâ, boni et mali affectus promanant;* but as they agree, so do we and our princes, or disagree; stand or fall. Juno was a bitter enemy to Troy, Apollo a good friend, Jupiter indifferent: *Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit;* some are for us still, some against us; *premente Deo, fert Deus alter opem.* Religion, policy, publick and private quarrels, wars, are procured by them; and they are [k] delighted perhaps to

[d] Dominus mendacii, a seipso deceptus, alios decipere cupit. Adversarius humani generis. Inventor mortis, superbiæ institutor, radix malitiæ, scelerum caput, princeps omnium vitiorum, furit inde in Dei contumeliam, hominum perniciem. De horum conatibus et operationibus, lege Epiphanium, 2 tom. lib. 2. Dionysium, c. 4. Ambros. Epistol. lib. 10. ep. 84. August. de civ. Dei. llb. 5. c. 9. lib. 8. cap. 22. lib. 9. 18. lib. 10. 21. Theophil. in 12. Mat. Pasil. ep. 141. Leonem Ser. Theodoret. in 11 Cor. ep. 22. Chrys. hom. 53. in 12. Gen. Greg. in 1. c. John. Barthol. de prop. l. 2. c. 20. Zanch. l. 4. de malis angelis. Perer. in Gen. l. 8. in c. 6. 2. Origen. Sæpe prœliis intersunt; itinera et negotia nostra quæcunque dirigunt, clandestinis subsidiis optatos sæpe præbent successus. Pet. Mar. in Sam. &c. Ruscam de Inferno. [e] Et velut mancipia circumfert. Psellus. [f] Lib. de transmut. Malac. ep. [g] Custodes sunt hominum, ut nos animalium: tum et provinciis præpositi regunt auguriis, somniis, oraculis, præmiis, &c. [h] Lipsius, Physiol. Stoïc. lib. 1. cap. 19. [i] Leo Suavis. Idem et Trithemius. [j] Omnif. mag. lib. 2. cap. 23. [k] Ludus deorum sumus.

see men fight, as men are with cocks, bulls and dogs, bears, &c. Plagues, dearths, depend on them, our *bene* and *male esse*, and almost all our other peculiar actions, (for, as Anthony Rusca contends, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 18, every man hath a good and a bad angel attending of him in particular, all his life long, which Jamblicus calls *dæmonem*) preferments, losses, weddings, deaths, rewards, and punishments, and (as [l] Proclus will) all offices whatsoever: *alii genetricem, alii opificem potestatem habent, &c.* and several names they give them according to their offices, as *Lares, Indigetes, Præstites, &c.* When the Arcades, in that battel at Chæronea, which was fought against King Philip for the liberty of Greece, had deceitfully carried themselves,—long after, in the very same place, *diis Græciæ ultoribus*, (saith mine author) they were miserably slain by Metellus the Roman: so likewise, in smaller matters, they will have things fall out, as these *boni* and *mali genii* favour or dislike us. *Saturnini non conveniunt Jovialibus, &c.* He that is *Saturninus*, shall never likely be preferred. [m] That base fellows are often advanced, undeserving *Gnathoes*, and vicious parasites, when as discreet, wise, vertuous, and worthy men are neglected, and unrewarded, they refer to those domineering spirits, or subordinate *genii:* as they are inclined, or favour men, so they thrive, are ruled and overcome; for (as [n] Libanius supposeth) in our ordinary conflicts and contentions, *genius genio cedit et obtemperat*, one *genius* yields and is overcome by another. All particular events almost they refer to these private spirits; and (as Paracelsus adds) they direct, teach, inspire, and instruct men. Never was any man extraordinarily famous in any art, action, or great commander, that had not *familiarem dæmonem*, to inform him, as Numa, Socrates, and many such, as Cardan illustrates, *cap.* 128. *Arcanis prudentiæ civilis,* [o] *speciali siquidem gratiâ, se a Deo donari asserunt magi, a geniis cœlestibus instrui, ab iis doceri.* But these are most erroneous paradoxes, *ineptæ et fabulosæ nugæ*, rejected by our divines and Christian churches. 'Tis true, they have, by Gods permission, power over us; and we find by experience, that they can [p] hurt, not our fields only, cattel, goods, but our bodies and minds. At Hammel in Saxony, *an.* 1484, 20 *Junii*, the devil, in the likeness of a pied piper, carried away 130 children that were never after seen. Many times men are [q] affrighted out of their wits, carried away quite (as Scheretzius illustrates, *lib.* 1. *c.* 4.) and severally molested by his means. Plotinus the Platonist, (*lib.* 14. *advers. Gnost.*) laughs them to scorn, that hold the devil or spirits can cause any such diseases. Many think he can work upon the body, but not upon the mind. But experience pronounceth otherwise, that he can work both upon body and mind. Tertullian is of this opinion, (*c.* 22) [r] *that he can cause both sickness and health*, and that secretly. [s] Taurellus adds, *by clancular poysons he can infect the bodies, and hinder the operations of the bowels, though we perceive it not; closely creeping into them*, saith [t] Lipsius, and so crucifie our souls; *et nocivâ melancholiâ furiosos efficit.* For, being a spiritual body, he struggles with our spirits, saith Rogers, and suggests (according to [u] Cardan *verba sine voce, species sine visu*) envy, lust, anger, &c. as he sees men inclined.

The manner how he performs it, Biarmannus, in his oration against Bodine,

[l] Lib. de animâ et dæmone. [m] Quoties fit, ut principes novitium aulicum divitiis et dignitatibus pene obruant, et multorum annorum ministrum, qui non semel pro hero periculum subiit, ne renuncio donent, &c. Idem. Quod philosophi non remunerentur, cum scurra et ineptus ob insulsum jocum sæpe præmium reportet, inde fit, &c. [n] Lib. de cruent. cadaver. [o] Boissardus, c. 6. magia. [p] Godelmannus, cap. 3. lib. 1. de Magis. idem Zanchius, lib. 4. cap. 10 et 11, de malis angelis. [q] Nocivâ melancholiâ furiosis efficit, et quandoque penitus interficit. G. Picolomineus; idemque Zanch. cap. 10. lib. 4. Si Deus permittat, corpora nostra movere possunt, alterare, quovis morborum et malorum genere afficere, imo et in ipsa penetrare et sævire. [r] Inducere potest morbos et sanitates. [s] Viscerum actiones potest inhibere latenter, et venenis nobis ignotis corpus inficere. [t] Irrepentes corporibus occulto morbos fingunt, mentes terrent, membra distorquent. Lips. Phys. Stoïc. l. 1. c. 19. [u] De rerum var. l. 16. c. 93.

sufficiently declares. [v] *He begins first with the phantasie, and moves that so strongly, that no reason is able to resist.* Now the *phantasie* he moves by mediation of humours; although many physicians are of opinion, that the devil can alter the mind, and produce this disease, of himself. *Quibusdam medicorum visum*, saith [x] Avicenna, *quod melancholia contingat a dæmonio.* Of the same mind is Psellus, and Rhasis, the Arab, (*lib.* 1. *Tract.* 9. *Cont.*) [y] *that this disease proceeds especially from the devil, and from him alone.* Arculanus, *cap.* 6. *in* 9. *Rhasis*, Ælianus Montaltus in his 9 *cap.* Daniel Sennertus, *lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 11, confirm as much, that the devil can cause this disease; by reason, many times, that the parties affected prophesie, speak strange language, but *non sine interventu humoris*, not without the humour, as he interprets himself; no more doth Avicenna: *si contingat a dæmonio, sufficit nobis ut convertat complexionem ad choleram nigram, et sit caussa ejus propinqua cholera nigra*; the immediate cause is choler adust; which [z] Pomponatius likewise labours to make good: Galgerandus of Mantua, a famous physician, so cured a dæmoniacal woman in his time, that spake all languages, by purging black choler; and thereupon, belike, this humour of melancholy is called *balneum diaboli*, the devils bath; the devil, spying his opportunity of such humours, drives them many times to despair, fury, rage, &c. mingling himself amongst these humours. This is that which Tertullian averrs, *corporibus infligunt acerbos casus, animæque repentinos; membra distorquent, occulte repentes, &c.* and, which Lemnius goes about to prove, *immiscent se mali genii pravis humoribus, atque atræ bili, &c.* and [a] Jason Pratensis, *that the devil, being a slender incomprehensible spirit, can easily insinuate and wind himself into humane bodies, and, cunningly couched in our bowels, vitiate our healths, terrifie our souls with fearful dreams, and shake our mind with furies.* And in another place, *These unclean spirits, settled in our bodies, and now mixt with our melancholy humours, do triumph as it were, and sport themselves as in another heaven.* Thus he argues, and that they go in and out of our bodies, as bees do in a hive, and so provoke and tempt us, as they perceive our temperature inclined of itself, and most apt to be deluded. [b] Agrippa and Lavater are perswaded that this humour invites the devil to it, wheresoever it is in extremity; and, of all other, melancholy persons are most subject to diabolical temptations and illusions, and most apt to entertain them, and the devil best able to work upon them; but, whether by obsession, or possession, or otherwise, I will not determine; 'tis a difficult question. Delrio the Jesuite, (*tom.* 3. *lib.* 6.) Springer and his colleague, (*mall. malef.*) Pet. Thyreus the Jesuite, (*lib. de dæmoniacis, de locis infestis, de terrificationibus nocturnis*) Hieronymus Mengus, (*Flagel. dæm.*) and others of that rank of pontificial writers, it seems, by their exorcisms and conjurations, approve of it, having forged many stories to that purpose. A nun did eat a lettice [c] *without grace, or signing it with the sign of the cross*, and was instantly possessed. Durand, (*lib.* 6. *Rational. c.* 86. *num.* 8.) relates that he saw a wench possessed in Bononia with two devils, by eating an unhallowed pomegranate, as she did afterwards confess, when she was cured by exorcisms. And therefore our papists do sign themselves so often with the sign of the cross, *ne dæmon ingredi ausit*, and exorcise all manner of meats, as being unclean or accursed otherwise, as Bellarmine defends. Many such stories I find amongst ponti-

[v] Quum mens immediate decipi nequit, primum movet phantasiam, et ita obfirmat vanis conceptibus, ut nequam facultati æstimativæ, rationive locum relinquat. Spiritus malus invadit animam, turbat sensus, in furorem conjicit. Austin de vit. beat. [x] Lib. 3. Fen. 1. Tract. 4. c. 18. [y] A dæmone maxime proficisci, et sæpe solo. [z] Lib. de incant. [a] Cap de maniâ. lib. de morbis cerebri. Dæmones, quum sint tenues et incomprehensibiles spiritus, se insinuare corporibus humanis possunt, et occulte in visceribus operti, valetudinem vitiare, somniis animas terrere, et mentes furoribus quatere. Insinuant se melancholicorum penetralibus intus, ibique considunt et deliciantur, tamquam in regione clarissimorum siderum, cogunique animum furere. [b] Lib. 1. cap. 6. occult. philos. part. 1. cap. 1, de spectris. [c] Sine cruce et sanctificatione; sic a dæmone obsessa, dial.

ficial writers, [d] to prove their assertions; let them free their own credits: some few I will recite in this kind out of most approved physicians. Cornelius Gemma (*lib.* 2. *de nat. mirac. c.* 4) relates of a young maid, called Katherine Gualter a coopers daughter, an. 1571, that had such strange passions and convulsions, three men could not sometimes hold her. She purged a live eele, which he saw, a foot and a half long, and touched himself; but the eele afterward vanished: she vomited some twenty-four pounds of fulsome stuff of all colours, twice a day for fourteen dayes; and, after that, she voided great balls of hair, pieces of wood, pigeons dung, parchment, goose dung, coals; and, after them, two pound of pure blood, and then again coals and stones (of which some had inscriptions) bigger than a walnut, some of them pieces of glass, brass, &c. besides paroxysmes of laughing, weeping, and extasies, &c. *Et hoc* (*inquit*) *cum horrore vidi*, this I saw with horrour. They could do no good on her by physick, but left her to the clergy. Marcellus Donatus (*lib.* 2. *c.* 1. *de med. mirab.*) hath such another story of a countrey fellow, that had four knives in his belly, *instar serræ dentatos*, indented like a saw, every one a span long, and a wreath of hair like a globe, with much baggage of like sort, wonderful to behold. How it should come into his guts, he concludes, *certe non alio quam dæmonis astutiâ et dolo. Langius* (*Epist. med. lib.* 1. *Epist.* 38) hath many relations to this effect, and so hath Christopherus a Vega. Wierus, Skenkius, Scribanius, all agree that they are done by the subtilty and illusion of the devil. If you shall ask a reason of this, 'tis to exercise our patience; for as [e] Tertullian holds, *Virtus non est virtus, nisi comparem habet aliquem, in quo superando vim suam ostendat;* 'tis to try us and our faith; 'tis for our offences, and for the punishment of our sins, by Gods permission they do it; *carnifices vindictæ justæ Dei*, as [f] Tolosanus stiles them, executioners of his will: or rather as David, *Psal.* 78. *ver.* 49. *He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, indignation, wrath, and vexation, by sending out of evil angels.* So did he afflict Job, Saul, the lunaticks and dæmoniacal persons whom Christ cured, Matth. 4. 8. Luke 4. 11. Luke 13. Mark 9. Tobit 8. 3, &c. This, I say, happeneth for a punishment of sin, for their want of faith, incredulity, weakness, distrust, &c.

Subsect. III.—*Of Witches and Magicians, how they cause Melancholy.*

You have heard what the devil can do of himself: now you shall hear what he can perform by his instruments, who are many times worse, (if it be possible) than he himself, and, to satisfie their revenge and lust, cause more mischief; *multa enim mala non egisset dæmon, nisi provocatus a sagis*, as [g] Erastus thinks: much harm had never been done, had he not been provoked by witches to it. He had not appeared in Samuels shape, if the witch of Endor had let him alone; or represented those serpents in Pharaoh's presence, had not the magicians urged him unto it: *nec morbos vel hominibus vel brutis infligeret*, (Erastus maintains) *si sagæ quiescerent:* men and cattle might go free, if the witches would let him alone. Many deny witches at all, or, if there be any, they can do no harm. Of this opinion is Wierus, (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 53. *de præstig. dæm.*) Austin Lerchomer a Dutch writer, Biarmannus, Ewichius, Euwaldus, our countryman Scot: with him in Horace,

> Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
> Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala, risu
> Excipiunt ———

they laugh at all such stories: but on the contrary are most lawyers, divines, physicians, philosophers, Austin, Hemingius, Danæus, Chytræus, Zanchius, Aretius, &c. Dalrio, Springer, [h] Niderius (*lib.* 5. *Formicar.*) Cuiatius,

[d] Greg. pag. c. 9. [e] Penult. de opific. Dei. [f] Lib. 28. cap. 26. Tom. 2. [g] De lamiis. [h] Et quomodo venefici fiant, enarrat.

Bartolus, (*consil.* 6. *tom.* 1.) Bodine, (*dæmoniant. lib.* 2. *cap.* 8.) Godelman, Damhoderius, &c. Paracelsus, Erastus, Scribanius, Camerarius, &c. The parties by whom the devil deals, may be reduced to these two—such as command him, in shew at least, as conjurers, and magicians, (whose detestable and horrid mysteries are contained in their book called [i] *Arbatell; dæmones enim advocati præsto sunt, seque exorcismis et conjurationibus quasi cogi patiuntur, ut miserum magorum genus in impietate detineant*) or such as are commanded, as witches, that deal *ex parte implicite*, or *explicite*, as the [j] King hath well defined. Many subdivisions there are, and many several species of sorcerers, witches, inchanters, charmers, &c. They have been tolerated heretofore, some of them; and magick hath been publickly professed in former times, in [k] Salamanca, [l] Cracovia, and other places, though after censured by several [m] universities, and now generally contradicted, though practised by some still, maintained and excused, *tamquam res secreta, quæ non nisi viris magnis et peculiari beneficio de cælo instructis communicatur* (I use [n] Boissardus his words); and so far approved by some princes, *ut nihil ausi aggredi in politicis, in sacris, in consiliis, sine eorum arbitrio;* they consult still with them, and dare indeed do nothing without their advice. Nero and Heliogabalus, Maxentius, and Julianus Apostata, were never so much addicted to magick of old, as some of our modern princes and popes themselves are now adayes. Erricus, king of Sweden, had an [o] inchanted cap, by vertue of which, and some magical murmur or whispering terms, he could command spirits, trouble the ayre, and make the wind stand which way he would; insomuch that, when there was any great wind or storm, the common people were wont to say, the king now had on his conjuring cap. But such examples are infinite. That which they can do, is as much almost as the devil himself, who is still ready to satisfie their desires, to oblige them the more unto him. They can cause tempests, storms; which is familiarly practised by witches in Norway, Island, as I have proved. They can make friends enemies, and enemies friends, by philters; [p] *turpes amores conciliare*, enforce love, tell any man where his friends are, about what employed, though in the most remote places; and, if they will, [q] *bring their sweethearts to them by night, upon a goats back flying in the ayre*, (Sigismund Scheretzius, *part.* 1. *cap.* 9. *de spect.* reports confidently, that he conferred with sundry such, that had been so carried many miles, and that he heard witches themselves confess as much) hurt, and infect men and beasts, vines, corn, cattle, plants, make women abortive, not to conceive, [r] *barren*, men and women unapt and *unable*, married and unmarried, fifty several ways, (saith Bodine, *l.* 2. *c.* 2.) flye in the ayre, meet when and where they will, as Cicogna proves, and (Lavat. *de spec. part.* 2. *c.* 17) *steal young children out of their cradles*, ministerio dæmonum, *and put deformed in their rooms, which we call changelings*, (saith [s] Scheretzius, *part.* 1. *c.* 6.) make men victorious, fortunate, eloquent: (and therefore, in those ancient monomachies and combats, they were searched of old, [t] if they had no magical charms) they can make [u] stick-frees, such as shall endure a rapiers point, musket shot, and never be wounded; (of which read more in *Boissardus, cap.* 6. *de Magiâ*, the manner of the adjuration, and by whom 'tis made, where and how to be used *in expeditionibus bellicis, prœliis, duellis, &c.* with many peculiar instances and examples) they can walk in fiery furnaces, make men feel no pain on the rack, *aut alias torturas sentire;* they can

[i] De quo plura legas in Boissardo, lib. 1. de præstig. [j] Rex Jacobus, Dæmonol. l. 1. c. 3. [k] An university in Spain, in old Castile. [l] The chief town in Poland. [m] Oxford and Paris. See finem P. Lombardi. [n] Præfat. de magis et veneficis, lib. [o] Rotatum pileum habebat, quo ventos violentos ciebat, sêrem turbaret, et in quam partem, &c. [p] Erastus. [q] Ministerio hirci nocturni. [r] Steriles nuptos et inhabiles. Vide Petrum de Palude, lib. 4. distinct. 34. Paulum Guiclandum. [s] Infantes matribus suffurantur; aliis suppositivis in locum verorum conjectis. [t] Milles. [u] D. Luther. in primum præceptum, et Leon. Varius, lib. de fascino.

stanch blood, [v] represent dead mens shapes, alter and turn themselves and others into several forms at their pleasures.[w] Agaberta, a famous witch in Lapland, would do as much publickly to all spectatours—*modo pusilla, modo anus, modo procera ut quercus, modo vacca, avis, coluber, &c.* now young, now old, high, low, like a cow, like a bird, a snake, and what not? She could represent to others what forms they most desired to see, shew them friends absent, reveal secrets, *maximâ omnium admiratione, &c.* And yet, for all this subtilty of theirs, (as Lipsius well observes, *Physiolog. Stoïcor. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17) neither these magicians, nor devils themselves, can take away gold or letters out of mine or Crassus chest, *et clientelis suis largiri;* for they are base, poor, contemptible fellows, most part: as [x] Bodine notes, they can do nothing *in judicum decreta aut pœnas, in regum consilia vel arcana, nihil in rem nummariam aut thesauros;* they cannot give money to their clients, alter judges decrees, or counsels of kings; these *minuti genii* cannot do it: *altiores genii hoc sibi adservârunt;* the higher powers reserve these things to themselves. Now and then, peradventure, there may be some more famous magicians, (like Simon Magus,[y] Apollonius Tyaneus, Pasetes, Jamblicus, [z] Odo de Stellis) that for a time can build castles in the ayre, represent armies, &c. (as they are [a] said to have done) command wealth and treasure, feed thousands with all variety of meats upon a sudden, protect themselves and their followers from all princes persecutions, by removing from place to place in an instant, reveal secrets, future events, tell what is done in far countries, make them appear that dyed long since, &c. and do many such miracles, to the worlds terrour, admiration, and opinion of deity to themselves:[b] yet the devil forsakes them at last; they come to wicked ends; and *raro aut nunquam* such impostors are to be found.[c] The vulgar sort of them can work no such feats. But to my purpose—they can, last of all, cure and cause most diseases to such as they love or hate, and this of [d] melancholy amongst the rest. Paracelsus (*tom.* 4. *de morbis amentium, tract.* 1) in express words affirms, *multi fascinantur in melancholiam;* many are bewitched into melancholy, out of his experience. The same, saith Danæus, *lib.* 3. *de sortiariis. Vidi, inquit, qui melancholicos morbos gravissimos induxerunt:* I have seen those that have caused melancholy in the most grievous manner,[e] *dryed up womens paps, cured gout, palsie; this and apoplexy, falling sickness, which no physick could help, solo tactu,* by touch alone. Ruland (*in his* 3 *Cent. Cura* 91) gives an instance of one David Helde, a young man, who, by eating cakes which a witch gave him, *mox delirare cœpit,* began to dote on a sudden, and was instantly mad. *F. H. D.* in [f] Hildesheim, consulted about a melancholy man, thought his disease was partly magical, and partly natural, because he vomited pieces of iron and lead, and spake such languages as he had never been taught; but such examples are common in Scribanius, Hercules de Saxoniâ, and others. The means by which they work, are usually charms, images, (as that, in Hector Boëthius, of king Duffe) characters stamped of sundry metals, and at such and such constellations, knots, amulets, words, philters, &c. which generally make the parties affected, melancholy; as [g] Monavius discourseth at large in an epistle of his to Acolsius, giving instance in a Bohemian baron that was so troubled by a philter taken. Not that there is any power at all in these spells, charms, characters, and barbarous words; but that the devil

[v] Lavat. Cicog. [w] Boissardus, de Magis. [x] Dæmon. lib. 3. c. 3. [y] Vide Philostratum, vitâ ejus; Boissardum de Magis. [z] Nubrigensis. Lege lib. 1. cap. 19. [a] Vide Suidam de Paset. [b] De eruent. cadaver. [c] Erastus, Adolphus, Scribanius. [d] Virg. Æneid. 4. incantatricem describens; Hæc se carminibus promittit solvere mentes, Quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas. [e] Godelmannus, cap. 7. lib. 1. Nutricum mammas præsiccant; solo tactu podagram, apoplexiam, paralysin, et alios morbos, quos medicina curare non poterat. [f] Factus inde maniacus. Spic. 2. fol. 147. [g] Omnia philtra, etsi inter se differant, hoc habent commune, quod hominem efficiant melancholicum. *epist.* 221. Scholtzii.

doth use such means to delude them; *ut fideles, inde magos* (saith [h] Libanius) *in officio retineat, tum in consortium malefactorum vocet.*

Subsect. IV.—*Stars a cause. Signs from Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, Chiromancy.*

Natural causes are either *primary* and *universal*, or *secundary* and more *particular*. *Primary* causes are the heavens, planets, stars, &c. by their influence (as our astrologers hold) producing this and such like effects. I will not here stand to discuss, *obiter*, whether stars be causes or signs: or to apologize for judicial astrology. If either Sextus Empiricus, Picus Mirandula, Sextus ab Hemingâ, Pererius, Erastus, Chambers, &c. have so far prevailed with any man, that he will attribute no vertue at all to the heavens, or to sun or moon, more than he doth to their signs at an inn-keepers post, or tradesmans shop, or generally condemn all such astrological aphorisms approved by experience—I refer him to Bellantius, Pirovanus, Marascallerus, Goclenius, Sir Christopher Heydon, &c. If thou shalt ask me what I think, I must answer (*nam et doctis hisce erroribus versatus sum*) they do incline but not compell, (no necessity at all: [i] *agunt non cogunt*) and so gently incline, that a wise man may resist them; *sapiens, dominabitur astris*; they rule us, but God rules them. All this (me thinks) [j] Joh. de Indagine hath comprized in brief: *quæris a me quantum in nobis operantur astra? &c. Wilt thou know how far the stars work upon us? I say they do but incline, and that so gently, that, if we will be ruled by reason, they have no power over us; but if we follow our own nature, and be led by sense, they do as much in us as in brute beasts; and we are no better:* so that, I hope, I may justly conclude with [k] Cajetan, *Cælum vehiculum divinæ virtutis, &c.* that the heaven is Gods instrument, by mediation of which he governs and disposeth these elementary bodies—or a great book, whose letters are the stars, (as one calls it) wherein are written many strange things for such as can read—[l] *or an excellent harp, made by an eminent workman, on which he that can but play, will make most admirable musick.* But to the purpose—

[m] Paracelsus is of opinion, *that a physician, without the knowledge of stars, can neither understand the cause or cure of any disease—either of this, or gout, not so much as tooth-ache—except he see the peculiar geniture and scheme of the party affected.* And for this proper malady, he will have the principal and primary cause of it proceed from the heaven, ascribing more to stars than humours, [n] *and that the constellation alone, many times, produceth melancholy, all other causes set apart.* He gives instance in lunatick persons, that are deprived of their wits by the moons motion; and, in another place, refers all to the ascendent, and will have the true and chief cause of it to be sought from the stars. Neither is it his opinion only, but of many *Galenists* and philosophers, though they not so stifly and peremptorily maintain as much. *This variety of melancholy symptomes proceeds from the stars*, saith [o] Melancthon. The most generous melancholy (as that of Augustus) comes from the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Libra; the bad, (as that of Catiline) from the meeting of Saturn and the

[h] De cruent. cadaver. [i] Astra regunt homines; et regit astra Deus. [j] Chorom. lib. Quæris a me quantum operantur astra? dico, in nos nihil astra urgere, sed animos proclives trahere; qui sic tamen liberi sunt, ut, si ducem sequantur rationem, nihil efficiant; sin vero naturam, id agere quod in brutis fere. [k] Cælum vehiculum divinæ virtutis, cujus mediante motu, lumine, et influentiâ, Deus elementaria corpora ordinat, et disponit. Th. de Veio. Cajetanus in Psa. 104. [l] Mundus iste quasi lyra ab excellentissimo quodam artifice concinnata, quam qui nôrit, mirabiles eliciet harmonias. J. Dee. Aphorismo 11. [m] Medicus sine cœli peritiâ nihil est, &c. nisi genesin sciverit, ne tantillum peccet. lib. de podag. [n] Constellatio in causâ est: et influentia cœli morbum hunc movet, interdum vanitate aliis amotis. Et alibi. Origo ejus a cœlo petenda est. Tr. de morbis amentium. [o] Lib. de animâ, cap. de humorib. Ea varietas in melancholiâ habet cœlestes caussas ♂ ♄ et ☌ in ♎ ♂ ♃ et ☾ in ♏.

moon in Scorpio. Jovianus Pontanus, in his tenth book, and thirteenth chapter *de rebus cœlestibus*, discourseth to this purpose at large. *Ex atrâ bile varii generantur morbi, &c.* [p] *Many diseases proceed from black choler, as it shall be hot or cold; and though it be cold in its own nature, yet it is apt to be heated, as water may be made to boyle, and burn as bad as fire; or made cold as ice: and thence proceed such variety of symptomes; some mad, some solitary; some laugh, some rage, &c.*—the cause of all which intemperance he will have chiefly and primarily proceed from the heavens—[q] *from the position of Mars, Saturn, and Mercury.* His aphorisms be these: [r] Mercury, *in any geniture, if he shall be found in* Virgo, *or* Pisces *his opposite sign, and that in the horoscope, irradiated by those quartile aspects of* Saturn *or* Mars, *the child shall be mad or melancholy.* Again, [s] *He that shall have* Saturn *or* Mars, *the one culminating, the other in the fourth house, when he shall be born, shall be melancholy; of which he shall be cured in time, if* Mercury *behold them.* [t] *If the moon be in conjunction or opposition, at the birth-time, with the sun,* Saturn, *or* Mars, *or in a quartile aspect with them* (e malo cœli loco, Leovitius adds) *many diseases are signified; especially the head and brain is like to be mis-affected with pernicious humours, to be melancholy, lunatick, or mad.* Cardan adds, *quartâ lunâ natos*, eclipses, earth-quakes. Garcæus and Leovitius will have the chief judgement to be taken from the lord of the geniture; or when there is no aspect betwixt the *moon* and *Mercury*, and neither behold the *horoscope*, or *Saturn* and *Mars* shall be lord of the present conjunction or opposition in *Sagittary* or *Pisces*, of the *sun* or *moon*, such persons are commonly epileptick, dote, dæmoniacal, melancholy. But see more of these aphorisms in the above-named Pontanus, Garcæus, *cap.* 23. de *Jud. genitur.* Schoner. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. which he hath gathered out of [u] Ptolemy, Albubatur, and some other Arabians, Junctine, Ranzovius, Lindhout, Origan, &c. But these men you will reject peradventure, as astrologers, and therefore partial judges; then hear the testimony of physicians, *Galenists* themselves. [v] Crato confesseth the influence of stars to have a great hand to this peculiar disease; so doth Jason Pratensis, Lonicerius (*præfat. de Apoplexiâ*) Ficinus, Fernelius, &c. [w] P. Cnemander acknowledgeth the stars an universal cause, the particular from parents, and the use of the six non-natural things. Baptista Port. *mag. l.* 1. *c.* 10, 12, 15, will have them causes to every particular *individuum*. Instances and examples, to evince the truth of those aphorisms, are common amongst those astrologian treatises. Cardan, in his thirty seventh geniture, gives instance in Math. Bolognius, Camerar. *hor. natalit. centur.* 7. *genit.* 6. *et* 7. of Daniel Gare, and others, but see Garcæus, *cap.* 33. Luc. Gauricus, *Tract.* 6. *de Azemenis, &c.* The time of this melancholy is, when the significators of any geniture are directed according to art, as the hor. moon, hylech, &c. to the hostile beams or terms of ♄ and ♂ especially, or any fixed star of their nature, or if ♄, by his revolution, or *transitus*, shall offend any of those radical promissors in the geniture.

Other signs there are taken from physiognomy, metoposcopy, chiromancy, which because Joh. de Indagine, and Rotman (the landgrave of Hassia his mathematician) not long since in his Chiromancy, Baptista Porta, in his

[p] Ex atrâ bile varii generantur morbi, perinde ut ipsi multum, calidi aut frigidi in se habuerit, quum utrique suscipiendo quam aptissima sit, tametsi suâpte naturâ frigida sit. Annon aqua sic afficitur a calore ut ardeat; et a frigore ut in glaciem concrescat? et hæc varietas distinctionum, alii flent, rident, &c. [q] Hanc ad intemperantiam gignendam plurimum confert ♂ et ♄ positus, &c. [r] ☿ Quoties alicujus genitura in ♏ et ♓ adverso signo positus, horoscopum partiliter tenuerit, atque etiam a ♂ vel ♄ □ radio percussus fuerit, natus ab insaniâ vexabitur. [s] Qui ♄ et ♂ habet, alterum in culmine, alterum imo cœlo, cum in lucem venerit, melancholicus erit, a quâ sanabitur, si ☿ illos irradiârit. [t] Hac configuratione natus, aut lunaticus, aut mente captus. [u] Ptolemæus, Centiloquio, *et quadripartito* tribuit omnium melancholicorum symptomata siderum influentiis. [v] Arte Medicâ. *Accedant ad has caussas affectiones siderum.* Plurimum incitant et provocant influentiæ cœlestes. *Velcurio, lib. 4. cap. 15.* [w] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de mel.

celestial Physiognomy, have proved to hold great affinity with astrology, to satisfie the curious, I am the more willing to insert.

The general notions [x] physiognomers give, be these; *black colour argues natural melancholy; so doth leanness, hirsuteness, broad veins, much hair on the brows*, saith [y] Gratanarolus, *cap.* 7. and a little head, out of Aristotle: high sanguine red colour shews head-melancholy: they that stutter and are bald, will be soonest melancholy, (as Avicenna supposeth) by reason of the driness of their brains. But he that will know more of the several signs of humours and wits out of physiognomy, let him consult with old Adamantus and Polemus, that comment, or rather paraphrase, upon Aristotles Physiognomy, Baptista Portas four pleasant books, Michael Scot *de secretis naturæ*, John de Indagine, Montaltus, Antony Zara, *anat. ingeniorum, sect.* 2. *memb.* 23. *et lib.* 4.

Chiromancy hath these aphorisms to foretell melancholy. Tansier, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. (who hath comprehended the summ of John de Indagine, Tricassus, Corvinus, and others, in his book) thus hath it: [a] *The Saturnine line going from the rascetta through the hand, to Saturns mount, and there intersected by certain little lines, argues melancholy; so if the vital and natural make an acute angle. Aphorism* 100: *The Saturnine, epatick, and natural lines, making a gross triangle in the hand, argue as much*; which *Goclenius* (*cap.* 5. *Chiros.*) repeats *verbatim* out of him. In general, they conclude all, that if *Saturns* mount be full of many small lines and intersections, [b] *such men are most part melancholy, miserable, and full of disquietness, care and trouble, continually vexed with anxious and bitter thoughts, alway sorrowful, fearful, suspicious: they delight in husbandry, buildings, pools, marshes, springs, woods, walks, &c.* Thaddæus Haggesius, in his *Metoposcopia*, hath certain aphorisms derived from *Saturns* lines in the forehead, by which he collects a melancholy disposition; and [c] Baptista Porta makes observations from those other parts of the body, as, if a spot be over the spleen; [d] *or in the nails, if it appear black, it signifieth much care, grief, contention, and melancholy.* The reason he refers to the humours, and gives instance in himself, that, for seven years space, he had such black spots in his nails, and all that while was in perpetual law-sutes, controversies for his inheritance, fear, loss of honour, banishment, grief, care, &c. and when his miseries ended, the black spots vanished. Cardan, in his book *de libris propriis*, tells such a story of his own person, that, a little before his sons death, he had a black spot, which appeared in one of his nails, and dilated it self as he came nearer his end. But I am overtedious in these toyes, which (howsoever, in some mens too severe censures, they may be held absurd and ridiculous) I am the bolder to insert, as not borrowed from circumforanean rogues and Gipsies, but out of the writings of worthy philosophers, and physicians, yet living, some of them, and religious professors in famous universities, who are able to patronize that which they have said, and vindicate themselves from all cavillers and ignorant persons.

Subsect. V.—*Old age a cause.*

Secundary peculiar causes efficient (so called in respect of the other precedent) are either *congenitæ, internæ, innatæ*, as they term them, inward, innate, inbred; or else outward and adventitious, which happen to us after we are born: congenite, or born with us, are either natural, as old age, or *præter*

[x] Joh. de Indag. c. 9. Montaltus, cap. 22. [y] Caput parvum qui habent, cerebrum habent et spiritus plerumque angustos.—Facile incidunt in melancholiam rubicundi. Aëtius. Idem Montaltus, c. 21. e Galeno. [a] Saturnina, a rascettâ per mediam manum decurrens, usque ad radicem montis Saturni, a parvis lineis intersecta, arguit melancholicos. Aphoris. 78. [b] Agitantur miseriis, continuis inquietudinibus, neque unquam a solicitudine liberi sunt: anxie affliguntur amarissimis intra cogitationibus, semper tristes, suspiciosi, meticulosi: cogitationes sunt, velle agrum colere, stagna amant et paludes, &c. Jo. de Indagine, lib. 1. [c] Cœlestis Physiogn. lib. 10. [d] Cap. 14. lib. 5. Idem. Maculæ in unguibus nigræ, lites, rixas, melancholiam significant, ab humore in corde tali.

naturam (as [e] Fernelius calls it), that distemperature, which we have from our parents seed, it being an hereditary disease. The first of these, which is natural to all, and which no man living can avoid, is [f] old age, which being cold and dry, and of the same quality as melancholy is, must needs cause it, by diminution of spirits and substance, and increasing of adust humours. Therefore [g] Melancthon avers out of Aristotle, as an undoubted truth, *senes plerumque delirásse in senectâ*, that old men familiarly dote, *ob atram bilem*, for black choler, which is then superabundant in them: and Rhasis, that Arabian physician, (in his *Cont. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9.) calls it [h] *a necessary and inseparable accident* to all old and decrepit persons. *After seventy years*, (as the [i] Psalmist saith) *all is trouble and sorrow;* and common experience confirms the truth of it in weak and old persons, especially in such as have lived in action all their lives, had great imployments, much business, much command, and many servants to oversee, and leave off *ex abrupto;* as [j] Charles the Fifth did to King Philip, resign up all on a sudden. They are overcome with melancholy in an instant; or, if they do continue in such courses, they dote at last, (*senex bis puer*) and are not able to manage their estates, through common infirmities incident to their age; full of ache, sorrow, and grief, children again, dizards; they carle many times as they sit, and talk to themselves; [k] they are angry, waspish, displeased with every thing, *suspicious of all, wayward, covetous, hard,* (saith Tully) *self-willed, superstitious, self-conceited, braggers and admirers of themselves,* as Balthasar Castalio hath truly noted of them. This natural infirmity is most eminent in old women, and such as are poor, solitary, live in most base esteem and beggery, or such as are witches; insomuch that [l] Wierus, Baptista Porta, Ulricus Molitor, Edwicus, do refer all that witches are said to do, to imagination alone, and this humour of melancholy. And, whereas it is controverted, whether they can bewitch cattle to death, ride in the air upon a coulstaff out of a chimney-top, transform themselves into cats, dogs, &c. translate bodies from place to place, meet in companies, and dance, as they do, or have carnal copulation with the devil, they ascribe all to this redundant melancholy, which domineers in them, to [m] somniferous potions, and natural causes, the devils policy. *Non lædunt omnino,* (saith Wierus) *aut quid mirum faciunt,* (*de Lamiis, lib.* 3. *cap.* 36.) *ut putatur: solum vitiatam habent phantasiam;* they do no such wonders at all, only their [n] brains are crazed. [o] *They think they are witches and can do hurt, but do not.* But this opinion Bodine, Erastus, Danæus, Scribanius, Sebastian Michaelis, Campanella, (*de Sensu rerum, lib.* 4. *cap.* 9.) [p] Dandinus the Jesuit, (*lib* 2. *de Animâ*) explode; [q] Cicogna confutes at large. That witches are melancholy, they deny not, but not out of corrupt phantasie alone, so to delude themselves and others, or to produce such effects.

Subsect. VI.—*Parents a cause by propagation.*

That other inward inbred cause of melancholy is our temperature, in whole or part, which we receive from our parents, which [r] Fernelius calls *præter naturam*, or unnatural, it being an hereditary disease; for as he [s] justifies, *quale parentum, maxime patris, semen obtigerit, tales evadunt simulares spermaticæque partes: quocumque etiam morbo pater, quum generat, tenetur, cum semine*

[e] Lib. 1. Path. c. 11. [f] Venit enim, properata malis, inopina senectus: Et dolor ætatem jussit inesse meam. Boëthius, met. 1. de consol. philos. [g] Cap. de humoribus, lib. de animâ. [h] Necessarium accidens decrepitis, ei inseparabile. [i] Psal. 90. 10. [j] Meteran. Belg. hist. lib. 1. [k] Sunt morosi, et anxii, et iracundi, et difficiles senes, si quærimus, etiam avari. Tull. de senectute. [l] Lib. 2. de Aulico. Senes avari, morosi, jactabundi, philauti, deliri, superstitiosi, suspiciosi, &c. Lib. 3. de lamiis, c. 17, et 18. [m] Solanum, opium, lupi adeps, lac asini, &c. sanguis infantum, &c. [n] Corrupta est iis ab humore melancholico phantasia. Nymannus. [o] Putant se lædere, quando non lædunt. [p] Qui hæc in imaginationis vim referre conati sunt, aut atræ bilis, inanem prorsus laborem susceperunt. [q] Lib. 3. cap. 4. omnif. mag. [r] Lib. 1. c. 11. path. [s] Ut arthritici, epilep. &c.

transfert in prolem: such as the temperature of the father is, such is the sons; and, look, what disease the father had when he begot him, his son will have after him, [t]*and is as well inheritor of his infirmities, as of his lands. And where the complexion and constitution of the father is corrupt, there,* ([u] saith Roger Bacon) *the complexion and constitution of the son must needs be corrupt; and so the corruption is derived from the father to the son.* Now this doth not so much appear in the composition of the body, according to that of Hippocrates, [v]*in habit, proportion, scarrs, and other lineaments; but in manners and conditions of the mind; Et patrum in natos abeunt, cum semine, mores.*

Seleucus had an anchor on his thigh; so had his posterity, as Trogus records, *l.* 15. Lepidus (in Pliny, *l.* 7. *c.* 17) was purblind; so was his son. That famous family of Ænobarbi were known of old, and so surnamed, from their red beards. The Austrian lip, and those Indians flat noses, are propagated; the Bavarian chin, and goggle eyes amongst the Jews, as [w] Buxtorfius observes. Their voice, pace, gesture, looks, are likewise derived, with all the rest of their conditions and infirmities; such a mother, such a daughter; their very [x] affections Lemnius contends *to follow their seed, and the malice and bad conditions of children are many times wholly to be imputed to their parents.* I need not therefore make any doubt of melancholy, but that it is an hereditary disease. [y] Paracelsus in express words affirms it, *lib. de morb. amentium, To.* 4. *Tr.* 1.; so doth [z] Crato in an epistle of his to Monavius: so doth Bruno Seidelius, in his book *de morbo incurab.* Montaltus proves (*cap.* 11.) out of Hippocrates and Plutarch, that such hereditary dispositions are frequent; *et hanc* (inquit) *fieri reor ob participatum melancholicam intemperantium* (speaking of a patient): I think he became so by participation of melancholy. Daniel Sennertus (*lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 9) will have this melancholy constitution derived not only from the father to the son, but to the whole family sometimes; *quandoque totis familiis hæreditativam.* [a] Forestus, in his Medicinal Observations, illustrates this point with an example of a merchant his patient, that had this infirmity by inheritance; so doth Rodericus a Fonseca, (*Tom.* 1. *consul.* 69) by an instance of a young man that was so affected *ex matre melancholicâ*, had a melancholy mother, *et victu melancholico*, and bad diet together. Ludovicus Mercatus, a Spanish physician, (in that excellent tract, which he hath lately written of hereditary diseases, *Tom.* 2. *oper. lib.* 5.) reckons up leprosie, as those [b] Galbots in Gascony, hereditary lepers, pox, stone, gout, epilepsie, &c. Amongst the rest, this and madness after a set time comes to many, which he calls a miraculous thing in nature, and sticks for ever to them as an incurable habit. And, that which is more to be wondered at, it skips in some families the father, and goes to the son, [c] *or takes every other, and sometimes every third, in a lineal descent, and doth not alwayes produce the same, but some like, and a symbolizing disease.* These secundary causes, hence derived, are commonly so powerful, that (as [d] Wolphius holds) *sæpe mutant decreta siderum*: they do often alter the primary causes, and decrees of the heavens. For these reasons, belike, the church and common-wealth, humane and divine laws, have conspired to avoid hereditary diseases, forbidding such marriages as are any whit allyed; and, as Mercatus adviseth all families, to take

[t] Ut filii, non tam possessionum, quam morborum hæredes sint. [u] Epist. de secretis artis et naturæ, c. 7. Nam in hoc quod patres corrupti sunt, generant filios corruptæ complexionis, et compositionis; et filii eorum, eâdem de causâ, se corrumpunt; et sic derivata corruptio a patribus et filios. [v] Non tam (inquit Hippocrates) gibbos et cicatrices oris et corporis habitum agnoscis ex iis, sed verum incessum, gestus, mores, morbos, &c. [w] Synagog. Jud. [x] Affectus parentum in fetus transeunt, et parrorum malitia parentibus imputanda, l. 4. cap. 3. de occult. nat. mirac. [y] Ex pituitosis pituitosi, ex biliosis biliosi, ex lienosis et melancholicis melancholici. [z] Ep. 174. in Scoltz. Nascitur nobiscum illa, aliturque, et una cum parentibus habemus malum hunc. Jo. Pelesius, lib. 2. de curâ humanorum affectuum. [a] Lib. 10. observ. 15. [b] Maginus, Geog. [c] Sæpe non eundem, sed similem producit effectum, et illæso parente transit in nepotem. [d] Dial. præfix. genituris Leovitii.

such, *si fieri possit, quæ maxime distant naturâ*, and to make choice of those that are most differing in complexion from them; if they love their own, and respect the common good. And sure, I think, it hath been ordered by Gods especial providence, that, in all ages, there should be, (as usually there is) once in [e] six hundred years, a transmigration of nations to amend and purifie their blood, as we alter seed upon our land, and that there should be as it were an inundation of those northern Goths and Vandales, and many such like people which came out of that continent of Scandia, and Sarmatia (as some suppose), and over-ran, as a deluge, most part of Europe and Africk, to alter (for our good) our complexions, which were much defaced with hereditary infirmities, which by our lust and intemperance we had contracted. A sound generation of strong and able men were sent amongst us, as those northern men usually are, innocuous, free from riot, and free from diseases; to qualifie and make us as those poor naked Indians are generally at this day, and those about Brasile, (as a late [f] writer observes) in the isle of Maragnan, free from all hereditary diseases, or other contagion, whereas, without help of physick, they live commonly an hundred and twenty years or more; as in the Orchades and many other places. Such are the common effects of temperance, and intemperance: but I will descend to particulars, and shew by what means, and by whom especially, this infirmity is derived unto us.

Filii ex senibus nati raro sunt firmi temperamenti: old mens children are seldom of a good temperament, (as Scoltzius supposeth, *consult.* 177) and therefore most apt to this disease: and, as [g] Levinus Lemnius farther adds, old men beget, most part, wayward, peevish, sad, melancholy sons, and seldom merry. He that begets a child on a full stomach, will either have a sick child, or a crazed son (as [h] Cardan thinks, *contradict. med. lib.* 1. *contradict.* 18); or, if the parents be sick or have any great pain of the head, or megrim, head-ache, ([i] Hieronymus Wolfius doth instance in a child of Sebastian Castalio's) or if a drunken man get a child, it will never, likely, have a good brain, as Gellius argues, *lib.* 12. *cap.* 1. *Ebrii gignunt ebrios:* one drunkard begets another, saith [j] Plutarch, (*sym. lib.* 1. *quæst.* 5.) whose sentence [k] Lemnius approves, *l.* 1. *c.* 4. Alsarius Crutius *Gen. de qui sit med. cent.* 3. *fol.* 182. Macrobius *lib.* 1. Avicenna *lib.* 3. *Fen.* 21. *Tract.* 1. *cap.* 8. and Aristotle himself *sect.* 2. *prob.* 4. Foolish, drunken, or hair-brain women, most part bring forth children like unto themselves, *morosos et languidos;* and so likewise he that lyes with a menstruous woman. *Intemperantia Veneris, quam in nautis præsertim insectatur* [l] *Lemnius, qui uxores ineunt, nullâ menstrui decursûs ratione habitâ, nec observato interlunio, præcipua caussa est, noxia, perniciosa; (concubitum hunc exitialem ideo, et pestiferum, vocat Rodericus a Castro, Lusitanus; detestantur ad unum omnes medici) tum et quartâ lunâ concepti, infelices plerumque et amentes, deliri, stolidi, morbosi, impuri, invalidi, tetrâ lue sordidi, minime vitales, omnibus bonis corporis atque animi destituti:* ad laborem nati, *si seniores (inquit* [m] *Eustathius) ut Hercules, et alii.* [n] *Judæi maxime insectantur fœdum hunc et immundum apud Christianos concubitum, ut illicitum abhorrent, et apud suos prohibent; et quod Christiani toties leprosi, amentes, tot morbilli, impetigines, alphi, psoræ, cutis et faciei decolorationes, tam multi morbi epidemici, acerbi, et venenosi sint, in hunc immundum concubi-*

[e] Bodin. de rep. cap. de periodis reip. [f] Claudius Abaville, Capuchion, in his voyage to Maragnan, 1614. c. 45. Nemo fere ægrotus, sano omnus et robusto corpore, vivunt annos 120, 140, sine medicinâ. Idem. Hector Boëthius de insulis Orchad. et Damianus a Goes de Scandiâ. [g] Lib. 4. c. 3. de occult. nat. mir. Tetricos plerumque filios senes progenerant et tristes, rarius exhilaratos. [h] Coitus super repletionem pessimus, et filii qui tum gignuntur, aut morbosi sunt, aut stolidi. [i] Dial. præfix. Leovitio. [j] L. de ed. liberis. [k] De occul. nat. mor. Temulentæ et stolidæ mulieres liberos plerunque producunt sibi similes. [l] Lib. 2. c. 8. de occult. nat. mir. Good master schoolmaster, do not english *this.* [m] De nat. mul. lib. 3. cap. 4. [n] Buxendorphius, c. 13. Synag. Jud. Ezek. 18.

tum rejiciunt; et crudeles in pignora vocant, qui, quartâ lunâ, profluente hac mensum illuvie, concubitum hunc non prehorrescunt. Damnavit olim divina lex, et morte mulctavit hujusmodi homines (Lev. 18. 20); *et inde nati si qui deformes aut mutili, pater dilapidatus, quod non contineret ab* [o] *immundâ muliere. Gregorius Magnus, petenti Augustino numquid apud* [p] *Britannos hujusmodi concubitum toleraret, severe prohibuit viris suis tum misceri feminas in consuetis suis menstruis, &c.* I spare to English this which I have said. Another cause some give—inordinate diet, as if a man eat garlick, onions, fast over-much, study too hard, be over-sorrowful, dull, heavy, dejected in mind, perplexed in his thoughts, fearful, &c. *their children* (saith [q] Cardan *subtil. lib.* 18) *will be much subject to madness and melancholy; for, if the spirits of the brain be fusled or mis-affected by such means at such a time, their children will be fusled in the brain; they will be dull, heavy, timorous, discontented all their lives.* Some are of opinion, and maintain that paradox or problem, that wise men beget commonly fools. Suidas gives instance in Aristarchus the grammarian; *duos reliquit filios, Aristarchum et Aristachorum, ambos stultos;* and (which [r] Erasmus urgeth in his Moria) fools beget wise men. *Card. subtil. l.* 12. gives this cause: *quoniam spiritus sapientium ob studium resolvuntur, et in cerebrum feruntur a corde:* because their natural spirits are resolved by study, and turned into animal; drawn from the heart, and those other parts, to the brain. Lemnius subscribes to that of Cardan, and assigns this reason, *quod persolvant debitum languide, et oscitanter; unde fetus a parentum generositate descisit:* they pay their debt (as Paul calls it) to their wives remisly; by which means their children are weaklings, and many times idiots and fools.

Some other causes are given, which properly pertain to, and proceed from, the mother. If she be over-dull, heavy, angry, peevish, discontented, and melancholy, not only at the time of conception, but even all the while she carries the child in her womb, (saith Fernelius, *path. l.* 1. 11) her son will be so likewise affected; and worse (as [s] Lemnius adds, *l.* 4. *c.* 7) if she grieve overmuch, be disquieted, or by any casualty be affrighted and terrified by some fearful object, heard or seen, she endangers her child, and spoils the temperature of it; for the strange imagination of a woman works effectually upon her infant, that (as Baptista Porta proves, *Physiog. cœlestis, l. 5. c.* 2) she leaves a mark upon it; which is most especially seen in such as prodigiously long for such and such meats, saith Fernelius, and be addicted to like humours. [t] *If a great-bellied woman see a hare, her child will often have an hare-lip,* as we call it. Garcæus, *de Judiciis geniturarum, c.* 33. hath a memorable example of one Thomas Nickell, born in the city of Brandeburge, 1551, [u] *that went reeling and staggering all the dayes of his life, as if he would fall to the ground, because his mother, being great with child, saw a drunken man reel in the street.* Such another I find in Martin Wenrichius, *com. de ortu monstrorum, c.* 17. [v] I saw, (saith he) at Wittenberge in Germany, a citizen that looked like a carkass. *I asked him the cause: he replyed, his mother, when she bore him in her womb, saw a carkass by chance, and was sore affrighted with it, that* ex eo fetus ei assimilatus; *from a ghastly impression, the child was like it.*

So many several ways are we plagued and punished for our fathers defaults; in so much that (as Fernelius truly saith) [w] *it is the greatest part of our*

[o] Druslus, obs. lib. 3. cap. 20. [p] Bed. Eccl. hist. lib. 1. c. 27. respon. 10. [q] Nam spiritus cerebri si tum male afficiantur, tales procreant; et quales fuerint affectus, tales filiorum: ex tristibus tristes, ex jucundis jucundi nascuntur, &c. [r] Fol. 229. mer. Socrates children were fools. Sab. [s] De cœrul. nat. mir. Pica, morbus mulierum. [t] Baptista Porta, loco præd. Ex leporum intuitu pleræque infantes edunt bifido superiore labello. [u] Quasi mox in terram collapsurus, per omnem vitam incedebat, cum mater gravida ebrium hominem sic incedentem viderat. [v] Civem facie cadaverosâ, qui dixit, &c. [w] Optimum bene nasci; maxima pars felicitatis nostræ bene nasci: quamobrem præ-

felicity to be well born; and it were happy for humane kind, if only such parents, as are sound of body and mind, should be suffered to marry. An husbandman will sow none but the best and choicest seed upon his land; he will not rear a bull or an horse, except he be right shapen in all parts, or permit him to cover a mare, except he be well assured of his breed; we make choice of the best rams for our sheep, rear the neatest kine, and keep the best dogs; *quanto id diligentius in procreandis liberis observandum?* and how careful then should we be in begetting of our children? In former time, some [x] countreys have been so chary in this behalf, so stern, that if a child were crooked or deformed in body or mind, they made him away; so did the Indians of old (by the relation of Curtius), and many other well-governed commonwealths, according to the discipline of those times. Heretofore, in Scotland (saith [y] Hect. Boëthius) *if any were visited with the falling sickness, madness, gout, leprosie, or any such dangerous disease, which was likely to be propagated from the father to the son, he was instantly gelded; a woman kept from all company of men; and if by chance, having some such disease, she were found to be with child, she with her brood were buried alive:* and this was done for the common good, lest the whole nation should be injured or corrupted. A severe doom, you will say, and not to be used amongst Christians, yet more to be looked into than it is. For now, by our too much facility in this kind, in giving way for all to marry that will, too much liberty and indulgence in tolerating all sorts, there is a vast confusion of hereditary diseases, no family secure, no man almost free from some grievous infirmity or other. When no choice is had, but still the eldest must marry, as so many stallions of the race; or, if rich, be they fools or dizzards, lame or maimed, unable, intemperate, dissolute, exhaust through riot, (as he said) [z] *jure hæreditario supere jubentur;* they must be wise and able by inheritance; it comes to pass that our generation is corrupt; we have many weak persons, both in body and mind, many feral diseases raging amongst us, crazed families, *parentes peremptores;* our fathers bad; and we are like to be worse.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Bad diet a cause. Substance. Quality of meats.*

According to my proposed method, having opened hitherto these secundary causes, which are inbred with us, I must now proceed to the outward and adventitious, which happen unto us after we are born. And those are either evident, remote; or inward, antecedent, and the nearest: continent causes some call them. These outward, remote, precedent causes are subdivided again into *necessary* and *not necessary*. *Necessary* (because we cannot avoid them, but they will alter us, as they are used, or abused) are those six non-natural things, so much spoken of amongst physicians, which are principal causes of this disease: for, almost in every consultation, whereas they shall come to speak of the causes, the fault is found, and this most part objected to the patient; *peccavit circa res sex non naturales:* he hath still offended in one of those six. Montanus, (*consil.* 22) consulted about a melancholy Jew, gives that sentence; so did Frisemelica in the same place; and, in his two hundredth forty fourth counsel, censuring a melancholy

clare humano generi consultum videretur, si soli parentes bene habiti et sani liberi operam darent. [x] Infantes infirmi præcipitio necati. Bohemus, lib. 3. c. 3. Apud Lacones olim. Lipsius, epist. 85. cent. ad Belgas, Dionysio Villerio, Si quos aliquâ membrorum parte inutiles notaverint, necari jubent. [y] Lib. 1. de veterum Scotorum moribus. Morbo comitiâli, dementiâ, maniâ, leprâ, &c. aut simili labe, quæ facile in prolem transmittitur, laborantes inter eos, ingenti factâ indagine, inventos, ne gens fœdâ contagione læderetur, ex iis natâ, castraverunt; mulieres hujusmodi procul a virorum consortio ablegârunt; quod si harum aliqua concepisse inveniebatur, simul cum fœtu nondum edito, defodiebatur viva. [z] Euphormio Satyr.

souldier, assigns that reason of his malady: [a] *He offended in all those six non-natural things, which were the outward causes, from which came those inward obstructions*; and so in the rest.

These six non-natural things are diet, retention, and evacuation, which are more material than the other, because they make new matter, or else are conversant in keeping or expelling it. The other four are, air, exercise, sleeping, waking, and perturbations of the mind, which only alter the matter. The first of these is diet, which consists in meat and drink, and causeth melancholy, as it offends in substance or accidents, that is, quantity, quality, or the like. And well it may be called a material cause, since that, as [b] Fernelius holds, *it hath such a power in begetting of diseases, and yields the matter and sustenance of them; for neither air, nor perturbations, nor any of those other evident causes, take place or work this effect, except the constitution of body and preparation of humours do concur; that a man may say, this diet is the mother of diseases, let the father be what he will; and from this alone, melancholy and frequent other maladies arise.* Many physicians, I confess, have written copious volumes of this one subject, of the nature and qualities of all manner of meats; as, namely, Galen, Isaac the Jew; Halyabbas, Avicenna, Mesue, Arabians; Gordonius, Villanovanus, Wecker, Johannes Bruerinus, *sitologia de Esculentis et Poculentis*, Michael Savanarola, *Tract.* 2. *cap.* 8. Anthony Fumanellus, *lib. de regimine senum*, Curio in his comment on *Schola Salerna*, Godefridus Stekius *arte med.* Marsilius Cognatus, Ficinus, Ranzovius, Fonseca, Lessius, Magninus, *regim. sanitatis*, Frietagius, Hugo Fridevallius, &c. besides many other in [c] English; and almost every peculiar physician discourseth at large of all peculiar meats in his chapter of melancholy. Yet, because these books are not at hand to every man, I will briefly touch what kind of meats ingender this humour, through their several species, and which are to be avoided. How they alter and change the matter, spirits first, and after humours, by which we are preserved, and the constitution of our body, Fernelius and others will shew you. I hasten to the thing it self; and, first, of such diet as offends in substance.

Beef.] Beef, a strong and hearty meat (cold in the first degree, dry in the second, saith Gal. *l.* 3. *c.* 1. *de alim. fac.*) is condemned by him, and all succeeding authors, to breed gross melancholy blood; good for such as are sound, and of a strong constitution, for labouring men, if ordered aright, corned, young, of an ox, for all gelded meats in every species are held best; or, if old, [d] such as have been tired out with labour, are preferred. Aubanus and Sabellicus commend Portugal beef to be the most savoury, best, and easiest of digestion; we commend ours; but all is rejected and unfit for such as lead a resty life, any ways inclined to melancholy, or dry of complexion. *Tales* (Galen thinks) *de facili melancholicis ægritudinibus capiuntur.*

Pork.] Pork, of all meats, is most nutritive in his own nature, but altogether unfit for such as live at ease, or are any ways unsound of body or mind; too moist, full of humours, and therefore *noxia delicatis*, saith Savanarola, *ex earum usu ut dubitetur, an febris quartana generetur:* naught for queasie stomachs, in so much, that frequent use of it may breed a quartan ague.

Goat.] Savanarola discommends goats flesh, and so doth [e] Bruerinus,

[a] Fecit omnia delicta, quæ fieri possunt, circa res sex non naturales; et eæ fuerunt caussæ extrinsecæ ex quibus postea ortæ sunt obstructiones. [b] Path. l. 1. c. 2. Maximam in gignendis morbis vim obtinet, pabulum, materiamque morbi suggerens: nam nec ab aëre, nec a perturbationibus, vel aliis evidentibus caussis morbi sunt, nisi consentiat corporis præparatio, et humorum constitutio. Ut semel dicam, una gula est omnium morborum mater, etiamsi alius est genitor. Ab hac morbi sponte sæpe emanant, nullâ aliâ cogente caussâ. [c] Cogan, Eliot, Vaughan, Vener. [d] Frietagius. [e] Non laudatur, melancholicum præbet alimentum.

l. 13. *c.* 19, calling it a filthy beast, and rammish; and therefore supposeth it will breed rank and filthy substance: yet kid, such as are young and tender, Isaac excepts, Bruerinus, and Galen, *l.* 1. *c.* 1. *de alimentorum facultatibus.*

Hart.] *Hart, and red deer,* [f] *hath an evil name; it yields gross nutriment;* a strong and great grained meat, next unto a horse, which although some countries eat, as Tartars and they of China, yet [g] Galen condemns. Young foals are as commonly eaten in Spain, as red deer, and, to furnish their navies, about Malaga especially, often used. But such meats ask long baking or seething, to qualifie them; and yet all will not serve.

Venison, Fallow Deer.] All venison is melancholy, and begets bad blood: a pleasant meat in great esteem with us (for we have more parks in England than there are in all Europe besides) in our solemn feasts. 'Tis somewhat better, hunted, than otherwise, and well prepared by cookery; but generally bad, and seldom to be used.

Hare.] Hare, a black meat, melancholy, and hard of digestion: it breeds *incubus*, often eaten, and causeth fearful dreams; so doth all venison, and is condemned by a jury of physicians. Mizaldus and some others say that hare is a merry meat, and that it will make one fair, as Martials epigram testifies to Gellia; but this is *per accidens*, because of the good sport it makes, merry company, and good discourse that is commonly at the eating of it, and not otherwise to be understood.

Conies.] [h] Conies are of the nature of hares. Magninus compares them to beef, pig, and goat, *Reg. sanit. part.* 3. *c.* 17: yet young rabbets, by all men, are approved to be good.

Generally, all such meats as are hard of digestion, breed melancholy. Aretæus, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 5, reckons up heads and feet, [i] bowels, brains, entrals, marrow, fat, blood, skins, and those inward parts, as heart, lungs, liver, spleen, &c. They are rejected by Isaac, *lib.* 2. *part.* 3. Magninus, *part.* 3. *cap.* 17. Bruerinus, *lib.* 12. Savanarola, *Rub.* 32. *Tract.* 2.

Milk.] Milk, and all that comes of milk, as butter and cheese, curds, &c. increase melancholy (whey only excepted, which is most wholesome). [j] Some except asses milk. The rest, to such as are sound, is nutritive and good, especially for young children; but, because soon turned to corruption, [k] not good for those that have unclean stomacks, are subject to headach, or have green wounds, stone, &c. Of all cheeses, I take that kind which we call Banbury cheese to be the best. *Ex vetustis pessimus*, the older, stronger, and harder, the worst, as Langius discourseth in his Epistle to Melancthon, cited by Mizaldus, Isaac, *p.* 5. *Gal.* 3. *de cibis boni succi, &c.*

Fowl.] Amongst fowl, [l] peacocks and pigeons, all fenny fowl, are forbidden, as ducks, geese, swans, herns, cranes, coots, didappers, waterhens, with all those teals, curs, sheldrakes, and peckled fowls, that come hither in winter out of Scandia, Muscovy, Greenland, Friezland, which half the year are covered all over with snow, and frozen up. Though these be fair in feathers, pleasant in taste, and have a good outside (like hypocrites), white in plumes, and soft, their flesh is hard, black, unwholesome, dangerous, melancholy meat. *Gravant et putrefaciunt stomachum*, saith Isaac, *part.* 5. *de vol.* their young ones are more tolerable; but young pigeons he quite disproves.

Fishes.] Rhasis and [m] Magninus discommend all fish, and say, they breed *viscosities*, slimy nutriment, little and humorous nourishment; Savanarola

[f] Male alit cervina (inquit Frietagius): crassissimum et atribilarium suppeditat alimentum. [g] Lib. de subtiliss. diætâ. Equina caro et asinina equinis dauda est hominibus et asininis. [h] Parum absunt a naturâ leporem. Bruerinus, l. 13. cap. 25. pullorum tenera et optima. [i] Illaudabilis succi nauseam provocant. [j] Piso. Altomar. [k] Curio. Frietagius. Magninus. part. 3. cap. 17.—Mercurialis, de affect. lib. 1. c. 10, excepts all milk meats in hypochondriacal melancholy. [l] Wecker, Syntax. theor. p. 2. Isaac, Bruer. lib. 15. cap. 30, et 31. [m] Cap. 18. part. 3.

adds cold, moist; and phlegmatick, Isaac; and therefore unwholesome for all cold and melancholy complexions. Others make a difference, rejecting only, among fresh-water fish, eel, tench, lamprey, craw-fish (which Bright approves, *cap.* 6), and such as are bred in muddy and standing waters, and have a taste of mud, as Franciscus Bonsuetus poetically defines. (*Lib. de aquatilibus*)

> Nam pisces omnes, qui stagna lacusque frequentant,
> Semper plus succi deterioris habent
>
> All fish, that standing pools and lakes frequent,
> Do ever yield bad juyce and nourishment.

Lampreys, Paulus Jovius (*c.* 34. *de piscibus fluvial.*) highly magnifies, and saith, none speak against them, but *inepti* and *scrupulosi;* some scrupulous persons: but [n] *eels* (*c.* 33.) *he abhorreth: in all places, at all times, all physicians detest them, especially about the solstice.* Gomesius (*lib.* 1. *c.* 22. de sale) doth immoderately extol sea-fish, which others as much vilifie, and, above the rest, dryed, sowced, indurate fish, as ling, fumados, red-herrings, sprats, stock-fish, haberdine, poor-john, all shell-fish. [o] Tim. Bright excepts lobster and crab. Messarius commends salmon, which Bruerinus contradicts, *lib.* 22. *c.* 17. Magninus rejects congre, sturgeon, turbot, mackerel, skate.

Carp is a fish, of which I know not what to determine. Franciscus Bonsuetus accounts it a muddy fish. Hippolytus Salvianus, in his book *de Piscium naturâ et præparatione*, which was printed at Rome in folio, 1544, (with most elegant pictures) esteems carp no better than a slimy watery meat. Paulus Jovius, on the other side, disallowing tench, approves of it; so doth Dubravius in his books of fish-ponds. Frietagius [p] extols it for an excellent wholesome meat, and puts it amongst the fishes of the best rank; and so do most of our countrey gentlemen, that store their ponds almost with no other fish. But this controversie is easily decided, in my judgement, by Bruerinus, *l.* 22. *c.* 13. The difference riseth from the site and nature of pools, [q] sometimes muddy, sometimes sweet: they are in taste as the place is, from whence they be taken. In like manner almost, we may conclude of other fresh fish. But see more in Rondeletius, Bellonius, Oribasius, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 22. Isaac, *l.* 1. especially Hippolytus Salvianus, who is *instar omnium, solus, &c.* Howsoever they may be wholesome and approved, much use of them is not good. P. Forestus, in his Medicinal Observations, [r] relates, that Carthusian fryers, whose living is most part fish, are more subject to melancholy than any other order; and that he found by experience, being sometimes their physician ordinary at Delph in Holland. He exemplifies it with an instance of one Buscodnese, a Carthusian of a ruddy colour, and well liking, that, by solitary living and fish-eating, became so misaffected.

Herbs.] Amongst herbs to be eaten, I find gourds, cowcumbers, coleworts, melons, disallowed, but especially cabbage. It causeth troublesome dreams, and sends up black vapours to the brain. Galen, (*loc. affect. l.* 3. *c.* 6) of all herbs, condemns cabbage; and Isaac, *lib.* 2. *c.* 1. *animæ gravitatem facit*, it brings heaviness to the soul. Some are of opinion, that all raw herbs and sallets breed melancholy blood, except bugloss and lettice. Crato (*consil.* 21. *lib.* 2) speaks against all herbs and worts, except borrage, bugloss, fennel, parsly, dill, bawm, succory. Magninus, (*regim. sanitatis*, 3. *part. cap.* 31) *omnes herbæ simpliciter malæ, vid cibi:* all herbs are simply evil to feed on (as he thinks). So did that scoffing cook in [s] Plautus hold.

[n] Omni loco et omni tempore medici detestantur anguillas, præsertim circa solstitium. Damnantur tum sanis tum ægris. [o] Cap. 6. in his Tract of Melancholy. [p] Optime nutrit, omnium judicio, inter primas notæ pisces gustu præstanti. [q] Non est dubium, quin, pro vivariorum situ ac naturâ, magnas alimentorum sortiantur differentias, alibi suaviores, alibi lutulentiores. [r] Observat. 16. lib. 10. [s] Pseudolus, act. 3. scen. 2.

——Non ego cœnam condio, ut alii coqui solent,
Qui mihi condite prata in patinis proferunt,
Boves qui convivas faciunt, herbasque aggerunt.

Like other cooks, I do not supper dress,
That put whole medows in a platter,
And make no better of the guests than beeves,
With herbs and grass to feed them fatter.

Our Italians and Spaniards do make a whole dinner of herbs and sallets (which our said Plautus calls *cœnas terrestres*, Horace, *cœnas sine sanguine*); by which means, as he follows it,

[s]Hic homines tam brevem vitam colunt——
Qui herbas hujusmodi in alvum suam congerunt:
Formidolosum dictu, non esu modo,
Quas herbas pecudes non edunt, homines edunt.

Their lives, that eat such herbs, must needs be short;
And 'tis a fearful thing for to report,
That men should feed on such a kind of meat,
Which very juments would refuse to eat.

[u]They are windy, and not fit therefore to be eaten of all men raw, though qualified with oyl, but in broths, or otherwise. See more of these in every [v]husbandman and herbalist.

Roots.] Roots (*etsi quarundam gentium opes sint*, saith Bruerinus—the wealth of some countries, and sole food) are windy and bad, or troublesome to the head; as onyons, garlick, scallions, turneps, carrets, radishes, parsnips. Crato (*lib.* 2. *consil.* 11) disallows all roots; though [w]some approve of parsnips and potatoes. [x]Magninus is of Cratos opinion—[y]*they trouble the mind, sending gross fumes to the brain, make men mad*, especially garlick, onyons, if a man liberally feed on them a year together. Guianerius (*tract.* 15. *cap.* 2) complains of all manner of roots, and so doth Bruerinus, even parsnips themselves, which are the best; *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 14. *pastinacarum usus succos gignit improbos.*

Fruits.] Crato (*consil.* 21. *lib.* 1) utterly forbids all manner of fruits, as pears, apples, plums, cherries, strawberries, nuts, medlers, serves, &c. *Sanguinem inficiunt*, saith Villanovanus; they infect the blood; and putrifie it, Magninus holds, and must not therefore be taken, *viâ cibi, aut quantitate magnâ*, not to make a meal of, or in any great quantity. [z]Cardan makes that a cause of their continual sickness at Fessa in Africk, *because they live so much on fruits, eating them thrice a day.* Laurentius approves of many fruits in his *Tract of Melancholy*, which others disallow, and, amongst the rest, apples, (which some likewise commend) as sweetings, pairmains, pippins, as good against melancholy; but to him that is any way inclined to or touched with this melancholy, [a]Nicholas Piso, in his *Practicks*, forbids all fruits, as windy, or to be sparingly eaten at least, and not raw. Amongst other fruits, [b]Bruerinus (out of Galen) excepts grapes and figs; but I find them likewise rejected.

Pulse.] All pulse are naught, beans, pease, fitches, &c. they fill the brain (saith Isaac) with gross fumes, breed black thick blood, and cause troublesome dreams. And therefore, that which Pythagoras said to his scholars of old, may be for ever applyed to melancholy men, *A fabis abstinete;* eat no pease nor beans. Yet, to such as will needs eat them, I would give this counsel; to prepare them according to those rules that Arnoldus Villanovanus and Frietagius prescribe, for eating and dressing fruits, herbs, roots, pulse, &c.

Spices.] Spices cause hot and head melancholy, and are, for that cause, forbidden by our physicians, to such men as are inclined to this malady, as

[s]Plautus, ibid. [t]Quare rectius valetudini suæ quisque consulet, qui, lapsûs priorum parentum memor, eas plane vel omiserit vel parce degustârit. Kersleius, cap. 4. de vero usu med. [v]In Mizaldo de Horto, P. Crescent. Herbastein. &c. [w]Cap. 13. part. 3. Bright, in his Tract of Mel. [x]Intellectum turbant, producunt insaniam. [y]Audivi, (inquit Magnin.) quod, si quis ex eiis per annum continue comedat, in insaniam caderet. c. 13. Improbi succi sunt. cap. 12. [z]De rerum varietat. In Fessa *plerumque morbosi*, quod fructus comedant ter in die. [a]Cap. de mel. [b]Lib. 11. c. 3.

pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, mace, dates, &c. hony and sugar. [c] Some except hony: to those that are cold, it may be tolerable; but [d] *dulcia se in bilem vertunt;* they are obstructive. Crato therefore forbids all spice (in a consultation of his for a melancholy schoolmaster), *omnia aromatica, et quidquid sanguinem adurit:* so doth Fernelius, *consil.* 45; Guianerius, *tract.* 15. *c.* 2; Mercurialis, *cons.* 189. To these I may add all sharp and sowre things, luscious, and over-sweet, or fat, as oyl, vinegar, verjuice, mustard, salt; as sweet things are obstructive, so these are corrosive. Gomesius in his books *de sale,* (*l.* 1. *c.* 21.) highly commends salt; so doth Codronchus (in his tract, *de sale absinthii,* Lemn. *l.* 3. *c.* 9. *de occult. nat. mir.* Yet common experience finds salt, and salt-meats, to be great procurers of this disease: and for that cause, belike, those Egyptian priests abstained from salt, even so much as in their bread, *ut sine perturbatione anima esset,* saith mine author —that their souls might be free from perturbations.

Bread.] Bread that is made of baser grain, as pease, beans, oats, rye, or [e] over-hard baked, crusty, and black, is often spoken against as causing melancholy juyce and wind. John Mayor, in the first book of his History of Scotland, contends much for the wholesomeness of oaten bread. It was objected to him, then living at Paris in France, that his countrymen fed on oats and base grain, as a disgrace; but he doth ingenuously confess, Scotland, Wales, and a third part of England, did most part use that kind of bread; that it was as wholsome as any grain, and yielded as good nourishment. And yet Wecker (out of Galen), calls it horse meat, and fitter for juments than men, to feed on. But read Galen himself, (*Lib.* 1. *De cibis boni et mali succi*) more largely discoursing of corn and bread.

Wine.] All black wines, over-hot, compound, strong thick drinks, as Muscadine, Malmsie, Allegant, Rumny, Brownbastard, Metheglen, and the like, of which they have thirty several kinds in Muscovy—all such made drinks are hurtful in this case, to such as are hot, or of a sanguine cholerick complexion, young, or inclined to head-melancholy: for many times the drinking of wine alone causeth it. Arculanus (*c.* 16 *in* 9. *Rhasis*) puts in [f] wine for a great cause, especially if it be immoderately used. Guianerius (*Tract* 15. *c.* 2) tells a story of two Dutchmen, to whom he gave entertainment in his house, *that,* [g] *in one moneths space, were both melancholy by drinking of wine:* one did nought but sing, the other sigh. Galen (*l. de caussis morb. c.* 3), Matthiolus (on Dioscorides) and, above all other, Andreas Bachius (*l.* 3. 18, 19, 20) have reckoned upon those inconveniences that come by wine: Yet, notwithstanding all this, to such as are cold, or sluggish melancholy, a cup of wine is good physick; and so doth Mercurialis grant, *consil.* 25. In that case, if the temperature be cold, as to most melancholy men it is, wine is much commended, if it be moderately used.

Cider, Perry.] Cider and Perry are both cold and windy drinks, and, for that cause, to be neglected; and so are all those hot spiced strong drinks.

Beer.] Beer, if it be over new or over stale, over strong, or not sod, smell of the cask, sharp, or sowr, is most unwholsome, frets, and gauls, &c. Henricus Ayrerus, in [h] a consultation of his, for one that laboured of *hypochondriacal* melancholy, discommends beer; so doth [i] Crato (in that excellent counsel of his, *lib.* 2. *consil.* 21) as too windy, because of the hop. But he means, belike, that thick, black Bohemian beer used in some other parts of [j] Germany.

[c] Bright (c. 6.) excepts hony. [d] Hor. apud Scoltzium, consil. 186. [e] Ne comedas crustam, cholerem quia gignit adustam. Schol. Sal. [f] Vinum turbidum. [g] Ex vini potentis bibitione, duo Alemanni in uno mense melancholici facti sunt. [h] Hildesheim, spicil. fol. 373. [i] Crassum generat sanguinem. [j] About Dantzick, Inspruck, Hamburg, Lypsick.

——————————nil spissius illâ,
Dum bibitur; nil clarius est, dum mingitur; unde
Constat, quod multas fæces in corpore linquat——
Nothing comes in so thick;
Nothing goes out so thin;
It must needs follow, then,
The drugs are left within——

as that old [k] poet scoffed, calling it *Stygiæ monstrum conforme paludi*, a monstrous drink, like the river *Styx*. But let them say as they list, to such as are accustomed unto it, *'tis a most wholsome* ([l] so Polydor Virgil calleth it) *and a pleasant drink*; it is more subtil and better for the hop, that rarifies it, and hath an especial vertue against melancholy, as our herbalists confess, Fuchsius approves, *lib.* 2. *sect.* 2. *instit. cap.* 11. and many others.

Waters.] Standing waters, thick and ill coloured, such as come forth of pools and motes, where hemp hath been steeped, or slimy fishes live, are most unwholsome, putrified, and full of mites, creepers, slimy, muddy, unclean, corrupt, impure, by reason of the suns heat, and still standing. They cause foul distemperatures in the body and mind of man, are unfit to make drink of, to dress meat with, or to be [m] used about men inwardly or outwardly. They are good for many domestical uses, to wash horses, water cattle, &c. or in time of necessity, but not otherwise. Some are of opinion that such fat standing waters make the best beer, and that seething doth defecate it, as [n] Cardan holds (*lib.* 13. *subtil.*) *it mends the substance and savour of it*; but it is a paradox. Such beer may be stronger, but not so wholsome as the other, as [o] Jobertus truly justifieth, out of Galen, (*Paradox. dec.* 1. *Paradox.* 5.) that the seething of such impure waters doth not purge or purifie them. Pliny (*lib.* 31. *c.* 3.) is of the same tenent; and P. Crescentius, *agricult. lib.* 1. *et lib.* 4. *c.* 11. *et c.* 45. Pamphilius Herilachus, *l.* 4. *de nat. aquarum*, such waters are naught, not to be used, and (by the testimony of [p] Galen) breed *agues, dropsies, pleurisies, splenetick and melancholy passions, hurt the eyes, cause a bad temperature, and ill disposition of the whole body, with bad colour.* This Jobertus stifly maintains, (*Paradox. lib.* 1. *part.* 5,) that it causeth bleer eyes, bad colour, and many loathsome diseases to such as use it. This, which they say, stands with good reason: for, as geographers relate, the water of Astracan breeds worms in such as drink it. [q] Axius, or (as now called) Verduri, the fairest river in Macedonia, makes all cattle black that taste of it. Aliacmon, now Peleca, another stream in Thessaly, turns cattle most part white, *si potui ducas.* I. Aubanus Bohemus referrs that [r] *struma*, or poke of the Bavarians and Styrians, to the nature of their waters, as [s] Munster doth that of the Valesians, in the Alps; and [t] Bodine supposeth the stuttering of some families in Aquitania, about Labden, to proceed from the same cause, *and that the filth is derived from the water to their bodies.* So that they that use filthy, standing, ill-coloured, thick, muddy water, must needs have muddy, ill-coloured, impure, and infirm bodies; and, because the body works upon the mind, they shall have grosser understandings, dull, foggy, melancholy spirits, and be really subject to all manner of infirmities.

To these noxious simples, we may reduce an infinite number of compound, artificial, made dishes, of which our cooks afford us a great variety, as taylors do fashions in our apparel. Such are [u] puddings stuffed with blood, or otherwise composed, baked meats, sowced, indurate meats, fryed, and broiled,

[k] Henricus Abrincensis. [l] Potus tum salubris tum jucundus, l. 1. [m] Galen. l. 1. de san. tuend. Cavendæ sunt aquæ quæ ex stagnis hauriuntur, et quæ turbidæ et male olentes, &c. [n] Innoxium reddit et bene olentem. [o] Contendit hæc vitia coctione non emendari. [p] Lib. de bonitate aquæ. Hydropem auget, febres putridas, splenem, tusses; nocet oculis; malum, habitum corporis et colorem. [q] Mag. Nigritatem inducit, si pecora biberint. [r] Aquæ ex nivibus coactæ strumosos faciunt. [s] Cosmog. l. 3. cap. 36. [t] Method. hist. cap. 5. Balbutiunt Labdoni in Aquitaniâ ob aquas; atque hi morbi ab aquis in corpora derivantur. [u] Edulia ex sanguine et suffocato parta. Hildesheim.

buttered meats, condite, powdered, and over-dryed, [v] all cakes, simnels, buns, cracknels made with butter, spice, &c. fritters, pancakes, pies, salsages, and those several sawces, sharp, or over sweet, of which *scientia popinæ*, (as Seneca calls it) hath served those [w] Apician tricks, and perfumed dishes, which Adrian the Sixth, pope, so much admired in the accounts of his predecessour *Leo decimus;* and which prodigious riot and prodigality have invented in this age. These do generally ingender gross humours, fill the stomach with crudities, and all those inward parts with obstructions. Montanus (*consil.* 22) gives instance in a melancholy Jew, that, by eating such tart sawces, made dishes, and salt meats, with which he was over-much delighted, became melancholy, and was evil affected. Such examples are familiar and common.

Subsect. II.—*Quantity of Dyet a Cause.*

There is not so much harm proceeding from the substance it self of meat, and quality of it, in ill-dressing and preparing, as there is from the quantity, disorder of time and place, unseasonable use of it, [x] intemperance, over-much or over-little taking of it. A true saying it is, *Plures crapula quam gladius;* this gluttony kills more than the sword; this *omnivorantia, et homicida gula*, this all devouring, and murdering gut. And that of [y] Pliny is truer: *simple diet is the best: heaping up of several meats is pernicious, and sawces worse; many dishes bring many diseases.* [z] Avicen cryes out, that *nothing is worse than to feed on many dishes, or to protract the time of meals longer than ordinary; from thence proceed our infirmities; and 'tis the fountain of all diseases, which arise out of the repugnancy of gross humours.* Thence, saith [a] Fernelius, come crudities, wind, oppilations, *cacochymia, plethora, cachexia, bradypepsia;* [b] *hinc subitæ mortes, atque intestata senectus;* suddain death, &c. and what not?

As a lamp is choaked with a multitude of oyl, or a little fire with overmuch wood, quite extinguished; so is the natural heat, with immoderate eating, strangled in the body. *Perniciosa sentina est abdomen insaturabile*, one saith—an insatiable paunch is a pernicious sink, and the fountain of all diseases, both of body and mind. [c] Mercurialis will have it a peculiar cause of this private disease. Solenander (*consil. 5. sect.* 3) illustrates this of Mercurialis, with an example of one so melancholy, *ab intempestivis comissationibus*, unseasonable feasting. [d] Crato confirms as much, in that often cited counsel, 21. *lib.* 2, putting superfluous eating for a main cause. But what need I seek farther for proofs? Hear [e] Hippocrates himself, *lib.* 2, *aphoris.* 10. *Impure bodies, the more they are nourished, the more they are hurt; for the nourishment is putrified with vicious humours.*

And yet, for all this harm, which apparently follows surfetting and drunkenness, see how we luxuriate and rage in this kind. Read what Johannes Stuckius hath written lately of this subject, in his great volumn *De Antiquorum Conviviis*, and of our present age: *quam* [f] *portentosæ cœnæ*, prodigious suppers: [g] *qui, dum invitant ad cœnam, efferunt ad sepulcrum*, what Fagos, Epicures,

[v] Cupedia vero, placentæ, bellaria, commentaque alia curiosa pistorum et coquorum gustui servientium, conciliant morbos tum corpori tum animo insanabiles. Philo Judæus, lib. de victimis. P. Jov. vitâ ejus. [w] As lettice steeped in wine, birds fed with fennel and sugar, as a popes concubine used in Avignion. Stephan. [x] Animæ negotium illa facessit, et de templo Dei immundum stabulum facit. Peletius, 10. c. [y] Lib. 11. c. 52. Homini cibus utilissimus simplex; acervatio ciborum pestifera, et condimenta perniciosa; multos morbos multa fercula ferunt. [z] 31 Dec. 2. c. Nihil deterius quam si tempus justo longius comedendo protrahatur, et varia ciborum genera conjungantur; inde morborum scaturigo, quæ ex repugnantiâ humorum oritur. [a] Path. l. 1. c. 14. [b] Juv. Sat. 6. [c] Nimia repletio ciborum facit melancholicum. [d] Comestio superflua cibi, et portâ quantitas nimia. [e] Impura corpora quanto magis nutris, tanto magis lædis; putrefacit enim alimentum vitiosus humor. [f] Vid. Goelen. de portentosis cœnis, &c. Puteani Com. [g] Amb. lib. de Jeju. cap. 14.

Apicios, Heliogables our times afford? Lucullus ghost walks still; and every man desires to sup in Apollo: Æsops costly dish is ordinarily served up. ——[h] *Magis illa juvant, quæ pluris emuntur:* the dearest cates are best; and 'tis an ordinary thing to bestow twenty or thirty pound on a dish, some thousand crowns upon a dinner. [i] Muley-Hamet, king of Fez and Morocco, spent three pound on the sawce of a capon: it is nothing in our times: we scorn all that is cheap. *We loath the very* [k] *light*, (some of us, as Seneca notes) *because it comes free; and we are offended with the suns heat, and those cool blasts, because we buy them not.* This air we breathe is so common, *we care not for it;* nothing pleaseth but what is dear. And, if we be [l] witty in any thing, it is *ad gulam:* if we study at all, it is *erudito luxu*, to please the palat, and to satisfie the gut. *A cook of old was a base knave* (as [m] Livy complains), *but now a great man in request: cookery is become an art, a noble science: cooks are gentlemen: venter deus.* They wear *their brains in their bellies, and their guts in their heads*, (as [n] Agrippa taxed some parasites of his time) rushing on their own destruction, as if a man should run upon the point of a sword; *usque dum rumpantur, comedunt*: [o] all day, all night, let the physician say what he will—imminent danger and feral diseases are now ready to seize upon them—they will eat till they vomit, (*edunt ut vomant; vomunt ut edant*, saith Seneca; which Dion relates of Vitellius, *Solo transitu ciborum nutriri judicatus;* his meat did pass through, and away) or till they burst again. [p] *Strage animantium ventrem onerant:* and rake over all the world, as so many [q] slaves, belly-gods, and land-serpents; *et totus orbis ventri nimis angustus;* the whole world cannot satisfie their appetite. [r] *Sea, land, rivers, lakes, &c. may not give content to their raging guts.* To make up the mess, what immoderate drinking in every place! *Senem potum pota trahebat anus;* how they flock to the tavern! as if they were *fruges consumere nati*, born to no other end but to eat and drink, (like Offellius Bibulus, that famous Roman parasite, *qui, dum vixit, aut bibit aut minxit*) as so many casks to hold wine; yea, worse than a cask, that marrs wine, and it self is not marred by it. Yet these are brave men; Silenus ebrius was no braver: *et quæ fuerunt vitia, mores sunt;* 'tis now the fashion of our times, an honour: *nunc vero res ista eo rediit* (as Chrysost. serm. 30. in 5. Ephes. comments) *ut effeminatæ ridendæque ignaviæ loco habeatur, nolle inebriari;* 'tis now come to that pass, that he is no gentleman, a very milk-sop, a clown, of no bringing up, that will not drink, fit for no company: he is your only gallant that plays it off finest, no disparagement now to stagger in the streets, reel, rave, &c. but much to his fame and renown; as, in like case, Epidicus told Thesprio his fellow servant, in the [s] poet. *Ædepol! facinus improbum*, one urged; the other replied, *At jam alii fecere idem; erit illi illa res honori:* 'tis now no fault, there be so many brave examples to bear one out; 'tis a credit to have a strong brain, and carry his liquor well: the sole contention, who can drink most, and fox his fellow soonest. 'Tis the *summum bonum* of our *tradesmen*, their felicity, life and soul, (*tantâ dulcedine affectant*, saith Pliny, *lib.* 14. *cap.* 12, *ut magna pars non aliud vitæ præmium intelligat*) their chief comfort, to be merry together in an alehouse or tavern, as our modern Muscovites do in their mede-inns, and Turks in their coffee-houses, which much resemble our taverns: they will labour hard all day long, to be drunk at night, and spend *totius anni labores*

[h] Juvenal. [i] Guicciardin. [k] Na. quæst. 4. ca. ult. fastidio est lumen gratuitum; dolet quod solem, quod spiritum, emere non possimus, quod hic aër, non emptus, ex facili, &c. adeo nihil placet, nisi quod carum est. [l] Ingeniosi ad gulam. [m] Olim vile mancipium, nunc in omni æstimatione: nunc ars haberi cœpta, &c. [n] Epist. 28. l. 7. quorum in ventre ingenium, in patinis, &c. [o] In lucem cœnat Sertorius. [p] Seneca. [q] Mancipia gulæ, dapes non sapore sed sumptu æstimantes. Seneca, consol. ad Helviam. [r] Sævientia guttura satiare non possunt fluvii et maria. Æneas Sylvius, de miser. curial. [s] Plautus.

(as St. Ambrose adds) in a tipling feast; convert day into night, as Seneca taxeth some in his times, *pervertunt officia noctis et lucis;* when we rise, they commonly go to bed, like our Antipodes,

> Nosque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,
> Illis sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.

So did Petronius in Tacitus, Heliogabalus in Lampridius,

> ——— [t] Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
> Mane; diem totum stertebat.———

Smyndiris the Sybarite never saw the sun rise or set, so much as once in twenty years. Verres, against whom Tully so much inveighs, in winter he never was *extra tectum, vix extra lectum*, never almost out of bed, [u] still wenching, and drinking; so did he spend his time, and so do myriads in our dayes. They have *gymnasia bibonum*, schools and rendezvous; these Centaures and Lapithæ toss pots and bowls, as so many balls, invent new tricks, as salsages, anchoves, tobacco, caveare, pickled oysters, herrings, fumadoes, &c. innumerable salt meats to increase their appetite, and study how to hurt themselves by taking antidotes, [v] *to carry their drink the better;* [x] *and, when naught else serves, they will go forth, or be conveyed out, to empty their gorge, that they may return to drink afresh.* They make laws, *insanas leges, contra bibendi fallacias*, and [y] brag of it when they have done, crowning that man that is soonest gone, as their drunken predecessours have done, ([z] *quid ego video? Ps. Cum coronâ Pseudolum ebrium tuum*) and, when they are dead, will have a can of wine, with [a] Marons old woman, to be engraven on their tombs. So they triumph in villany, and justifie their wickedness, with Rabelais, that French Lucian, "drunkenness is better for the body than physick, because there be more old drunkards, than old physicians." Many such frothy arguments they have, [b] inviting and encouraging others to do as they do, and love them dearly for it (no glew like to that of good fellowship.) So did Alcibiades in Greece, Nero, Bonosus, Heliogabalus in Rome (or Alegabalus rather, as he was stiled of old, as [c] Ignatius proves out of some old coyns); so do many great men still, as [d] Heresbachius observes. When a prince drinks till his eyes stare, like Bitias in the poet,

> ———(* ille impiger hausit
> Spumantem pateram)———

and comes off clearly, sound trumpets, fife and drums, the spectators will applaud him; *the* [f] *bishop himself*, (if he belye them not) *with his chaplain, will stand by, and do as much; O dignum principe haustum!* 'twas done like a prince. *Our Dutchmen invite all comers with a pail and a dish: velut infundibula, integras obbas exhauriunt, et in monstrosis poculis ipsi monstrosi monstrosius epotant, making barrels of their bellies. Incredibile dictu*, (as [g] one of their own countrymen complains) [h] *quantum liquoris immodestissima gens capiat, &c. How they love a man that will be drunk, crown him and honour him for it*, hate him that will not pledge him, stab him, kill him: a most intolerable offence, and not to be forgiven. [i] *He is a mortal enemy that will not drink with him*, as Munster relates of the Saxons. So, in Poland, he is the best servitor, and the honestest fellow, (saith Alexander Gaguinus) [j] *that drinketh most healths to the honour of his*

[t] Hor. [u] Diei brevitas conviviis, noctis longitudo stupris, conterebatur. [v] Et, quo plus capiant, irritamenta excogitantur. [x] Foras portantur, ut ad convivium reportentur; repleri ut exhauriant, et exhaurire ut bibant. Ambros. [y] Ingentia vasa, velut ad ostentationem, &c. [z] Plautus. [a] Lib. 3. Anthol. c. 20. [b] Gratiam conciliant potando. [c] Notis ad Cæsares. [d] Lib. de educandis principum liberis. [e] Virg. [f] Idem. strenui potoris episcopi sacellanus, cum ingentem pateram exhaurit princeps. [g] Bohemus, in Saxoniâ. Adeo immoderate et immodeste ab ipsis bibitur, ut, in compotationibus suis, non cyathis solum et cantharis sat infundere possint, sed impletum mulctrale apponant, et scutellâ injectâ hortantur quemlibet ad libitum potare. [h] Dictu incredibile, quantum hujusce liquoris immodesta gens capiat: plus potantem amicissimum habent, et serto coronant, inimicissimum e contra qui non vult, et cæde et fustibus expiant. [i] Qui potare recusat, hostis habetur; et cæde nonnumquam res expiatur. [j] Qui melius bibit pro salute domini, melior habetur minister.

master; he shall be rewarded as a good servant, and held the bravest fellow, that carries his liquor best; when as a brewers horse will bear much more than any sturdy drinker; yet, for his noble exploits in this kind, he shall be accounted a most valiant man; for [k] *tam inter epulas fortis vir esse potest ac in bello,* as much valour is to be found in feasting, as in fighting; and some of our city captains, and carpet knights, will make this good, and prove it. Thus they many times wilfully pervert the good temperature of their bodies, stifle their wits, strangle nature, and degenerate into beasts.

Some again are in the other extream, and draw this mischief on their heads by too ceremonious and strict diet, being over-precise, cockney-like, and curious in their observation of meats, times, as that *Medicina statica* prescribes—just so many ounces at dinner (which Lessius enjoins), so much at supper; not a little more, nor a little less, of such meat, and at such hours; a dyet drink in the morning, cock-broth, China-broth, at dinner, plumb-broth, a chicken, a rabbet, rib of a rack of mutton, wing of a capon, the merry-thought of a hen, &c.—to sounder bodies this is too nice and most absurd. Others offend in over-much fasting: pining a dayes, (saith [l] Guianerius) and waking a nights, as many Moors and Turks in these our times do. *Anchorites, monks, and the rest of that superstitious rank,* (as the same Guianerius witnesseth, *that he hath often seen to have hapned in his time*) *through immoderate fasting, have been frequently mad.* Of such men, belike, Hippocrates speaks, (1 *Aphor.* 5) when as he saith, [m] *they more offend in too sparing diet, and are worse damnified, than they that feed liberally, and are ready to surfeit.*

Subsect. III.—*Custom of Dyet, Delight, Appetite, Necessity, how they cause or hinder.*

No rule is so general, which admits not some exception; to this therefore which hath been hitherto said, (for I shall otherwise put most men out of commons) and those inconveniences which proceed from the substance of meats, an intemperate or unseasonable use of them, custom somewhat detracts, and qualifies, according to that of Hippocrates, 2 *Aphoris.* 50. [n] *Such things as we have been long accustomed to, though they be evil in their own nature, yet they are less offensive.* Otherwise it might well be objected, that it were a meer [o] tyranny to live after those strict rules of physick; for custom [p] doth alter nature it self; and, to such as are used to them, it makes bad meats wholsome, and unseasonable times to cause no disorder. Cider and perry are windy drinks; (so are all fruits windy in themselves, cold most part) yet, in some shires of [q] England, Normandy in France, Guipuscova in Spain; 'tis their common drink; and they are no whit offended with it. In Spain, Italy, and Africk, they live most on roots, raw herbs, camels [r] milk, and it agrees well with them; which to a stranger will cause much grievance. In Wales, *lacticiniis vescuntur,* (as Humfrey Lluyd confesseth, a Cambro-Brittain himself, in his elegant epistle to Abraham Ortelius) they live most on white meats; in Holland, on fish, roots, [s] butter; and so at this day in Greece, as [t] Bellonius observes, they had much rather feed on fish than flesh. With us, *maxima pars victûs in carne consistit;* we feed on flesh most part, (saith [u] Polydor Virgil) as all northern

[k] Græc. poëta apud Stobæum, ser. 18. [l] Qui dedie jejunant, et nocte vigilant, facile cadunt in melancholiam; et qui naturæ modum excedunt, c. 5. tract. 15. c. 2. Longâ famis tolerantiâ, ut iis sæpe accidit qui tanto cum fervore Deo servire cupiunt per jejunium, quod maniaci efficiantur, ipse vidi sæpe. [m] In tenui victu agri delinquunt; ex quo fit ut majori afficiantur detrimento, majorque fit error tenui quam pleniore victu. [n] Quæ longo tempore consueta sunt, etiamsi deteriora, minus in assuetis molestare solent. [o] Qui medice vivit, misere vivit. [p] Consuetudo altera natura. [q] Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire. [r] Leo Afer. l. 1. solo camelorum lacte contenti, nil præterea deliciarum ambiunt. [s] Flandri vinum butyro dilutum bibunt (nauseo referens): ubique butyrum, inter omnia fercula et bellaria, locum obtinet. Steph. Præfat. Herod. [t] Delectantur Græci *piscibus magis quam* carnibus. [u] Lib. 1. hist. Ang.

countreys do; and it would be very offensive to us to live after their dyet, or they to live after ours; we drink beer, they wine: they use oyl, we butter: we in the north are [v] great eaters, they most sparing in those hotter countreys: and yet they and we, following our own customs, are well pleased. An Æthiopian of old, seeing an Europæan eat bread, wondred, *quomodo stercoribus vescentes viveremus*, how we could eat such kinds of meats: so much differed his countrey-men from ours in dyet, that (as mine [w] author infers), *si quis illorum victum apud nos æmulari vellet;* if any man should so feed with us, it would be all one to nourish, as *cicuta*, *aconitum*, or *hellebor* it self. At this day, in China, the common people live, in a manner, altogether on roots and herbs; and, to the wealthiest, horse, ass, mule, dogs, cat-flesh is as delightsom as the rest: so [x] Mat. Riccius the Jesuit relates, who lived many years amongst them. The Tartars eat raw meat, and most commonly [y] horse-flesh, drink milk and blood, as the Nomades of old—(*Et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino*). They scoff at our Europæans for eating bread, which they call tops of weeds, and horse-meat, not fit for men; and yet Scaliger accounts them a sound and witty nation, living an hundred years; even in the civilest countrey of them, they do thus, as Benedict the Jesuite observed in his travels, from the great Mogors court by land to Paquin, which Riccius contends to be the same with Cambulu in Cataia. In Scandia, their bread is usually dryed fish, and so likewise in the Shetland Isles; and their other fare, as in Island, (saith [a] Dithmarus Bleskenius) butter, cheese, and fish; their drink, water, their lodging on the ground. In America, in many places, their bread is roots, their meat palmitos, pinas, potatos, &c. and such fruits. There be of them, too, that familiarly drink [b] salt sea water, all their lives, eat [c] raw meat, grass, and that with delight: with some, fish, serpents, spiders; and in divers places they [d] eat mans flesh raw, and rosted, even the emperour [e] Metazuma himself. In some coasts again, [f] one tree yields them coquernuts, meat and drink, fire-fuel, apparel (with his leaves), oyl, vinegar, cover for houses, &c. and yet these men, going naked, feeding coarse, live commonly a hundred years, are seldom or never sick; all which dyet our physicians forbid. In Westphaling, they feed most part on fat meats and wourts, knuckle deep, and call it [g] *cerebrum Jovis;* in the Low Countreys, with roots; in Italy, frogs and snails are used. The Turks, saith Busbequius, delight most in fryed meats. In Muscovy, garlick and onions are ordinary meat and sauce, which would be pernicious to such as are unaccustomed to them, delightsome to others; and all is [h] because they have been brought up unto it. Husbandmen, and such as labour, can eat fat bacon, salt gross meat, hard cheese, &c. (*O dura messorum ilia!*) coarse bread at all times, go to bed and labour on a full stomach; which, to some idle persons, would be present death, and is against the rules of physick; so that custom is all in all. Our travellers [i] find this by common experience: when they come in far countreys, and use their dyet, they are suddenly offended; as our Hollanders and Englishmen, when they touch upon the coasts of Africk, those Indian capes and islands, are commonly

[v] P. Jovius descrip. Britonum. They sit, eat and drink all day at dinner in Island, Muscovy, and those northern parts. [w] Suidas, vit. Herod. nihilo cum eo melius quam siquis cicutam, aconitum, &c. [x] Expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 3. hortensium herbarum et olerum apud Sinas quam apud nos longe frequentior usus; complures quippe de vulgo reperias nullâ aliâ re, vel tenuitatis vel religionis causâ, vescentes. Equos, mulos, asellos, &c. æque fere vescuntur, ac pabula omnia, Mat. Riccius, lib. 5. c. 13. [y] Tartari mulis, equis vescuntur, et crudis carnibus, et fruges contemnunt, dicentes, hoc jumentorum pabulum et boum, non hominum. [a] Islandiæ descriptione. Victus eorum butyro, lacte, caseo consistit; pisces loco panis habent; potus aqua, aut serum; sic vivunt sine medicinâ multi ad annos 200. [b] Laet. occident. Ind. descrip. l. 11. c. 10. Aquam marinam biberi sueti absque noxâ. [c] Davies second voyage. [d] Patagones. [e] Benzo et Fer. Cortesius, lib. novus orbis inscrip. [f] Linscoften, c. 56. palmæ instar, totius orbis arboribus longe præstantior. [g] Lips. ep. [h] Teneris assuescere multum. [i] Repentinæ mutationes noxam pariunt. Hippocrat. aphorism. 21. ep. 6. sect. 3.

molested with calentures, fluxes, and much distempered by reason of their fruits. [j] *Peregrina, etsi suavia, solent vescentibus perturbationes insignes adferre;* strange meats, though pleasant, cause notable alterations and distempers. On the other side, use or custom mitigates or makes all good again. Mithridates, by often use, (which Pliny wonders at) was able to drink poyson; and a maid, (as Curtius records) sent to Alexander from king Porus, was brought up with poyson from her infancy. The Turks (saith Bellonius, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 15) eat opium familiarly, a dram at once, which we dare not take in grains. [k] Garcius ab Horto writes of one whom he saw at Goa in the East Indies, that took ten drams of opium in three dayes; and yet *consulto loquebatur*, spake understandingly; so much can custom do. [l] Theophrastus speaks of a shepherd that could eat hellebor in substance. And therefore Cardan concludes (out of Galen) *consuetudinem utcunque ferendam, nisi valde malam;* custom is however to be kept, except it be extreme bad. He adviseth all men to keep their old customs, and that by the authority of [m] Hippocrates himself: *dandum aliquid tempori, ætati, regioni, consuetudini*, and therefore to [n] continue as they began, be it diet, bath, exercise, &c. or whatsoever else.

Another exception is delight, or appetite to such and such meats. Though they be hard of digestion, melancholy; yet as (Fuchsius excepts, *cap.* 6. *lib. Instit. sect.* 2) [o] *the stomach doth readily digest, and willingly entertain such meats we love most, and are pleasing to us, abhors on the other side such as we distaste;* which Hippocrates confirms, *Aphoris.* 2. 38. Some cannot endure cheese, out of a secret antipathy, or see a roasted duck, which to others is a [p] delightsome meat.

The last exception is necessity, poverty, want, hunger, which drives men many times to do that which otherwise they are loath, cannot endure, and thankfully to accept of it; as beverage in ships, and, in sieges of great cities, to feed on dogs, cats, rats, and men themselves. Three out-laws, in [q] Hector Boëthius, being driven to their shifts, did eat raw flesh, and flesh of such fowl as they could catch, in one of the Hebrides, for some few moneths. These things do mitigate or disannul that which hath been said of melancholy meats, and make it more tolerable; but, to such as are wealthy, live plenteously, at ease, may take their choice, and refrain if they will, these viands are to be forborn, if they be inclined to or suspect melancholy, as they tender their healths: otherwise, if they be intemperate, or disordered in their dyet, at their peril be it. *Qui monet, amat. Ave, et cave.*

Subsect. IV.—*Retention and Evacuation a cause, and how.*

Of retention and evacuation there be divers kinds, which are either concomitant, assisting, or sole causes many times of melancholy. [r] Galen reduceth defect and abundance to this head; others, [s] *all that is separated or remains.*

Costiveness.] In the first rank of these, I may well reckon up costiveness, and keeping in of our ordinary excrements, which, as it often causeth other diseases, so this of melancholy in particular. [t] Celsus (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 3) saith *it produceth inflammation of the head, dulness, cloudiness, head-ach, &c.* Prosper Calenus (*lib. de atrâ bile*) will have it distemper not the organ only, [u] *but the mind itself by troubling of it:* and sometimes it is a sole

[j] Bruerinus, l. 1. c. 23. [k] Simpl. med. c. 4. l. 1. [l] Heurnius, l. 3. c. 19. prax. med. [m] Aphoris. 17. [n] In dubiis consuetudinem sequatur adolescens, et in cœptis perseveret. [o] Qui cum voluptate assumuntur cibi, ventriculus avidius complectitur, expeditiusque concoquit; et quæ displicent, aversatur. [p] Nothing against a good stomach, as the saying is. [q] Lib. 7. Hist. Scot. [r] 30. artis. [s] Quæ excernuntur aut subsistunt. [t] Ex ventre suppresso, inflammationes, capitis dolores, caligines crescunt. [u] Excrementa retenta mentis agitationem parere solent.

cause of madness, as you may read in the first book of [v] Skenkius his Medicinal Observations. A young merchant, going to Nordeling fair in Germany, for ten dayes space never went to stool: at his return, he was grievously melancholy, [w] thinking that he was robbed, and would not be perswaded, but that all his money was gone. His friends thought that he had some *philtrum* given him; but Cnelinus, a physician, being sent for, found his [x] costiveness alone to be the cause, and thereupon gave him a clister, by which he was speedily recovered. Trincavellius (*consult.* 35. *lib.* 1) saith as much of a melancholy lawyer, to whom he administered physick; and Rodericus a Fonseca (*consult.* 85. *tom.* 2.) [y] of a patient of his, that for eight dayes was bound, and therefore melancholy affected. Other retentions and evacuations there are, not simply necessary, but at some times; as Fernelius accounts them (*Path. lib.* 1. *cap.* 15) as suppression of emrods, monethly issues in women, bleeding at nose, immoderate, or no use at all of Venus; or any other ordinary issues.

[z] Detention of emrods, or monethly issues, Villanovanus (*Breviar. lib.* 1. *cap.* 18) Arculanus, (*cap.* 16. *in* 9. *Rasis*) Vittorius Faventinus, (*pract. mag. Tract.* 2. *cap.* 15.) Bruel, &c. put for ordinary causes. Fuchsius (*l.* 2. *sect.* 5. *c.* 30) goes farther, and saith, [a] *that many men, unseasonably cured of the emrods, have been corrupted with melancholy; seeking to avoid Scylla, they fall into Charybdis.* Galen (*l. de hum. commen.* 3. *ad text.* 26) illustrates this by an example of Lucius Martius, whom he cured of madness, contracted by this means; and [b] Skenkius hath other two instances of two melancholy and mad women, so caused from the suppression of their moneths. The same may be said of bleeding at the nose, if it be suddenly stopt, and have been formerly used, as [c] Villanovanus urgeth; and [d] Fuchsius (*lib.* 2. *sect.* 2. *c.* 33) stifly maintains, *that without great danger, such an issue may not be stayed.*

Venus omitted produceth like effects. Matthiolus (*epist.* 5. *l. penult.*) [e] *avoucheth of his knowledge, that some through bashfulness abstained from venery, and thereupon became very heavy and dull; and some others, that were very timorous, melancholy, and beyond all measure sad.* Oribasius (*Med. Collect. l.* 6. *c.* 37) speaks of some, [f] *That, if they do not use carnal copulation, are continually troubled with heaviness and head-ach; and some in the same case by intermission of it.* Not-use of it hurts many; Arculanus (*c.* 6. *in* 9. *Rasis*) and Magninus (*part.* 3. *cap.* 5) think, because [g] *it sends up poisoned vapours to the brain and heart.* And so doth Galen himself hold, that, if this *natural seed be over-long kept* (*in some parties*) *it turns to poison.* Hieronymus Mercurialis, in his chapter of Melancholy, cites it for an especial cause of this malady, [h] *priapismus, satyriasis, &c.* Haliabbas (*5 Theor. c.* 36) reckons up this and many other diseases. Villanovanus (*Breviar. l.* 1. *c.* 18) saith, he *knew* [i] *many monks and widows, grievously troubled with melancholy, and that from this sole cause.* [k] Ludovicus Mercatus (*l.* 2. *de mulierum affect. cap.* 4) and Rodericus a Castro (*de morbis mulier. l.* 2. *c.* 3) treat largely of this subject, and will have it produce a peculiar kind of melancholy, in stale maids, nuns, and widows, *ob suppressionem mensium et Veneram omissam, timidæ, mœstæ, anxiæ, vere-*

[v] Cap. de mel. [w] Tam delirus, ut vix se hominem agnosceret. [x] Alvus astrictus caussa. [y] Per octo dies alvum siccum habet, et nihil reddit. [z] Sive per nares, sive hæmorrhoïdes. [a] Multi, intempestive ab hæmorrhoidibus curati, melancholiâ correpti sunt. Incidit in Scyllam, &c. [b] Lib. 1. de Maniâ. [c] Breviar. l. 7. c. 18. [d] Non sine magno incommodo ejus, cui sanguis a naribus promanat, noxii sanguinis vacuatio impediri potest. [e] Novi quosdam, præ pudore a coitu abstinentes, torpidos pigrosque factos; nonnullos etiam melancholicos præter modum, mœstos, timidosque [f] Nonnulli, nisi coëant assidue capitis gravitate infestantur. Dicit se novisse quosdam tristes, et ita factos ex intermissione Veneris. [g] Vapores venenatos mittit sperma ad cor et cerebrum. Sperma, plus diu retentum, transit in venenum. [h] Graves producit corporis et animi ægritudines. [i] Ex spermate supra modum retento, monachos et viduas melancholicos sæpe fieri vidi. [k] Melancholia orta a vasis seminariis in utero.

cundæ, suspiciosæ, languentes, consilii inopes, cum summâ vitæ et rerum meliorum desperatione, &c. they are melancholy in the highest degree, and all for want of husbands. Ælianus Montaltus (*cap.* 37. *de melanchol.*) confirms as much out of Galen; so doth Wierus. Christopherus a Vega (*de art. med. lib.* 3. *cap.* 14) relates many such examples of men and women, that he had seen so melancholy. Felix Plater, in the first book of his Observations, [l] *tells a story of an antient gentleman in Alsatia, that married a young wife, and was not able to pay his debts in that kind for a long time together, by reason of his several infirmities. But she, because of this inhibition of Venus, fell into a horrible fury, and desired every one that came to see her, by words, looks, and gestures, to have to do with her, &c.* [m] Bernardus Paternus, a physician, saith, he knew *a good honest godly priest, that, because he would neither willingly marry, nor make use of the stews, fell into grievous melancholy fits.* Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2) hath such another example of an Italian melancholy priest, in a consultation had anno 1580. Jason Pratensis gives instance in a married man, that, from his wifes death abstaining, *after* [n] *marriage, became exceeding melancholy;* Rodericus a Fonseca, in a young man so mis-affected, *tom.* 2. *consult.* 85. To these you may add, if you please, that conceited tale of a Jew, so visited in like sort, and so cured, out of Poggius Florentinus.

Intemperate Venus is, all out, as bad in the other extream. Galen (*l.* 6. *de morbis popular. sect.* 5. *text.* 26) reckons up melancholy amongst those diseases which are [o] *exasperated by venery:* so doth Avicenna, (2. 3. *c.* 11) Oribasius, (*loc. citat.*) Ficinus (*lib.* 2. *de sanitate tuendâ*) Marsilius Cognatus, Montaltus, (*cap.* 27) Guianerius, (*Tract.* 3, *cap.* 2.) Magninus, (*cap.* 5. *part.* 3) [p] gives the reason, because [q] *it infrigidates and dryes up the body, consumes the spirits; and would therefore have all such as are cold and dry, to take heed of and to avoid it, as a mortal enemy.* Jacchinus (*in* 9 *Rasis, cap.* 15) ascribes the same cause, and instanceth in a patient of his, that married a young wife in a hot summer, [r] *and so dryed himself with chamber-work, that he became, in short space, from melancholy, mad:* he cured him by moistning remedies. The like example I find in Lælius a Fonte Eugubinus, (*consult.* 129) of a gentleman of Venice, that, upon the same occasion, was first melancholy, afterwards mad. Read in him the story at large.

Any other evacuation stopped will cause it, as well as these above-named, be it bile, [s] ulcer, issue, &c. Hercules de Saxoniâ, (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 16) and Gordonius, verifie this out of their experience. They saw one wounded in the head, who, as long as the sore was open, *lucida habuit mentis intervalla*, was well; but, when it was stopped, *rediit melancholia*, his melancholy fit seized on him again.

Artificial evacuations are much like in effect, as hot-houses, baths, bloodletting, purging, unseasonably and immoderately used. [t] Baths dry too much, if used in excess, be they natural or artificial, and offend, extream hot, or cold; [u] one dries, the other refrigerates, over-much. Montanus (*consil.* 137) saith, they over-heat the liver. Joh. Struthius (*Stigmat. artis, l.* 4. *c.* 9) contends, [v] *that if one stay longer than ordinary at the bath, go in too*

[l] Nobilis senex Alsatus juvenem uxorem duxit: at ille, colico dolore et multis morbis correptus, non potuit præstare officium mariti, vix inito matrimonio ægrotus. Illa in horrendum furorem incidit, ob Venerem cohibitam, ut omnium eam invisentium congressum, voce, vultu, gestu, expeteret: et, quum non consentirent, molossos Anglicanos magno expetiit clamore. [m] Vidi sacerdotem optimum et pium, qui, quod nollet uti Venere, in melancholica symptomata incidit. [n] Ob abstinentiam a concubitu incidit in melancholiam. [o] Quæ a coitu exacerbantur. [p] Superfluum coitum caussam ponunt. [q] Exsiccat corpus, spiritus consumit, &c. caveant ab hoc sicci, velut inimico mortali. [r] Ita exsiccatus, ut e melancholico statim fuerit insanus; ab humectantibus curatus. [s] Ex cauterio et ulcere exsiccato. [t] Gord. c. 10. lib. 1. discommends cold baths, as noxious. [u] Siccum reddunt corpus. [v] Si quis longius moretur in iis, aut nimis frequenter aut importune utatur, humores putrefacit.

oft, or at unseasonable times, he putrifies the humours in his body. To this purpose writes Magninus (*l.* 3. *c.* 5). Guianerius (*Tract.* 15. *c.* 21) utterly disallows all hot baths in melancholy adust. [x] ***I saw*** (saith he) ***a man that laboured of the gout, who, to be freed of his melancholy, came to the bath, and was instantly cured of his disease, but got another worse, and that was madness.*** But this judgement varies, as the humour doth, in hot or cold. Baths may be good for one melancholy man, bad for another: that which will cure it in this party, may cause it in a second.

Phlebotomy.] Phlebotomy, many times neglected, may do much harm to the body, when there is a manifest redundance of bad humours and melancholy blood; and when these humours heat and boyl, if this be not used in time, the parties affected, so inflamed, are in great danger to be mad; but if it be unadvisedly, importunely, immoderately, used, it doth as much harm by refrigerating the body, dulling the spirits, and consuming them. As Joh. [y] Curio, in his tenth chapter, well reprehends, such kind of letting blood doth more hurt than good: [z] ***the humours rage much more than they did before; and is so far from avoiding melancholy, that it increaseth it, and weakneth the sight.*** [a] Prosper Calenus observes as much of all phlebotomy, except they keep a very good diet after it: yea, and, as [b] Leonartus Jacchinus speaks out of his own experience, [c] ***the blood is much blacker to many men after their letting of blood, than it was at first.*** For this cause, belike, Sallust, Salvinianus (*l.* 2. *c.* 1) will admit or hear of no blood-letting at all in this disease, except it be manifest it proceeds from blood. He was (it appears, by his own words in that place) master of an hospital of mad men, [d] ***and found, by long experience, that this kind of evacuation, either in head, arm, or any other part, did more harm than good.*** To this opinion of his, [e] Felix Plater is quite opposite: *though some wink at, disallow, and quite contradict, all phlebotomy in melancholy, yet by long experience I have found innumerable so saved, after they had been twenty, nay, sixty times let blood, and to live happily after it. It was an ordinary thing of old, in Galens time, to take at once from such men six pound of blood, which we now dare scarce take in ounces: sed viderint medici:* great books are written of this subject.

Purging upward and downward, in abundance of bad humours omitted, may be for the worst; so likewise, as in the precedent, if over-much, too frequent or violent, it [f] weakneth their strength, saith Fuchsius (*l.* 2. *sect.* 2. *c.* 17); or, if they be strong or able to endure physick, yet it brings them to an ill habit; they make their bodies no better than apothecaries shops; this, and such like infirmities, must needs follow.

Subsect. V.—*Bad Air a cause of Melancholy.*

Air is a cause of great moment, in producing this or any other disease, being that it is still taken into our bodies by respiration, and our more inner parts. [g] ***If it be impure and foggy, it dejects the spirits, and causeth diseases by infection of the heart,*** as Paulus hath it (*lib.* 1. *c.* 49), Avicenna, (*l.* 1) Gal. (*de san. tuendâ*), Mercurialis, Montaltus, &c. [h] Fernelius saith, *a thick air thickneth the blood and humours.* [i] Lemnius reckons up two

[x] Ego anno superiore quemdam guttosum vidi adustum, qui, ut liberaretur de guttâ, ad balnea accessit, et, de guttâ liberatus, maniacus factus est. [y] On Schola Salernitana. [z] Calefactio et ebullitio per venas incisionem magis sæpe incitatur et augetur; majore impetu humores per corpus discurrunt. [a] Lib. de flatulentâ Melancholiâ. Frequens sanguinis missio corpus extenuat. [b] In 9. Rhasis. Atram bilem parit, et visum debilitat. [c] Multo nigrior spectatur sanguis post dies quosdam, quam fuit ab initio. [d] Non laudo eos qui in desipientiâ docent secandam esse venam frontis, quia spiritus debilitantur inde, et ego longâ experientiâ observavi in proprio xenodochio, quod desipientes ex phlebotomiâ magis læduntur, et magis desipiunt; et melancholici sæpe fiunt inde pejores. [e] De mentis alienat. cap. 2. etsi multos hoc improbâsse sciam, innumeros hac ratione sanatos longâ observatione cognovi, qui vigesies sexagies venas tundendo, &c. [f] Vires debilitat. [g] Impurus aër spiritus dejicit; infecto corde gignit morbos. [h] Sanguinem densat, et humores, P. 1. c. 13. [i] Lib. 3. cap. 3.

main things, most profitable and most pernicious to our bodies—air and diet: and this peculiar disease nothing sooner causeth (j Jubertus holds) *than the air wherein we breathe and live.* k Such as is the air, such be our spirits; and, as our spirits, such are our humours. It offends, commonly, if it be too l hot and dry, thick, fuliginous, cloudy, blustering, or a tempestuous air. Bodine (in his fifth book *de repub. cap.* 1. *et cap.* 5. of his Method of History) proves that hot countreys are most troubled with melancholy, and that there are therefore in Spain, Africk, and Asia Minor, great numbers of mad men, insomuch, that they are compelled, in all cities of note, to build peculiar hospitals for them. Leo m Afer (*lib* 3 *de Fessâ urbe*), Ortelius, and Zuinger confirm as much. They are ordinarily so cholerick in their speeches, that scarce two words pass without railing or chiding in common talk, and often quarrelling in their streets. n Gordonius will have every man take notice of it: *Note this* (saith he) *that, in hot countreys, it is far more familiar than in cold:* although this we have now said be not continually so; for, as o Acosta truly saith, under the æquator it self, is a most temperate habitation, wholsom air, a paradise of pleasure: the leaves ever green, cooling showres. But it holds in such as are intemperately hot, as p Johannes a Meggen found in Cyprus, others in Malta, Apulia, and the q Holy Land, where, at some seasons of the year, is nothing but dust, their rivers dryed up, the air scorching hot, and earth inflamed; insomuch that many pilgrims, going barefoot, for devotion sake, from Joppa to Jerusalem upon the hot sands, often run mad, or else quite overwhelmed with sand, *profundis arenis*, as in many parts of Africk, Arabia Deserta, Bactriana, now Charassan, when the west wind blows, r *involuti arenis transeuntes necantur.* s Hercules de Saxoniâ, a professor in Venice, gives this cause, why so many Venetian women are melancholy, *quod diu sub sole degant*, they tarry too long in the sun. Montanus (*consil.* 21,) amongst other causes, assigns this, why that Jew his patient was mad, *quod tam multum exposuit se calori et frigori;* he exposed himself so much to heat and cold. And, for that reason, in Venice, there is little stirring in those brick-paved streets in summer about noon: they are most part then asleep; as they are likewise in the great Mogors countreys, and all over the East Indies. At Aden, in Arabia, as t Ludovicus Vertomannus relates in his travels, they keep their markets in the night, to avoid extremity of heat; and in Ormus, like cattle in a pasture, people of all sorts lye up to the chin in water all day long. At Braga in Portugal, Burgos in Castile, Messina in Sicily, all over Spain and Italy, their streets are most part narrow, to avoid the sun-beams. The Turks wear great turbans, *ad fugandos solis radios*, to refract the sun-beams; and much inconvenience that hot air of Bantam in Java yields to our men, that sojourn there for traffick: where it is so hot, u *that they that are sick of the pox, lye commonly bleaching in the sun, to dry up their sores.* Such a complaint I read of those Isles of Cape Verde, fourteen degrees from the æquator: they do *male audire:* v one calls them the unhealthiest clime of the world, for fluxies, fevers, frenzies, calentures, which commonly seize on sea-faring men that touch at them, and all by reason of a hot distemperature of the air. The hardiest men are offended with this heat; and stiffest clowns cannot resist it, as Constantine affirms, *Agricult. l.* 2. *c.* 45. They that are naturally born in such

j Lib. de quartanâ. Ex aëre ambiente contrahitur humor melancholicus. k Qualis aër, talis spiritus; et cujusmodi spiritus, humores. l Ælianus Montaltus, c. 11. calidus et siccus, frigidus et siccus, paludinosus, crassus. m Multa hic in xenodochiis fanaticorum millia, quæ strictissime catenata servantur. n Lib. med. part. 2 c. 19. Intellige, quod in calidis regionibus frequenter accidit mania, in frigidis autem tarde. o Lib. 2. p Hodopericon, c. 7. q Apulia æstivo calore maximè fervet, ita ut ante finem Maii pene exusta sit. r Maginus, Pers. s Pantheo, seu Pract. med. l. c. 16. Venetæ mulieres, quæ diu sub sole vivunt, aliquando melancholicæ evadunt. t Navig. l. 2. c. 4. commercia nocte, horâ secundâ, ob nimios, qui sæviunt interdiu, æstus, exercent. u Morbo Gallico laborantes exponunt ad solem, ut morbos exsiccent. v Sir Rich. Haukins, in his Observations, sect. 13.

air, may not [w] endure it, as Niger records of some part of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbecha; *quibusdam in locis sævienti æstu adeo subjecta est, ut pleraque animalia fervore solis et cœli extinguantur;* 'tis so hot there in some places, that men of the countrey and cattle are killed with it; and [x] Adricomius, of Arabia Felix, by reason of myrrhe, frankincense, and hot spices there growing, the air is so obnoxious to their brains, that the very inhabitants at some times cannot abide it, much less weaklings and strangers. [y] Anatus Lusitanus, (*cent.* 1. *curat.* 45) reports of a young maid, that was one Vincent a curriers daughter, some thirty years of age, that would wash her hair in the heat of the day (in July) and so let it dry in the sun, [z] *to make it yellow; but by that means, tarrying too long in the heat, she inflamed her head, and made her self mad.*

Cold air, in the other extream, is almost as bad as hot; and so doth Montaltus esteem of it (*c.* 11) if it be dry withal. In those northern countreys, the people are therefore generally dull, heavy, and many witches; which (as I have before quoted) Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus, Baptista Porta, ascribe to melancholy. But these cold climes are more subject to natural melancholy (not this artificial) which is cold and dry; for which cause [a] Mercurius Britannicus, belike, puts melancholy men to inhabit just under the pole. The worst of the three is a [b] thick, cloudy, misty, foggy air, or such as comes from fens, moorish grounds, lakes, muckhills, draughts, sinks, where any carkasses, or carrion lyes, or from whence any stinking fulsom smell comes. Galen, Avicenna, Mercurialis, new and old physicians, hold that such air is unwholsom, and ingenders melancholy, plagues, and what not? [c] Alexandretta, an haven town in the Mediterranean sea, Saint John de Ullua, an haven in Nova-Hispania, are much condemned for a bad air, so as Durazzo in Albania, Lithuania, Ditmarsh, Pomptinæ paludes in Italy, the territories about Pisa, Ferrara, &c. Rumney marsh with us, the hundreds in Essex, the fens in Lincolnshire. Cardan (*de rerum varietate, l.* 17. *c.* 96) finds fault with the site of those rich and most populous cities in the Low Countreys, as Bruges, Gant, Amsterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, &c.: the air is bad, and so at Stockholm in Sweden, Regium in Italy, Salisbury with us, Hull and Lin. They may be commodious for navigation, this new kind of fortification, and many other good necessary uses; but are they so wholsom? Old Rome hath descended from the hills to the valley; 'tis the site of most of our new cities, and held best to build in plains, to take the opportunity of rivers. Leander Albertus pleads hard for the air and site of Venice, though the black moorish lands appear at every low water. The sea, fire, and smoke, (as he thinks) qualifie the air: and [d] some suppose that a thick foggy air helps the memory, as in them of Pisa in Italy; and our Cambden (out of Plato) commends the site of Cambridge, because it is so near the fens. But, let the site of such places be as it may, how can they be excused that have a delicious seat, a pleasant air, and all that nature can afford, and yet, through their own nastiness and sluttishness immund and sordid manner of life, suffer their air to putrifie, and themselves to be choked up? Many cities in Turkey do *male audire* in this kind: Constantinople it self, where commonly carryon lyes in the street. Some find the same fault in Spain, even in Madrit, the king's seat, a most excellent air, a pleasant site; but the inhabitants are slovens, and the streets uncleanly kept.

A troublesom tempestuous air is as bad as impure; rough and foul weather, impetuous winds, cloudy dark dayes, as it is commonly with us: *cœlum visu*

[w] Hippocrates, 3. in Aphorismorum, idem ait. [x] Idem Maginus in Persiâ. [y] Descrip. Ter. sanct. [z] Quum ad sôlis radios in leone longam moram traheret, ut capillos flavos redderet, in maniam incidit. [a] Mundus alter et idem, seu Terra Australis incognita. [b] Crassus et turbidus aër tristem efficit animum. [c] Commonly called Scandarone, in Asia Minor. [d] Atlas Geographicus. Memoriâ valent Pisani, quod crassiore fruantur aëre.

fœdum, [e] Polydore calls it—a filthy sky, *et in quo facile generantur nubes;* as Tullies brother Quintus wrote to him in Rome, being then quæstor in Britain. *In a thick and cloudy air,* (saith Lemnius) *men are tetrick, sad, and pievish: and if the western winds blow, and that there be a calm, or a fair sunshine day, there is a kind of alacrity in mens minds; it cheers up men and beasts: but if it be a turbulent, rough, cloudy, stormy weather, men are sad, lumpish, and much dejected, angry, waspish, dull, and melancholy.* This was [f] Virgils experiment of old.

> Verum, ubi tempestas, et cœli mobilis humor,
> Mutavere vices, et Jupiter humidus Austris——
> Vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
> Concipiunt alios————
>
> But, when the face of heaven changed is
> To tempests, rain, from seasons fair,
> Our minds are altered, and in our breasts
> Forthwith some new conceits appear.

And who is not weather-wise against such and such conjunctions of planets, moved in foul weather, dull and heavy in such tempestuous seasons? [g] *Gelidum contristat Aquarius annum;* the time requires, and the autumn breeds it; winter is like unto it, ugly, foul, squalid; the air works on all men, more or less, but especially on such as are melancholy, or inclined to it, as Lemnius holds: [h] *they are most moved with it; and those which are already mad, rave downright, either in or against a tempest. Besides, the devil many times takes his opportunity of such storms; and, when the humours by the air be stirred, he goes on with them, exagitates our spirits, and vexeth our souls; as the sea-waves, so are the spirits and humours in our bodies tossed with tempestuous winds and storms.* To such as are melancholy therefore, Montanus (*consil.* 24) will have tempestuous and rough air to be avoided, and (*consil.* 27) all night air, and would not have them to walk abroad, but in a pleasant day. Lemnius (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 3) discommends the south and eastern winds, commends the north. Montanus (*consil.* 31) [i] *will not any windows to be opened in the night:* (*consil.* 229. *et consil.* 230) he discommends especially the south wind, and nocturnal air: so doth [j] Plutarch: the night and darkness makes men sad; the like do all subterranean vaults, dark houses in caves and rocks; desart places cause melancholy in an instant, especially such as have not been used to it, or otherwise accustomed. Read more of air in Hippocrates, Aëtius, *lib.* 3. *a. c.* 171. *ad* 175. Oribasius, *a. c.* 1. *ad* 22. Avicen. *l.* 1. *can. Fen.* 2, *doc.* 2. *Fen.* 1. *c.* 123. to the 12, *&c.*

Subsect. VI.—*Immoderate Exercise a Cause, and how. Solitariness, Idleness.*

Nothing so good, but it may be abused. Nothing better than exercise (if opportunely used) for the preservation of the body: nothing so bad, if it be unseasonable, violent, or overmuch. Fernelius (out of Galen, *Path. lib.* 1. *cap.* 16) saith, [k] *that much exercise and weariness consumes the spirits and substance, refrigerates the body; and such humours which nature would have otherwise concocted and expelled, it stirs up, and makes them rage; which being so enraged, diversely affect and trouble the body and mind.* So doth it, if it be unseasonably used, upon a full stomach, or when the body

[e] Lib. 1. hist. lib. 1. cap. 41. Aurâ densâ ac caliginosâ tetrici homines existunt, et subtristes. Et cap. 3. Flante subsolano et Zephyro, maxima in mentibus hominum alacritas existit, mentisque erectio, ubi cœlum solis splendore nitescit. Maxima dejectio mœrorque, siquando aura caliginosa est. [f] Geor. [g] Hor. [h] Mens quibus vacillat, ab aëre cito offenduntur; et multi insani apud Belgas ante tempestates sæviunt, aliter quieti. Spiritus quoque aëris, et mali genii, aliquando se tempestatibus ingerunt, et menti humanæ se latenter insinuant, eamque vexant, exagitant; et, ut fluctus marini, humanum corpus ventis agitatur. [i] Aer noctu densatur, et cogit mœstitiam. [j] Lib. de Iside et Osiride. [k] Multa defatigatio spiritus, viriumque substantiam, exhaurit, et corpus refrigerat. Humores corruptos, qui aliter a naturâ concoqui et domari possint, et demum blande excludi, irritat, *et* quasi in furorem agit, qui postea (mota Camarina) tetro vapore corpus varie lacessunt, animumque.

is full of crudities, which Fuchsius so much inveighs against (*Lib. 2. instit. sect. 2. cap. 4*) giving that for a cause, why school-boys in Germany are so often scabbed, because they use exercise presently after meats. [l] Bayerus puts in a caveat against such exercise, because *it* [m] *corrupts the meat in the stomach, and carries the same juice raw, and as yet undigested, into the veins* (saith Lemnius); *which there putrifies, and confounds the animal spirits.* Crato (*consil. 21. l. 2.*) [n] protests against all such exercise after meat, as being the greatest enemy to concoction that may be, and cause of corruption of humours, which produce this and many other diseases. Not without good reason then, doth Sallust. Salvianus (*l. 2. c. 1*), and Leonartus Jacchinus (*in 9 Rhasis*), Mercurialis, Arculanus, and many other, set down [o] immoderate exercise as a most forcible cause of melancholy.

Opposite to exercise is idleness (the badge of gentry), or want of exercise, the bane of body and mind, the nurse of naughtiness, step-mother of discipline, the chief author of all mischief, one of the seven deadly sins, and a sole cause of this and many other maladies, the devil's cushion, (as [p] Gualter calls it) his pillow and chief reposal: *for the mind can never rest, but still meditates on one thing or other: except it be occupied about some honest business, of his own accord it rusheth into melancholy.* [q] *As too much and violent exercise offends on the one side, so doth an idle life on the other* (saith Crato): *it fills the body full of flegm, gross humours, and all manner of obstructions, rheums, catarrhs, &c.* Rhasis (*cont. lib. 1. tract. 9*) accounts of it as the greatest cause of melancholy. [r] *I have often seen,* (saith he) *that idleness begets this humour more than any thing else.* Montaltus (*c. 1.*) seconds him out of his experience: [s] *they that are idle are far more subject to melancholy, than such as are conversant or employed about any office or business.* [t] Plutarch reckons up idleness for a sole cause of the sickness of the soul: *there are those* (saith he) *troubled in mind, that have no other cause but this.* Homer (*Iliad. 1*) brings in Achilles eating of his own heart in his idleness, because he might not fight. Mercurialis, *consil.* 86, for a melancholy young man, urgeth [u] it as a chief cause; why was he melancholy? because idle. Nothing begets it sooner, encreaseth and continueth it oftener, than idleness;—a disease familiar to all idle persons, an inseparable companion to such as live at ease (*pingui otio desidiose agentes*) a life out of action, and have no calling or ordinary employment to busie themselves about; that have small occasions; and, though they have, such is their laziness, dulness, they will not compose themselves to do ought; they cannot abide work, though it be necessary, easie, or to dress themselves, write a letter, or the like. Yet, as he that is benumbed with cold, sits still shaking, that might relieve himself with a little exercise or stirring, do they complain, but will not use the facile and ready means to do themselves good; and so are still tormented with melancholy. Especially if they had been formerly brought up to business, or to keep much company, and upon a sudden come to lead a sedentary life, [v] it crucifies their souls, and seizeth on them in an instant; for, whilest they are any ways imployed, in action, discourse, about any business, sport or recreation, or in company to their liking, they are very well; but, if alone or idle, tormented instantly again: one days

[l] In Veni mecum, Libro sic inscripto. [m] Instit. ad vit. Christ. cap. 44. Cibos crudos in venas rapit, qui putrescentes illic spiritus animales inficiunt. [n] Crudi hæc humoris copia per venas aggeritur; unde morbi multiplices. [o] Immodicum exercitium. [p] Hom. 31. in 1. Cor. 6. Nam, quum mens hominis quiescere non possit, sed continuo circa varias cogitationes discurrat, nisi honesto aliquo negotio occupetur, ad melancholiam sponte delabitur. [q] Crato, consil. 21. Ut immodica corporis exercitatio nocet corporibus, ita vita deses et otiosa: otium animal pituitosum reddit, viscerum obstructiones, et crebras fluxiones, et morbos concitat. [r] Et vidi quod una de rebus quæ magis generat melancholiam, et otiositas. [s] Reponitur otium ab aliis caussa; et hoc a nobis observatum, eos huic malo magis obnoxios qui plane otiosi sunt, quam eos qui aliquo munere versantur exsequendo. [t] De Tranquil. animæ. Sunt quos ipsum otium in anima conjicit ægritudinem. [u] Nihil est quod æque melancholiam alat ac augeat, ac otium et abstinentia a corporis et animi exercitationibus. [v] Nihil magis exacerat intellectum, quam otium. Gordonius, de observat. vit. hum. lib. 1.

solitariness, one hours sometimes, doth them more harm, than a weeks physick, labour and company can do good. Melancholy seizeth on them forthwith, being alone, and is such a torture, that, as wise Seneca well saith, *malo mihi male quam molliter esse*, I had rather be sick than idle. This idleness is either of body or mind. That of body is nothing but a kind of benumming laziness, intermitting exercise, which (if we may believe [w] Fernelius) *causeth crudities, obstructions, excremental humours, quencheth the natural heat, dulls the spirits, and makes them unapt to do any thing whatsoever.* [x] *Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.* As fern grows in untild grounds, and all manner of weeds, so do gross humours in an idle body: *ignavum corrumpunt otia corpus.* A horse in a stable, that never travels, a hawk in a mew, that seldom flies, are both subject to diseases; which, left unto themselves, are most free from any such incumbrances. An idle dog will be mangy; and how shall an idle person think to escape? Idleness of the mind is much worse than this of the body: wit without employment, is a disease, [y] *ærugo animi, rubigo ingenii:* the rust of the soul, [z] a plague, a hell it self; *maximum animi nocumentum*, Galen calls it. [a] *As, in a standing pool, worms and filthy creepers increase, (et vitium capiunt, ni moveantur, aquæ;* the water itself putrifies, and air likewise, if it be not continually stirred by the wind) *so do evil and corrupt thoughts in an idle person;* the soul is contaminated. In a commonwealth, where is no public enemy, there is, likely, civil wars, and they rage upon themselves: this body of ours, when it is idle, and knows not how to bestow it self, macerates and vexes it self with cares, griefs, false fears, discontents, and suspicions; it tortures and preys upon his own bowels, and is never at rest. Thus much I dare boldly say, he or she that is idle, be they of what condition they will, never so rich, so well allied, fortunate, happy—let them have all things in abundance, and felicity, that heart can wish and desire, all contentment—so long as he or she, or they, are idle, they shall never be pleased, never well in body and mind, but weary still, sickly still, vexed still, loathing still, weeping, sighing, grieving, suspecting, offended with the world, with every object, wishing themselves gone or dead, or else carried away with some foolish phantasie or other. And this is the true cause that so many great men, ladies, and gentlewomen, labour of this disease in countrey and city; for idleness is an appendix to nobility; they count it a disgrace to work, and spend all their days in sports, recreations, and pastimes, and will therefore take no pains, be of no vocation; they feed liberally, fare well, want exercise, action, employment, (for to work, I say, they may not abide) and company to their desires; and thence their bodies become full of gross humours, wind, crudities, their minds disquieted, dull, heavy, &c. Care, jealousie, fear of some diseases, sullen fits, weeping fits, seize too [b] familiarly on them: for, what will not fear and phantasie work in an idle body? what distempers will they not cause? When the children of Israel murmured [c] against Pharaoh in Ægypt, he commanded his officers to double their task, and let them get straw themselves, and yet make their full number of brick: for the sole cause why they mutiny, and are evil at ease, is, *they are idle.* When you shall hear and see so many discontented persons in all places where you come, so many several grievances, unnecessary complaints, fears, suspicions, [d] the best means to redress it, is to set them awork, so to busie

[w] Path. lib. 1. cap. 17. exercitationis intermissio inertem calorem, languidos spiritus, et ignavos, et ad omnes actiones segniores, reddit; cruditates, obstructiones, et excrementorum proventus facit. [x] Hor. Ser. 1. Sat. 3. [y] Seneca. [z] Mœrorem animi, et maciem, Plutarch calls it. [a] Sicut in stagno generantur vermes, sic in otiosi malæ cogitationes. Sen. [b] Now this leg, now that arm, now their head, heart, &c. [c] Exod. 5. [d] (For they cannot well tell what aileth them, or what they would have themselves) my heart, my head, my husband, my son, &c.

their minds; for the truth is, they are idle. Well they may build castles in the air for a time, and sooth up themselves with phantastical and pleasant humours; but in the end they will prove as bitter as gall; they shall be still, I say, discontent, suspicious, [e]fearful, jealous, sad, fretting and vexing of themselves; so long as they be idle, it is impossible to please them. *Otio qui nescit uti, plus habet negotii, quam qui negotium in negotio*, as that [f]Agellius could observe: he that knows not how to spend his time, hath more business, care, grief, anguish of mind, than he that is most busie in the midst of all his business. *Otiosus animus nescit quid volet:* an idle person (as he follows it) knows not when he is well, what he would have, or whither he would go; *quam illuc ventum est, illinc lubet;* he is tired out with every thing, displeased with all, weary of his life: *nec bene domi, nec militiæ*, neither at home, nor abroad; *errat, et præter vitam vivat;* he wanders, and lives besides himself. In a word, what the mischievous effects of laziness and idleness are, I do not find any where more accurately expressed, than in these verses of Philolaches in the [g]Comical Poet, which, for their elegancy, I will in part insert.

Novarum ædium esse arbitror similem ego hominem,
Quando hic natus est. Ei rei argumenta dicam.
Ædes quando sunt ad amussim expolitæ,
Quisque laudat fabrum, atque exemplum expetit, &c.
At ubi illo migrat nequam homo indiligensque, &c.
Tempestas venit, confringit tegulas, imbricesque, &c.
Putrefacit aër operam fabri, &c.
Dicam ut homines similes esse ædium arbitremini,
Fabri parentes fundamentum substruunt liberorum;
Expoliunt, docent literas, nec parcunt sumptui.
Ego autem sub fabrorum potestate frugi fui;
Postquam autem migravi in ingenium meum,
Perdidi operam fabrorum illico, oppido,
Venit ignavia; ea mihi tempestas fuit,
Adventuque suo grandinem et imbrem attulit,
Illa mihi virtutem deturbavit, &c.

A young man is like a fair new house: the carpenter leaves it well built, in good repair, of solid stuff; but a bad tenant lets it rain in, and, for want of reparation, fall to decay, &c. Our parents, tutors, friends, spare no cost to bring us up in our youth, in all manner of vertuous education; but when we are left to our selves, idleness, as a tempest, drives all vertuous motions out of our minds; *et nihili sumus;* on a sudden, by sloth and such bad ways, we come to naught.

Cozen german to idleness, and a concomitant cause, which goes hand in hand with it, is [h]*nimia solitudo*, too much solitariness—by the testimony of all physicians, cause and symptome both: but as it is here put for a cause, it is either coact, enforced, or else voluntary. Enforced solitariness is commonly seen in students, monks, friers, anchorites, that, by their order and course of life, must abandon all company, society of other men, and betake themselves to a private cell; *otio superstitioso seclusi* (as Bale and Hospinian well term it), such as are the Carthusians of our time, that eat no flesh (by their order), keep perpetual silence, never go abroad; such as live in prison, or some desert place, and cannot have company, as many of our countrey gentlemen do in solitary houses; they must either be alone without companions, or live beyond their means, and entertain all comers as so many hosts, or else converse with their servants and hinds, such as are unequal, inferior to them, and of a contrary disposition: or else, as some do, to avoid solitariness, spend their time with leud fellows in taverns, and in alehouses, and thence addict themselves to some unlawful disports, or dissolute courses. Divers again are cast upon this rock of solitariness for want of means, or out of a strong apprehension of some infirmity, disgrace; or, through

[e] Pro. 18. Pigrum dejiciet timor—Heautontimorumenon. [f] Lib. 19. c. 10. [g] Plautus, Mostel.
[h] Piso, Montaltus, Mercurialis, &c.

bashfulness, rudeness, simplicity, they cannot apply themselves to others company. *Nullum solum infelici gratius solitudine, ubi nullus sit qui miseriam exprobret.* This enforced solitariness takes place, and produceth his effect soonest, in such as have spent their time jovially, peradventure in all honest recreations, in good company, in some great family or populous city, and are upon a sudden confined to a desart country cottage far off, restrained of their liberty, and barred from their ordinary associates. Solitariness is very irksom to such, most tedious, and a sudden cause of great inconvenience.

Voluntary solitariness is that which is familiar with melancholy, and gently brings on, like a Siren, a shooing-horn, or some Sphinx, to this irrevocable gulf: [i] a primary cause Piso calls it; most pleasant it is at first, to such as are melancholy given, to lie in bed whole dayes, and keep their chambers, to walk alone in some solitary grove, betwixt wood and water, by a brook side, to meditate upon some delightsome and pleasant subject, which shall affect them most: *amabilis insania*, and *mentis gratissimus error*. A most incomparable delight it is so to melancholize, and build castles in the air, to go smiling to themselves, acting an infinite variety of parts, which they suppose, and strongly imagine they represent, or that they see acted or done. *Blanda quidem ab initio*, saith Lemnius, to conceive and meditate of such pleasant things sometimes, [j] *present, past, or to come*, as Rhasis speaks. So delightsome these toyes are at first, they could spend whole days and nights without sleep, even whole years alone in such contemplations, and phantastical meditations, which are like unto dreams; and they will hardly be drawn from them, or willingly interrupt. So pleasant their vain conceits are, that they hinder their ordinary tasks and necessary business: they cannot address themselves to them, or almost to any study or imployment: these phantastical and bewitching thoughts so covertly, so feelingly, so urgently, so continually, set upon, creep in, insinuate, possess, overcome, distract, and detain them, they cannot, I say, go about their more necessary business, stave off or extricate themselves, but are ever musing, melancholizing, and carried along, as he (they say) that is led round about an heath with a *Puck* in the night. They run earnestly on in this labyrinth of anxious and solicitous melancholy meditations, and cannot well or willingly refrain, or easily leave off, winding and unwinding themselves, as so many clocks, and still pleasing their humours, until at last the scene is turned upon a sudden, by some bad object: and they, being now habituated to such vain meditations and solitary places, can endure no company, can ruminate of nothing but harsh and distasteful subjects. Fear, sorrow, suspicion, *subrusticus pudor*, discontent, cares, and weariness of life, surprize them in a moment; and they can think of nothing else: continually suspecting, no sooner are their eyes open, but this infernal plague of melancholy seizeth on them, and terrifies their souls, representing some dismal object to their minds, which now, by no means, no labour, no perswasions, they can avoid; *hæret lateri letalis arundo*; they may not be rid of it; [k] they cannot resist. I may not deny but that there is some profitable meditation, contemplation, and kind of solitariness, to be embraced, which the fathers so highly commended—[l] Hierom, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Austin, in whole tracts, which Petrarch, Erasmus, Stella, and others, so much magnifie in their books—a paradise, an heaven on earth, if it be used aright, good for the body, and better for the soul; as many of those old monks used it, to

[i] A quibus malum, velut a primaria caussâ, occasionem nactum est. [j] Jucunda rerum præsentium, præteritarum, et futurarum meditatio. [k] Facilis descensus Averni; Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras, Hic labor, hoc opus est. Virg. [l] Hieronymus, ep. 72. dixit oppida et urbes videri sibi tetros carceres, solitudinem Paradisum; solum scorpionibus infestum, sacco amictus, humi *cubans*, aquâ et herbis victitans, Romanis prætulit deliciis.

divine contemplations; as Simulus a courtier in Adrians time, Dioclesian the emperour, retired themselves, &c. in that sense, *Vatia solus scit vivere;* Vatia lives alone; which the Romans were wont to say, when they commended a countrey life; or to the bettering of their knowledge, as Democritus, Cleanthes, and those excellent philosophers, have ever done, to sequester themselves from the tumultuous world; or, as in Plinies villa Laurentana, Tullies Tusculan, Jovius study, that they might better *vacare studiis et Deo*, serve God and follow their studies. Methinks, therefore, our too zealous innovators were not so well advised in that general subversion of abbies and religious houses, promiscuously to fling down all. They might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings, and everlasting monuments of our forefathers devotion, consecrated to pious uses. Some monasteries and collegiate cells might have been well spared, and their revenues otherwise imployed; here and there one, in good towns or cities at least, for men and women of all sorts and conditions to live in, to sequester themselves from the cares and tumults of the world, that were not desirous or fit to marry, or otherwise willing to be troubled with common affairs, and know not well where to bestow themselves, to live apart in, for more conveniency, good education, better company sake; to follow their studies (I say) to the perfection of arts and sciences, common good, and, as some truly devoted monks of old had done, freely and truly to serve God: for these men are neither solitary, nor idle, as the poet made answer to the husbandman in Æsop, that objected idleness to him, he was never so idle as in his company; or that Scipio Africanus in [m]Tully, *numquam minus solus, quam quum solus; numquam minus otiosus, quam quum esset otiosus;* never less solitary than when he was alone, never more busie, than when he seemed to be most idle. It is reported by Plato, in his dialogue *de Amore*, in that prodigious commendation of Socrates, how, a deep meditation coming into Socrates mind by chance, he stood still musing, *eodem vestigio cogitabundus*, from morning to noon; and, when as then he had not yet finished his meditation, *perstabat cogitans;* he so continued till the evening: the souldiers (for he then followed the camp) observed him with admiration, and on set purpose watched all night; but he persevered immoveable *ad exortum solis*, till the sun rose in the morning, and then, saluting the sun, went his wayes. In what humour constant Socrates did thus, I know not, or how he might be affected; but this would be pernicious to another man; what intricate business might so really possess him, I cannot easily guess. But this is *otiosum otium;* it is far otherwise with these men, according to Seneca: *omnia nobis mala solitudo persuadet;* this solitude undoeth us; *pugnat cum vitâ sociali;* 'tis a destructive solitariness. These men are devils, alone, as the saying is; *homo solus aut deus, aut dæmon;* a man, alone, is either a saint or a devil; *mens ejus aut languescit, aut tumescit;* and [n]*væ soli!* in this sense; woe be to him that is so alone! These wretches do frequently degenerate from men, and, of sociable creatures, become beasts, monsters, inhumane, ugly to behold, *misanthropi;* they do even loath themselves, and hate the company of men, as so many Timons, Nebuchadnezars, by too much indulging to these pleasing humours, and through their own default. So that which Mercurialis (*consil.* 11) sometimes expostulated with his melancholy patient, may be justly applied to every solitary and idle person in particular: [o]*natura de te videtur conqueri*

[m] Offic. 3. [n] Eccl. 4. [o] Natura de te videtur conqueri posse, quod, cum ab eâ temperatissimum corpus adeptus sis; tam præclarum a Deo ac utile donum, non contempsisti modo, verum corrupisti, fœdâsti, prodidisti, optimam temperaturam otio, crapulâ, et aliis vitæ erroribus, &c.

posse, &c. nature may justly complain of thee, that, whereas she gave thee a good wholesome temperature, a sound body, and God hath given thee so divine and excellent a soul, so many good parts and profitable gifts, thou hast not only contemned and rejected, but hast corrupted them, polluted them, overthrown their temperature, and perverted those gifts with riot, idleness, solitariness, and many other wayes; thou art a traitour to God and Nature, an enemy to thy self and to the world. Perditio tua ex te; thou hast lost thy self wilfully, cast away thy self; *thou thy self art the efficient cause of thine own misery, by not resisting such vain cogitations, but giving way unto them.*

Subsect. VII.—*Sleeping and waking, Causes.*

What I have formerly said of exercise, I may now repeat of sleep. Nothing better than moderate sleep; nothing worse than it, if it be in extreams, or unseasonably used. It is a received opinion, that a melancholy man cannot sleep over-much: *somnus supra modum prodest;* it is an only antidote; and nothing offends them more, or causeth this malady sooner, than waking. Yet, in some cases, sleep may do more harm than good, in that flegmatick, swinish, cold, and sluggish melancholy, which Melancthon speaks of, that thinks of waters, sighing most part, &c. [p] It duls the spirits (if overmuch) and senses, fills the head full of gross humours, causeth destillations, rheumes, great store of excrements in the brain, and all the other parts, as [q] Fuchsius speaks of them, that sleep like so many dormice. Or, if it be used in the day time, upon a full stomach, the body ill composed to rest, or after hard meats, it increaseth fearful dreams, *incubus*, night walking, crying out, and much unquietness. Such sleep prepares the body, as [r] one observes, to *many perilous diseases.* But, as I have said, waking overmuch is both a symptome and an ordinary cause. *It causeth driness of the brain, frensie, dotage, and makes the body dry, lean, hard, and ugly to behold, as* [s] Lemnius hath it. *The temperature of the brain is corrupted by it, the humours adust, the eyes made to sink into the head, choler increased, and the whole body inflamed;* and (as may be added out of Galen, 3. *de sanitate tuendâ, Avicenna* 3. 1) [t] *it overthrows the natural heat; it causeth crudities, hurts concoction;* and what not? Not without good cause, therefore, Crato (*concil.* 21. *lib.* 2.), Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2. *de delir. et Maniâ*), Jacchinus, Arculanus (on *Rhasis*), Guianerius, and Mercurialis, reckon up this overmuch waking, as a principal cause.

MEMB. III.

Subsect. I.—*Passions and Perturbations of the Mind, how they cause Melancholy.*

As that Gymnosophist, in [u] Plutarch, made answer to Alexander (demanding which spake best,) every one of his fellows did speak better than the other; so may I say of these causes, to him that shall require which is the greatest, every one is more grievous than other, and this of passion the greatest of all; a most frequent and ordinary cause of melancholy, [x] *fulmen perturbationum* (Piccolomineus calls it), this thunder and lightning of perturbation, which causeth such violent and speedy alterations in this our microcosm, and many times subverts the good estate and temperature of it: for, as the body works upon the

[p] Path. lib. cap. 17. Fern. corpus infrigidat; omnes sensus, mentisque vires, torpore debilitat. [q] Lib. 2. sect. 2. cap. 4. Magnam excrementorum vim cerebro et aliis partibus coacervat. [r] Jo. Retzius, lib. de rebus 6 non naturalibus. Præparat corpus talis somnus ad multas periculosas ægritudines. [s] Instit. ad vitam optimam, c. 26. cerebro siccitatem adfert, phrenesin et delirium: corpus aridum facit, squalidum, strigosum; humores adurit; temperamentum cerebri corrumpit; maciem inducit: exsiccat corpus, bilem accendit, profundos reddit oculos, calorem auget. [t] Naturalem calorem dissipat; læsâ concoctione, cruditates facit. Attenuant juvenum vigilatæ corpora noctes. [u] Vita Alexand. [x] Grad. 1. c. 14.

mind, by his bad humours, troubling the spirits, and sending gross fumes into the brain, and so *per consequens*, disturbing the soul, and all the faculties of it.

[y] Corpus onustum :
Hesternis vitiis, animum quoque prægravat unâ,

with fear, sorrow, &c. which are ordinary symptomes of this disease: so, on the other side, the mind most effectually works upon the body, producing, by his passions and perturbations, miraculous alterations, as melancholy, despair, cruel diseases, and sometimes death it self; insomuch that it is most true which Plato saith in his Charmides: *omnia corporis mala ab animâ procedere;* all the [z]mischiefs of the body proceed from the soul; and Democritus in [a]Plutarch urgeth, *Damnatum iri animam a corpore;* if the body should, in this behalf, bring an action against the soul, surely the soul would be cast and convicted, that by her supine negligence, had caused such inconveniences, having authority over the body, and using it for an instrument, as a smith doth his hammer, saith [b]Cyprian, imputing all those vices and maladies to the mind. Even so doth [c]Philostratus, *non coinquinatur corpus, nisi consensu animæ;* the body is not corrupted, but by the soul. [d]Lodovicus Vives will have such turbulent commotions proceed from ignorance, and indiscretion. All philosophers impute the miseries of the body to the soul, that should have governed it better by command of reason, and hath not done it. The Stoicks are altogether of opinion (as [e]Lipsius and [f]Piccolomineus record) that a wise man should be ἀπαθὴς without all manner of passions and perturbations whatsoever, as [g]Seneca reports of Cato, the [h]Greeks of Socrates, and [i]Jo. Aubanus of a nation in Africk, so free from passion, or rather so stupid, that, if they be wounded with a sword, they will only look back. [k]Lactantitus (2 *instit.*) will exclude *fear from a wise man:* others except all, some the greatest passions. But, let them dispute how they will, set down in *thesi*, give precepts to the contrary; we find that of [l]Lemnius true by common experience; *no mortal man is free from these perturbations:* or if he be so, sure he is either a god, or a block. They are born and bred with us, we have them from our parents by inheritance: *a parentibus habemus malum hunc assem*, saith [m]Pelezius; *nascitur unâ nobiscum, aliturque;* 'tis propagated from Adam; Cain was melancholy, [n]as Austin hath it; and who is not? Good discipline, education, philosophy, divinity, (I cannot deny) may mitigate and restrain these passions in some few men at some times; but, most part, they domineer, and are so violent, [o]that—as a torrent, (*torrens velut aggere rupto*) bears down all before, and overflows his banks, *sternit agros, sternit sata*—they overwhelm reason, judgement, and pervert the temperature of the body. *Fertur* [p]*equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.* Now such a man (saith [q]Austin) *that is so led, in a wise mans eye, is no better than he that stands upon his head.* It is doubted by some, *gravioresne morbi a perturbationibus, an ab humoribus*, whether humours or perturbations cause the more grievous maladies. But we find that of our Saviour (*Mat.* 26. 41) most true: *the spirit is willing; the flesh is weak;* we cannot resist; and this of [r]Philo Judæus: *perturbations often offend the body, and are most frequent causes of melancholy, turning it out of the hinges of his health.* Vives compares them to [s]*winds*

[y] Hor. [z] Perturbationes clavi sunt, quibus corpori animus ceu patibulo affigitur. Jamb. de myst [a] Lib. de sanitat. tuend. [b] Proleg. de virtute Christi. Quæ utitur corpore, ut faber malleo. [c] Vita Apollonii, lib. 1. [d] Lib. de anim. ab inconsiderantiâ, et ignorantiâ omnes animi motus. [e] De Physiol. Stoic. [f] Grad. l. c. 33. [g] Epist. 104. [h] Ælianus. [i] Lib. 1. cap. 6. si quis ense percusserit eos, tantum respiciunt. [k] Terror in sapiente esse non debet. [l] De occult. nat. mir. l. 1. c. 16. Nemo mortalium, qui affectibus non ducatur: qui non movetur, aut saxum aut Deus est. [m] Instit. l. 2. de humanorum affect. morborumque curat. [n] Epist. 105. [o] Granatensis. [p] Virg. [q] De civit. Dei, l. 14. c. 9. qualis in oculis hominum, qui inversis pedibus ambulat, talis in oculis sapientum, cui passiones dominantur. [r] Lib. de Decal. passiones maxime corpus offendunt et animam, et frequentissimæ causæ melancholiæ, dimoventes ab ingenio et sanitate pristinâ, l. 3. de animâ. [s] Frænа et stimuli animi: velut in mari quædam auræ leves, quædam placidæ, quædam turbulentæ: sic in cor-

upon the sea; some only move, as those great gales; but others, turbulent, quite overturn the ship. Those which are light, easie, and more seldom, to our thinking, do us little harm, and are therefore contemned of us: yet, if they be reiterated, [t]*as the rain* (saith Austin) *doth a stone, so do these perturbations penetrate the mind,* [u]and (as one observes) *produce an habit of melancholy at the last,* which having gotten the mastery in our souls, may well be called diseases.

How these passions produce this effect, [v]Agrippa hath handled at large, *Occult. Philos. l.* 11. *c.* 63; Cardan, *l.* 14. *subtil.* Lemnius, *l.* 1. *c.* 12. *de occult. nat. mir. et lib.* 1. *cap.* 16; Suarez, *Met. disput.* 18. *sect.* 1. *art.* 25; T. Bright, *cap.* 12. of his Melancholy Treatise; Wright the Jesuite, in his book of the Passions of the Mind, &c.—thus in brief—To our imagination cometh, by the outward sense or memory, some object to be known (residing in the foremost part of the brain), which he misconceiving or amplifying, presently communicates to the heart, the seat of all affections. The pure spirits forthwith flock from the brain to the heart, by certain secret channels, and signifie what good or bad object was presented; [w]which immediately bends it self to prosecute or avoid it, and, withal, draweth with it other humours to help it. So, in pleasure, concur great store of purer spirits; in sadness, much melancholy blood; in ire, choler. If the imagination be very apprehensive, intent, and violent, it sends great store of spirits to or from the heart, and makes a deeper impression, and greater tumult: as the humours in the body be likewise prepared, and the temperature it self ill or well disposed, the passions are longer and stronger: so that the first step and fountain of all our grievances in this kind is [x]*læsa imaginatio,* which, mis-informing the heart, causeth all these distemperatures, alteration and confusion of spirits and humours; by means of which, so disturbed, concoction is hindred, and the principal parts are much debilitated; as [y]Dr. Navarra well declared, being consulted by Motanus about a melancholy Jew. The spirits so confounded, the nourishment must needs be abated, bad humours increased, crudities and thick spirits ingendred, with melancholy blood. The other parts cannot perform their functions, having the spirits drawn from them by vehement passion, but fail in sense and motion: so we look upon a thing, and see it not; hear, and observe not; which otherwise would much affect us, had we been free. I may therefore conclude with [z]Arnoldus, *maxima vis est phantasiæ; et huic uni fere, non autem corporis intemperiei, omnis melancholiæ caussa est ascribenda:* great is the force of imagination; and much more ought the cause of melancholy to be ascribed to this alone, than to the distemperature of the body. Of which imagination, because it hath so great a stroke in producing this malady, and is so powerful of it self, it will not be improper to my discourse, to make a brief digression, and speak of the force of it, and how it causeth this alteration. Which manner of digression howsoever some dislike, as frivolous and impertinent, yet I am of [a]Beroaldus his opinion, *such digressions do mightily delight and refresh a weary reader; they are like sawce to a bad stomach; and I do therefore most willingly use them.*

pore quædam affectiones excitant tantum, quædam ita movent, ut de statu judicii depellant. [t]Ut gutta lapidem, sic paullatim hæ penetrant animum. [u]Usu valentes, recte morbi animi vocantur. [v]Imaginatio movet corpus, ad cujus motum excitantur humores, et spiritus vitales, quibus alteratur. [w]Eccles. 13. 26. The heart alters the countenance to good or evil: and distraction of the mind causeth distemperature of the body. [x]Spiritus et sanguis a læsâ imaginatione contaminantur; humores enim mutati actiones animi immutant. Piso. [y]Montani consil. 22. Hæ vero quomodo causent melancholiam, clarum; et quod concoctionem impediant, et membra principalia debilitent. [z]Breviar. l. 1. cap. 18. [a]Solent hujusmodi egressiones favorabiliter oblectare, et lectorem lassum jucunde refovere, stomachumque nauseantem, quodam quasi condimento, reficere: et ego libenter *excurro.*

SUBSECT. II.—*Of the Force of Imagination.*

WHAT Imagination is, I have sufficiently declared in my digression of the anatomy of the soul. I will now only point at the wonderful effects and power of it; which, as it is eminent in all, so most especially it rageth in melancholy persons, in keeping the species of objects so long, mistaking, amplifying them by continual and [b] strong meditation, until at length it produceth in some parties real effects, causeth this, and many other maladies. And, although this phantasie of ours be a subordinate faculty to reason, and should be ruled by it, yet in many men, through inward or outward distemperatures, defect of organs, which are unapt or hindred, or otherwise contaminated, it is likewise unapt, hindred, and hurt. This we see verified in sleepers, which, by reason of humours, and concourse of vapours troubling the phantasie, imagine many times absurd and prodigious things, and in such as are troubled with *incubus*, or witch-ridden, (as we call it): if they lie on their backs, they suppose an old woman rides and sits so hard upon them, that they are almost stifled for want of breath: when there is nothing offends, but a concourse of bad humours, which trouble the phantasie. This is likewise evident in such as walk in the night in their sleep, and do strange feats: [c] these vapours move the phantasie, the phantasie the appetite, which, moving the *animal* spirits, causeth the body to walk up and down, as if they were awake. Fracast. (*l.* 3. *de intellect.*) refers all extasies to this force of imagination; such as lye whole dayes together in a trance, as that priest whom [d] Celsus speaks of, that could separate himself from his senses when he list, and lie like a dead man void of life and sense. Cardan brags of himself, that he could do as much, and that when he list. Many times such men, when they come to themselves, tell strange things of heaven and hell, what visions they have seen; as that S[r] Owen in Matthew Paris, that went into S[t] Patricks Purgatory, and the monk of Evesham in the same author. Those common apparitions in Bede and Gregory, Saint Brigets revelations, Wier. *l.* 3. *de lamiis c.* 11. Cæsar Vanninus in his Dialogues, &c. reduceth, (as I have formerly said) with all those tales of witches progresses, dancing, riding, transformations, operations, &c. to the force of [e] imagination, and the [f] devils illusions. The like effects almost are to be seen in such as are awake; how many chimæras, anticks, golden mountains, and castles in the air, do they build unto themselves! I appeal to painters, mechanicians, mathematicians. Some ascribe all vices to a false and corrupt imagination, anger, revenge, lust, ambition, covetousness, which prefers falshood, before that which is right and good, deluding the soul with false shews and suppositions. [g] Bernardus Penottus will have heresie and superstition to proceed from this fountain; as he falsely imagineth, so he believeth; and as he conceiveth of it, so it must be, and it shall be; *contra gentes*, he will have it so. But most especially in passions and affections, it shews strange and evident effects: what will not a fearful man conceive in the dark? what strange forms of bugbears, devils, witches, goblins? Lavater imputes the greatest cause of spectrums, and the like apparitions, to fear, which, above all other passions, begets the strongest imagination (saith [h] Wierus); and so likewise love, sorrow, joy, &c. Some die suddenly, as she that saw her son come from the battel at Cannæ, &c. Jacob the patriarch, by force of imagination, made peckled lambs, laying peckled rods before his sheep. Persina, that

[b] Ab imaginatione oriuntur affectiones, quibus anima componitur, aut turbatur, Jo. Sarisbur. Metolog. lib. 4. c. 10. [c] Scalig. exercit. [d] Qui, quoties volebat, mortuo similis jacebat, auferans se a sensibus; et, quum pungeretur, dolorem non sensit. [e] Idem Nymannus, orat. de Imaginat. [f] Verbis et unctionibus se consecrant dæmoni pessimæ mulieres, qui iis ad opus suum utitur, et earum phantasiam regit, ducitque ad loca ab ipsis desiderata: corpora vero earum sine sensu permanent, quæ umbra operit diabolus, ut nulli sint conspicua; et post, umbrâ sublatâ, propriis corporibus eas restituit, l. 3. c. 14. Wier. [g] Denario medico. [h] Solet timor, præ omnibus affectibus, fortes imaginationes gignere; post, amor, &c. l. 3. c. 8.

Æthiopian queen in Heliodorus, by seeing the picture of Perseus and Andromeda, in stead of a blackmoor, was brought to bed of a fair white child; in imitation of whom, belike, an hard favoured fellow in Greece, because he and his wife were both deformed, to get a good brood of children, *elegantissimas imagines in thalamo collocavit*, &c. hung the fairest pictures he could buy for money in his chamber, *that his wife, by frequent sight of them, might conceive and bear such children.* And, if we may believe Bale, one of Pope Nicholas the thirds concubines, by seeing of [i] a bear, was brought to bed of a monster. *If a woman* (saith [j] Lemnius) *at the time of her conception, think of another man present or absent, the child will be like him.* Great-bellied women, when they long, yield us prodigious examples in this kind, as moles, warts, scars, harelips, monsters, especially caused in their children by force of a depraved phantasie in them. *Ipsam speciem, quam animo effigiat, fetui inducit:* she imprints that stamp upon her child, which she [k] conceives unto her self. And therefore Lodovicus Vives (*lib. 2. de Christ. fem.*) gives a special caution to great-bellied women, [l] *that they do not admit such absurd conceits and cogitations, but by all means avoid those horrible objects, heard or seen, or filthy spectacles.* Some will laugh, weep, sigh, groan, blush, tremble, sweat, at such things as are suggested unto them by their imagination. Avicenna speaks of one that could cast himself into a palsie when he list; and some can imitate the tunes of birds and beasts, that they can hardly be discerned. Dagobertus and Saint Francis scars and wounds, like to those of Christs (if at the least any such were), [m] Agrippa supposeth to have hapned by force of imagination. That some are turned to wolves, from men to women, and women again to men, (which is constantly believed) to the same imagination; or from men to asses, dogs, or any other shapes—[n] Wierus ascribes all those famous transformations to imagination. That, in *hydrophobia*, they seem to see the picture of a dog still in their water; [o] that melancholy men, and sick men, conceive so many phantastical visions, apparitions to themselves, and have such absurd suppositions, as that they are kings, lords, cocks, bears, apes, owls; that they are heavy, light, transparent, great and little, senseless and dead, (as shall be shewn more at large, in our [p] Sections of Symptomes) can be imputed to nought else, but to a corrupt, false, and violent imagination. It works not in sick and melancholy men only, but even most forcibly sometimes in such as are sound: it makes them suddenly sick, and [q] alters their temperature in an instant. And sometimes a strong conceit or apprehension, as [r] Valesius proves, will take away diseases: in both kinds, it will produce real effects. Men, if they see but another man tremble, giddy, or sick of some fearful disease, their apprehension and fear is so strong in this kind, that they will have the same disease. Or if, by some sooth-sayer, wise-man, fortune-teller, or physician, they be told they shall have such a disease, they will so seriously apprehend it, that they will instantly labour of it—a thing familiar in China (saith Riccius the Jesuit:) [s] *if it be told them that they shall be sick on such a day, when that day comes, they will surely be sick, and will be so terribly afflicted, that sometimes they dye upon it.* Dr. Cotta

[i] Ex viso urso, talem peperit. [j] Lib. 1. cap. 4. de occult. nat. mir. Si, inter amplexus et suavia, cogitet de uno aut alio absente, ejus effigies solet in fetu elucere. [k] Quid non fetui, adhuc matri unito, subitâ spirituum vibratione, per nervos, quibus matrix cerebro conjuncta est, imprimit imprægnatæ imaginatio? ut, si imaginetur malum granatum, illius notas secum proferet fetus; si leporem, infans editur supremo labello bifido, et dissecto. Vehemens cogitatio movet rerum species. Wier. l. 3. cap. 8. [l] Ne, dum uterum gestent, admittant absurdas cogitationes: sed et visu, audituque fœda et horrenda devitent. [m] Occult. Philos. l. 1. c. 64. [n] Lib. 3. de Lamiis, cap. 10. [o] Agrippa, lib. 1. cap. 64. [p] Sect. 3. memb. 1. subsect. 3. [q] Malleus malefic. fol. 77. Corpus mutari potest in diversas ægritudines, ex forti apprehensione. [r] Fr. Vales. l. 5. cont. 6. Nonnumquam etiam morbi diuturni consequuntur, quandoque curantur. [s] Expedit. in Sinas, l. 1. c. 9. Tantum porro multi prædictoribus hisce tribuunt, ut ipse metus fidem faciat: nam, si prædictum iis fuerit tali die eos morbo corripiendos, ii, ubi dies advenerit, in morbum incidunt: et, vi metûs afflicti, cum ægritudine, aliquando etiam cum morte, colluctantur.

very of ignorant Practitioners of Physick, *cap.* 8.) hath two
s to this purpose, what phansie is able to do; the one of a par-
Northamptonshire, *anno* 1607, that, coming to a physician, and
hat she was troubled with the *sciatica*, as he conjectured, (a dis-
free from) the same night after her return, upon his words, fell
s fit of a *sciatica:* and such another example he hath of another
it was so troubled with the cramp; after the same manner she
ecause her physician did but name it. Sometimes death it self
orce of phantasie. I have heard of one, that, coming by chance
f him that was thought to be sick of the plague (which was not
suddenly dead. Another was sick of the plague with conceit.
his fellow let blood, falls down in a swoun. Another (saith
of Aristotle) fell down dead, (which is familiar to women at any
seeing but a man hanged. A Jew in France (saith [u] Lodovicus
by chance over a dangerous passage or plank, that lay over a
dark, without harm; the next day, perceiving what danger he
down dead. Many will not believe such stories to be true, but
nly, and deride when they hear of them: but let these men con-
mselves, (as [v] Peter Byarus illustrates it) if they were set to walk
on high, they would be giddy, upon which they dare securely
e ground. Many (saith Agrippa) [w] *strong hearted men other-
at such sights; dazel, and are sick, if they look but down from
; and what moves them but conceit?* As some are so molested
so some again, by fancy alone and a good conceit, are as easily
We see commonly the tooth-ach, gout, falling-sickness, biting of
nd many such maladies, cured by spells, words, characters, and
many green wounds, by that now so much used *unguentum*
agnetically cured; which Crollius and Goclenius in a book of
nded, Libavius in a just tract as stifly contradicts, and most men
All the world knows there is no vertue in such charms, or cures,
onceit and opinion alone, (as [x] Pomponatius holds) *which forceth
he humours, spirits, and blood; which takes away the cause of
rom the parts affected.* The like we may say of our magical
stitious cures, and such as are done by mountebanks and
, *by wicked incredulity, many men are hurt* (so saith [y] Wierus
ells, &c.) *we find, in our experience, by the same means many*

An empirick oftentimes, and a silly chirurgion, doth more
, than a rational physician. Nymannus gives a reason—
patient puts his confidence in him; [z] which Avicenna *prefers
ecepts, and all remedies whatsoever.* 'Tis opinion alone, (saith
it makes or marrs physicians; and he doth the best cures,
Hippocrates, in whom most trust. So diversly does this phan-
ffect, turn, and wind, so imperiously command our bodies, which,
Proteus, or a cameleon, can take all shapes, and is of such
nus adds) *that it can work upon others, as well as ourselves.*
rwise blear-eyes in one man cause the like affection in another?
e man's [c] yawning make another man yawn? one mans pissing,
ond many times to do the like? Why doth scraping of tren-

[u] Lib. 3. de animâ, cap. de mel. [v] Lib. de Peste. [w] Lib. 1. cap. 63. Ex alto desræ timore contremiscunt, caligant, infirmantur; sic singultus, febres, morbi comisequuntur, quandoque recedunt. [x] Lib. de Incantatione. Imaginatio subditum tuum motum infert; unde vario affectu rapitur sanguis, ac unâ morbificas caussas ripit. [y] L. 3. c. 18. de præstig. Ut impiâ credulitate quis læditur, sic et levari est, usuque observatum. [z] Ægri persuasio et fiducia omni arti et consilio et mediAvicen. [a] Plures sanat, in quem plures confidunt. lib. de sapientiâ. [b] Marc. 18. de theolog. Platonicâ. Imaginatio est tanquam Proteus vel chamæleon, corlienum nonnumquam afficiens. [c] Cur oscitantes oscitent. Wierus.

chers offend a third, or hacking of files? Why doth a carkass bleed, when the murtherer is brought before it, some weeks after the murther hath been done? Why do witches and old women fascinate and bewitch children? but (as Wierus, Paracelsus, Cardan, Mizaldus, Valleriola, Cæsar Vanninus, Campanella, and many philosophers think) the forcible imagination of the one party moves and alters the spirits of the other. Nay more, they can cause and cure not only diseases, maladies, and several infirmities, by this means, (as Avicenna, *de anim. l.* 4. *sect.* 4. supposeth) in parties remote, but move bodies from their places, cause thunder, lightning, tempests; which opinion Alkindus, Paracelsus, and some others, approve of: so that I may certainly conclude, this strong conceit or imagination is *astrum hominis*, and the rudder of this our ship, which reason should steer, but, over-born by phantasie, cannot manage, and so suffers it self and this whole vessel of ours to be over-ruled, and often over-turned. Read more of this in Wierus, *l.* 3. *de Lamiis, c.* 8, 9, 10. Franciscus Valesius, *med. controv. l.* 5. *cont.* 6. Marcellus Donatus, *l.* 2. *c.* 1. *de hist. med. mirabil.* Levinus Lemnius, *de occult. nat mir. l.* 1. *c.* 12. Cardan, *l.* 18. *de rerum var.* Corn. Agrippa, *de occult. Philos. cap.* 64, 65. Camerarius, 1. *Cent. cap.* 54. *horarum subcis.* Nymannus, *in orat. de Imag.* Laurentius, and him that is *instar omnium*, Fienus, a famous physician of Antwerp, that wrote three books *de viribus imaginationis.* I have thus far digressed, because this imagination is the *medium deferens* of passions, by whose means they work and produce many times prodigious effects; and as the phantasie is more or less intended or remitted, and their humours disposed, so do perturbations move more or less, and make deeper impression.

Subsect. III.—*Division of Perturbations.*

Perturbations and passions, which trouble the phantasie, though they dwell between the confines of sense and reason, yet they rather follow sense than reason, because they are drowned in corporeal organs of sense. They are commonly [d] reduced into two inclinations, *irascible*, and *concupiscible.* The Thomists subdivide them into eleven, six in the *coveting*, and five in the *invading.* Aristotle reduceth all to pleasure and pain; Plato, to love and hatred; [e] Vives, to good and bad. If good, it is present, and then we absolutely joy and love: or to come, and then we desire and hope for it: if evil, we absolutely hate it: if present, it is sorrow; if to come, fear. These four passions [f] Bernard compares *to the wheels of a chariot, by which we are carryed in this world.* All other passions are subordinate under these four, or six, as some will—love, joy, desire, hatred, sorrow, fear. The rest, as anger, envy, emulation, pride, jealousie, anxiety, mercy, shame, discontent, despair, ambition, avarice, &c. are reducible unto the first: and, if they be immoderate, they [g] consume the spirits; and melancholy is especially caused by them. Some few discreet men there are, that can govern themselves, and curb in these inordinate affections, by religion, philosophy, and such divine precepts of meekness, patience, and the like; but most part, for want of government, out of indiscretion, ignorance, they suffer themselves wholly to be led by sense, and are so far from repressing rebellious inclinations, that they give all encouragement unto them, leaving the rains, and using all provocations to further them. Bad by nature, worse by art, discipline, [h] custom, education, and a perverse will of their own, they follow on, wheresoever their unbridled affections will transport them, and do more out of custom, self will, than out of reason.

[d] T. W. Jesuit. [e] 3. de Animâ. [f] Ser. 35. Hæ quatuor passiones sunt tamquam rotæ in curru, quibus vehimur hoc mundo. [g] Harum quippe immoderatione, spiritus marcescunt, Fernel. l. 1. Path. c. 18. [h] Malâ consuetudine depravatur ingenium, ne bene faciat. Prosper Calenus. l. de atrâ bile. *Plura faciunt* homines e consuetudine, quam e ratione.—A teneris assuescere multum est.—Video meliora proboque; Deteriora sequor. Ovid.

ax voluntas (as Melancthon calls it) *malum facit*: this stubborn will perverts judgement, which sees and knows what should and ought to , and yet will not do it. *Mancipia gulæ*, slaves to their several lusts etite, they precipitate and plunge [i] themselves into a labyrinth of cares: with lust, blinded with ambition, [j] *they seek that at Gods hands, which y give unto themselves, if they could but refrain from those cares turbations, wherewith they continually macerate their mindes.* But ray to these violent passions of fear, grief, shame, revenge, hatred, &c. they are torn in pieces, as Actæon was with his dogs, and [k] cruir own souls.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Sorrow, a Cause of Melancholy.*

w. Insanus dolor.]—IN this catalogue of passions, which so much the soul of man, and cause this malady, (for I will briefly speak of , and in their order) the first place in this irascible appetite may justly enged by *sorrow*—an inseparable companion, [l] *the mother and daughter ncholy, her epitome, symptome, and chief cause.* As Hippocrates hath beget one another, and tread in a ring; for sorrow is both cause and ne of this disease. How it is a symptome, shall be shewed in his place. s a cause, all the world acknowledge. *Dolor nonnullis insaniæ caussa ıliorum morborum insanabilium*, saith Plutarch to Apollonius; a cause ness, a cause of many other diseases; a sole cause of this mischief, us calls it. So doth Rhasis, *cont. l.* 1. *tract.* 9. Guianerius, *tract.*

And, if it take root once, it ends in despair, as [n] Felix Plater observes, in [o] Cebes table) may well be coupled with it. [p] Chrysostom, in his nth epistle to Olympia, describes it to be *a cruel torture of the soul, inexplicable grief, poisoned worm, consuming body and soul, and the very heart, a perpetual executioner, continual night, profound s, a whirlwind, a tempest, an ague not appearing, heating worse than , and a battle that hath no end. It crucifies worse than any tyrant: re, no strappado, no bodily punishment, is like unto it.* 'Tis the ithout question, which the poets feigned to gnaw [q] Prometheus heart; *eaviness is like unto the heaviness of the heart* (Ecclus. 25. 15, 16). *perturbation is a misery; but grief a cruel torment*, a domineering

As in old Rome, when the Dictator was created, all inferiour ma- s ceased—when grief appears, all other passions vanish. *It dries up s* (saith Solomon, *c.* 17. Prov.); makes them hollow-ey'd, pale, and rrow-faced, to have dead looks, wrinkled brows, riveled cheeks, dry and quite perverts their temperature, that are misaffected with it; as , that exil'd mournful duchess, (in our [s] English Ovid) laments to her sband, Humphrey duke of Gloucester—

> Sawest thou those eyes, in whose sweet cheerful look,
> Duke Humphrey once such joy and pleasure took,
> Sorrow hath so despoil'd me of all grace,
> Thou couldst not say this was my Elnors face.
> Like a foul Gorgon, &c.

editur, nisi a seipso. [j] Multi se in inquietudinem præcipitant: ambitione et cupiditatibus non intelligunt se illud a diis petere, quod sibi ipsis, si velint, præstare possint, si curis et mibus, quibus assidue se macerant, imperare vellent. [k] Tanto studio miseriarum caussas, a dolorum, quærimus; vitamque, secus felicissimam, tristem et miserabilem efficimus. mfat. de Remediis, &c. [l] Timor et mœstitia, si diu perseverent, caussa et soboles atri nt, et in circulum se procreant. Hip. Aphoris. 23. l. 6. Idem Montaltus. cap. 19. Victorius , pract. imag. [m] Multi ex mœrore et metu huc delapsi sunt. Lemn. lib. i. cap. 16. a et tristitia faciunt accedere melancholiam: (cap. 3. de mentis alien.) si altas radices agat, xamque degenerant melancholiam, et in desperationem desinit. [n] Ille, luctus: ejus vero ratio simul ponitur. [o] Animarum crudele tormentum, dolor inexplicabilis, tinea, non , sed corda, pertingens, perpetuus carnifex, vires animæ consumens, jugis nox et tenebræ tempestas, et turbo, et febris non apparens, omni igne validius incendens, longior, et pugna habens—Cruorem circumfert dolor, faciemque omni tyranno crudeliorem pro se fert. es, Mythol. l. 4. c. 6. [q] Tully, 3. Tusc. omnis perturbatio miseria; et carnificina est M. Drayton, in his Her. ep.

[t] *It hinders concoction, refrigerates the heart, takes away stomach, colour, and sleep; thickens the blood* ([u] Fernelius *l.* 1. *c.* 18. *de morb. caussis*), *contaminates the spirits*, ([x] Piso) overthrows the natural heat, perverts the good estate of body and mind, and makes them weary of their lives, cry out, howl, and roar, for very anguish of their souls. David confessed as much (Psal. 38. 8.) *I have roared for the very disquietness of my heart:* and (Psal. 119. part. 4. v.) *my soul melteth away for very heaviness:* (vers. 38.) *I am like a bottle in the smoak.* Antiochus complained that he could not sleep, and that his heart fainted for grief. [y] Christ himself, *vir dolorum*, out of an apprehension of grief, did sweat blood. (Mark 14): his soul was heavy to the death, and no sorrow was like unto his. Crato (*consil.* 21. *l.* 2) gives instance in one that was so melancholy by reason of [z] grief; and Montanus (*consil.* 30) in a noble matron, [a] *that had no other cause of this mischief.* J. S. D. (in Hildesheim) fully cured a patient of his, that was much troubled with melancholy, and for many years; [b] *but afterwards by a little occasion of sorrow, he fell into his former fits, and was tormented as before.* Examples are common, how it causeth melancholy, [c] desperation, and sometimes death it self; for (Ecclus. 38. 15.) *of heaviness comes death. Worldly sorrow causeth death* (2 Cor. 7. 10. Psal. 31. 10.) *My life is wasted with heaviness, and my years with mourning.* Why was Hecuba said to be turned to a dog? Niobe, into a stone? but that for grief she was senseless and stupid. Severus the emperour, [d] dyed for grief; and how [e] many myriads besides! *Tanta illi est feritas, tanta est insania luctûs.* Melancthon gives a reason of it—[f] *the gathering of much melancholy blood about the heart; which collection extinguisheth the good spirits, or at least dulleth them; sorrow strikes the heart, makes it tremble and pine away, with great pain: and the black blood, drawn from the spleen, and diffused under the ribs on the left side, makes those perilous hypochondriacal convulsions, which happen to them that are troubled with sorrow.*

Subsect. V.—*Fear, a Cause.*

Cosen german to *sorrow*, is *fear*, or rather a sister,—*fidus Achates*, and continual companion—an assistant and a principal agent in procuring of this mischief; a cause and symptome as the other. In a word, as [g] Virgil of the Harpies, I may justly say of them both,

> Tristius haud illis monstrum; nec sævior ulla
> Pestis, et ira Deûm, Stygiis sese extulit undis.
>
> A sadder monster, or more cruel plague so fell,
> Or vengeance of the Gods, ne'er came from Styx or Hell.

This foul fiend of fear was worshipped heretofore as a God by the Lacedæmonians, and most of those other torturing [h] affections, and so was sorrow, amongst the rest, under the name of Angerona Dea; they stood in such awe of them, as Austin (*de Civitat. Dei, lib.* 4. *cap.* 8) noteth out of Varro. Fear was commonly [i] adored and painted in their temples with a lions head; and (as Macrobius records, 1. 10, Saturnalium.) [j] *In the calends of Ja-*

[t] Crato consil. 21. lib. 2. mœstitia universum infrigidat corpus, calorem innatum extinguit, appetitum destruit. [u] Cor refrigerat tristitia, spiritus exsiccat, innatumque calorem obruit, vigilias inducit, concoctionem labefactat, sanguinem incrassat, exaggeratque melancholicum succum. [x] Spiritus et sanguis hoc contaminatur. Piso. [y] Marc. 6. 16. 11. [z] Mœrore maceror, marcesco, et consenesco, miser: ossa atque pellis sum miserâ macritudine. Plaut. [a] Malum inceptum et actum a tristitiâ solâ. [b] Hildesheim, spicel. 2. de melancholiâ. Mœrore animi postea accedente, in priora symptomata incidit. [c] Vives, 3. de animâ, c. de mœrore, Sabin. in Ovid. [d] Herodian, l. 3. Mœrore magis quam morbo consumptus est. [e] Bothwellius atribilarius obiit, Brizarrus Genuensis hist. &c. [f] Mœstitiâ cor quasi percussum constringitur, tremit, et languescit, cum acri sensu doloris. In tristitiâ, cor fugiens attrahit ex splene lentum humorem melancholicum, qui, effusus sub costis in sinistro latere, hypochondriacos flatus facit; quod sæpe accidit iis qui diuturnâ curâ et mœstitiâ conflictantur. Melancthon. [g] Lib. 3. Æn. 4. [h] Et metum ideo deam sacrârunt, ut bonam mentem concederet. Varro, Lactantius, Aug. [i] Lilius Girald. Syntag. 1. de diis miscellaneis. [j] Calendis Jan. feriæ sunt divæ Angeronæ, cui pontifices in sacello Volupiæ sacra faciunt, quod angores et animi *solicitudines propitiata propellat.*

gerona had her holy day, to whom, in the temple of Volupia, or pleasure, their augures and bishops did yearly sacrifice; that, itious to them, she might expel all cares, anguish and vexation of or that year following. Many lamentable effects this fear causeth to be red, pale, tremble, sweat; [k] it makes sudden cold and heat to all the body, palpitation of the heart, syncope, &c. It amazeth many re to speak, or shew themselves in publick assemblies, or before some nages, as Tully confessed of himself, that he trembled still at the be- his speech; and Demosthenes that great orator of Greece, before It confounds voice and memory, as Lucian wittily brings in Jupiter so much afraid of his auditory, when he was to make a speech to the gods, that he could not utter a ready word, but was compelled to ries help in prompting. Many men are so amazed and astonished they know not where they are, what they say, [l] what they do; and h is worst) it tortures them, many dayes before, with continual id suspicion. It hinders most honourable attempts, and makes their , sad and heavy. They that live in fear, are never free, [m] resolute, er merry, but in continual pain; that, as Vives truly said, *nulla est ijor quam metus;* no greater misery, no rack, no torture, like unto spicious, anxious, solicitous, they are childishly drooping without hout judgement, [n] *especially if some terrible object be offered,* as ath it. It causeth oftentimes sudden madness, and almost all man- ases, as I have sufficiently illustrated in my [o]digression of the Force tion, and shall do more at large in my section of [p] Terrours. Fear imagination conceive what it list, invites the devil to come to us (as and Cardan avouch), and tyrannizeth over our phantasie more than ffections especially in the dark. We see this verified in most men; r saith, *quæ metuunt, fingunt;* what they fear they conceive, and themselves; they think they see goblins, haggs, devils, and many me melancholy thereby. Cardan (*subtil. lib.* 18) hath an example one, so caused to be melancholy (by sight of a bugbear) all his life gustus Cæsar durst not sit in the dark; *nisi aliquo assidente,* saith s, *numquam tenebris evigilavit.* And 'tis strange what women en will conceive unto themselves, if they go over a church-yard in lye or be alone in a dark room; how they sweat and tremble on a Many men are troubled with future events, foreknowledge of their lestinies, as Severus the emperour, Adrian, and Domitian: *quod num vitæ diem,* saith Suetonius, *valde solicitus;* much tortured in use he foreknew his end; with many such, of which I shall speak rtunely in [t] another place. Anxiety, mercy, pitty, indignation, &c. earful branches derived from these two stems of fear and sorrow, I omit. Read more of them in [u] Carolus Pascalius, [x] Dandinus, &c.

Subsect. VI.—*Shame and Disgrace, Causes.*

and disgrace cause most violent passions, and bitter pangs. *Ob t dedecus publicum, ob errorem commissum, sæpe moventur gene-* (Felix Plater, lib. 3. *de alienat. mentis*): Generous minds are ed with shame, to despair, for some publick disgrace. And *he*

ucit frigus, cordis palpitationem, vocis defectum, atque pallorem. Agrippa, l. 1. c. 63 r spiritus habent frigidos. Mont. [l] Effusas cernens fugientes agmine turmas, Quis at cornua? Faunus ait. Alciat. [m] Metus non solum memoriam consternat, sed et in- i omne et laudabilem conatum impedit. Thucydides. [n] Lib. de fortitudine et virtute Ob prope res adfuit terribilis. [o] Sect. 2. Mem. 3. Subs. 2. [p] Sect. 2. Mem. 4. Subs. 3. ib. Timor attrahit ad se dæmonas. Timor et error multum et in hominibus possunt. tris, ca. 3. Fortes raro spectra vident, quia minus timent. [t] Vitâ ejus. [u] Sect. 2. m. 7. [x] De virt. et vitiis. [z] Com. in Arist. de Animâ.

(saith Philo. *lib.* 2. *de provid. dei*) [y] *that subjects himself to fear, grief, ambition, shame, is not happy, but altogether miserable, tortured with continual labour, care, and misery.* It is as forcible a batterer as any of the rest. [z] *Many men neglect the tumults of the world, and care not for glory, and yet they are afraid of infamy, repulse, disgrace:* (*Tul. offic. l.* 1.) *they can severely contemn pleasure, bear grief indifferently; but they are quite* [a] *battered and broken with reproach and obloquy* (*siquidem vita et fama pari passu ambulant*), and are so dejected many times for some public injury, disgrace, as a box on the ear by their inferiour, to be overcome of their adversary, foiled in the field, to be out in a speech, some foul fact committed or disclosed, &c. that they dare not come abroad all their lives after, but melancholize in corners, and keep in holes. The most generous spirits are most subject to it. *Spiritus altos frangit et generosos:* Hieronym. Aristotle, because he could not understand the motion of Euripus, for grief and shame drowned himself: Cœlius Rodoginus (*antiquar. lec. lib.* 29. *cap.* 8) *Homerus pudore consumptus*, was swallowed up with this passion of shame, [b] *because he could not unfold the fisherman's riddle.* Sophocles killed himself, [c] *for that a tragedy of his was hissed off the stage.* (Valer. Max. *lib.* 9. *cap.* 12.) Lucretia stabbed her self; and so did [d] Cleopatra, *when she saw that she was reserved for a triumph, to avoid the infamy.* Antonius, the Roman, [e] *after he was overcome of his enemy, for three days space sat solitary in the fore-part of the ship, abstaining from all company, even of Cleopatra her self, and afterwards, for very shame, butchered himself.* (Plutarch. vitâ ejus.) Apollonius Rhodius [f] *wilfully banished himself, forsaking his countrey, and all his dear friends, because he was out in reciting his poems.* (Plinius, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 23.) Ajax ran mad, because his arms were adjudged to Ulysses. In China, 'tis an ordinary thing for such as are exluded in those famous tryals of theirs, or should take degrees, for shame and grief to lose their wits [g] (Mat. Riccius, *expedit. ad Sinas l.* 3. *c.* 9.) Hostratus the fryer took that book which Reuclin had writ against him, under the name of *Epist. obscurorum virorum*, so to heart, that, for shame and grief, he made away himself [h] (*Jovius, in elogiis*). A grave and learned minister, and an ordinary preacher at Alcmar in Holland, was (one day, as he walked in the fields for his recreation) suddenly taken with a lask or looseness, and thereupon compelled to retire to the next ditch; but, being [i] surprized at unawares by some gentlewomen of his parish wandering that way, was so abashed, that he did never after shew his head in publick, but pined away with melancholy: (Pet. Forestus, *med. observat. lib.* 10. *observat.* 12.) So shame amongst other passions can play his prize.

I know there be many base, impudent, brazen-faced rogues, that will [j] *nullâ pallescere culpâ*, be moved with nothing, take no infamy or disgrace to heart, laugh at all; let them be proved perjured, stigmatized, convict rogues, thieves, traitours, lose their ears, be whipped, branded, carted, pointed at, hissed, reviled, and derided (with [k] Ballio the baud in Plautus) they

[y] Qui mentem subjecit timoris dominationi, cupiditatis, doloris, ambitionis, pudoris, felix non est, sed omnino miser: assiduis laboribus torquetur et miserâ. [z] Multi contemnunt mundi strepitum, reputant pro nihilo gloriam, sed timent infamiam, offensionem, repulsam. Voluptatem severissime contemnunt; in dolore sunt molliores: gloriam negligunt; franguntur infamiâ. [a] Gravius contumeliam ferimus quam detrimentum, ni abjecto nimis animo simus. Plut. in Timol. [b] Quod piscatoris ænigma solvere non posset. [c] Ob tragœdiam explosam, mortem sibi gladio conscivit. [d] Cum vidit in triumphum se servari, caussâ ejus ignominiæ vitandæ mortem sibi conscivit. Plut. [e] Bello victus, per tres dies sedit in prorâ navis, abstinens ab omni consortio, etiam Cleopatræ; postea se interfecit. [f] Cum male recitâsset Argonautica, ob pudorem exulavit. [g] Quidam, præ verecundiâ simul et dolore, in insaniam incidunt, eo quod a literatorum gradu in examine excludantur. [h] Hostratus cucullatus adeo graviter ob Reuclini librum, qui inscribitur, Epistolæ obscurorum virorum dolore simul et pudore sauciatus, ut seipsum interfecerit. [i] Propter ruborem confusus, statim cœpit delirare, &c. ob suspicionem, quod vili illum crimine accusarent. [j] Horat. [k] Ps. Impudice. B. Ita est. Ps. sceleste. B. dicis vera. Ps. verbero. B. quippini? Ps. furcifer. B. factum optime. Ps. sociofraude. B. sunt mea istæc. Ps. parricida. B. perge tu. P. sacrilege. B. fateor. Ps. perjure. B. vera dicis. Ps. pernicies adolescentum. B. acerrime. Ps. fur. B. babæ! Ps. fugitive. B. bombax! Ps. fraus populi. B. *planissime.* Ps. impure leno, cœnum. B. cantores probos! Pseudolus, act. 1. scen. 3.

rejoyce at it; *cantores probos! babæ!* and *bombax!* what care they? We have too many such in our times.

——Exclamat Melicerta perisse
Frontem de rebus.

Yet a modest man, one that hath grace, a generous spirit, tender of his reputation, will be deeply wounded, and so grievously affected with it, that he had rather give myriads of crowns, lose his life, than suffer the least defamation of honour, or blot in his good name. And, if so be that he cannot avoid it—as a nightingale, *quæ, cantando victa, moritur,* (saith [l] Mizaldus) dies for shame, if another bird sing better—he languisheth and pineth away in the anguish of his spirit.

SUBSECT. VII.—*Envy, Malice, Hatred, Causes.*

ENVY and malice are two links of this chain; and both (as Guianerius, *Tract.* 15. *cap.* 2. proves out of Galen, 3 *Aphorism. com.* 22.) [m] *cause this malady by themselves, especially if their bodies be otherwise disposed to melancholy.* 'Tis Valescus de Taranta and Felix Platerus observation: [n] *envy so gnawes many men's hearts, that they become altogether melancholy.* And, therefore, belike, Solomon (*Prov.* 14. 13.) calls it, *the rotting of the bones;* Cyprian, *vulnus occultum.*

——[o] Siculi non invenêre tyranni
Majus tormentum:

the Sicilian tyrants never invented the like torment. It crucifies their souls, withers their bodies, makes them hollow-ey'd, [p] pale, lean, and ghastly to behold (Cyprian, *ser.* 2. *de zelo et livore.*) [q] *As a moth gnaws a garment,* so (saith Chrysostome) *doth envy consume a man;* to be a living anatomy, a *skeleton; to be a lean and* [r] *pale carcass, quickned with a* [s] *fiend* (Hall, *in Charact.*); for, so often as an envious wretch sees another man prosper, to be enriched, to thrive, and be fortunate in the world, to get honours, offices, or the like, he repines, and grieves:

——[t] intabescitque videndo
Su cessus hominum——
Suppliciumque suum est:

he tortures himself, if his equal, friend, neighbour be preferred, commended, do well; if he understand of it, it gauls him afresh; and no greater pain can come to him, than to hear of another mans well doing; 'tis a dagger at his heart, every such object. He looks at him (as they that fell down in Lucians rock of honour) with an envious eye, and will damage himself to do the other a mischief, (*Atque cadet subito, dum super hoste cadat*) as he did, in Æsop, lose one eye willingly, that his fellow might lose both, or that rich man, in [u] Quintilian, that poysoned the flowers in his garden, because his neighbours bees should get no more honey from them. His whole life is sorrow; and every word he speaks a *satyre;* nothing fats him but other mens ruines; for, to speak in a word, envy is nought else but *tristitia de bonis alienis,* sorrow for other mens good, be it present, past, or to come; *et gaudium de adversis,* and [v] joy at their harms, opposite to mercy, [w] which grieves at other mens mischances, and misaffects the body in another kind; so Damascen defines it, *lib.* 2. *de orthod. fid.* Thomas, 2. 2. *quæst.* 36. *art.* 1. Aristotle, *l.* 2. *Rhet.*

[l] Cent. 7. e Plinio. [m] Multus videmus, propter invidiam et odium, in melancholiam incidisse; et illos potissimum quorum corpora ad hanc apta sunt. [n] Invidia affligit homines adeo et corrodit, ut hi melancholici penitus fiant. [o] Hor. [p] His vultus minax, torvus aspectus, pallor in facie, in labiis tremor, stridor in dentibus, &c. [q] Ut tinea corrodit vestimentum, sic invidia eum, qui zelatur, consumit. [r] Pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto. Nusquam recta acies: livent rubigine dentes. [s] Diaboli expressa imago, toxicum charitatis, venenum amicitiæ, abyssus mentis; non est eo monstrosius monstrum, damnosius damnum: urit, torret, discruciat, macie et squalore conficit. Austin. Domin. prim. Advent. [t] Ovid. [u] Declam. 13. linivit flores maleficis succis, in venenum mella convertens. [v] Statuis cereis Basilius eos comparat, qui liquefiunt ad præsentiam solis, quâ aliis gaudent et ornantur; musciis alii, quæ ulceribus gaudent, amœna prætereunt, sistunt in foetidis. [w] Misericordia etiam, quæ tristitia quædam est, sæpe miserantis corpus male afficit. Agrippa, l. 1. cap. 63.

c. 4. *et* 10. Plato, *Philebo.* Tully, 3. *Tusc.* Greg. Nic. *l. de virt. animæ c.* 12. Basil. *de Invidiâ.* *Pindarus, Od.* 1. *ser.* 5; and we find it true. 'Tis a common disease, and almost natural to us, (as [a] Tacitus holds) to envy another mans prosperity: and 'tis in most men an incurable disease. [b] *I have read,* saith Marcus Aurelius, *Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee authors; I have consulted with many wise men, for a remedy for envy: I could find none but to renounce all happiness, and to be a wretch, and miserable for ever.* 'Tis the beginning of hell in this life, and a passion not to be excused. [c] *Every other sin hath some pleasure annexed to it, or will admit of an excuse: envy alone wants both. Other sins last but for a while: the gut may be satisfied; anger remits; hatred hath an end; envy never ceaseth.* (Cardan *lib.* 2. *de sap.*) Divine and humane examples are very familiar; you may run and read them, as that of Saul and David, Cain and Abel; *angebat illum non proprium peccatum, sed fratris prosperitas,* saith Theodoret; it was his brothers good fortune gauled him. Rachel envied her sister, being barren, (Gen. 30) Josephs brethren him, (Gen. 37). David had a touch of this vice, as he confesseth ([a] Psal. 37), [b] Jeremy and [c] Habbakuk; they repined at others good; but in the end they corrected themselves. Psal. 75: *fret not thyself, &c.* Domitian spited Agricola for his worth, [d] *that a private man should be so much glorified.* [e] Cæcinna was envyed of his fellow citizens, because he was more richly adorned. But, of all others, [f] women are most weak: *ob pulchritudinem, invidiæ sunt feminæ* (Musæus): *aut amat, aut odit: nihil est tertium* (Granatensis); they love, or hate: no medium amongst them. *Implacabiles plerumque læsæ mulieres.* Agrippina like, [g] *a woman, if she see her neighbour more neat or elegant, richer in tires, jewels, or apparel, is enraged, and like a lioness, sets upon her husband, rails at her, scoffs at her, and cannot abide her;* so the Roman ladies, in Tacitus, did at Salonina, Cæcinna's wife, [h] *because she had a better horse, and better furniture; as if she had hurt them with it, they were much offended.* In like sort our gentlewomen do at their usual meetings; one repines or scoffs at anothers bravery and happiness. Myrsine, an Attick wench, was murthered of her fellowes, [i] *because she did excel the rest in beauty* (Constantine, *Agricult. l.* 11. *c.* 7.) Every village will yield such examples.

Subsect. VIII.—*Emulation, Hatred, Faction, Desire of Revenge, Causes.*

Out of this root of envy, [j] spring those feral branches of faction, hatred, livor, emulation, which cause the like grievances, and are *serræ animæ,* the sawes of the soul, [k] *consternationis pleni affectus,* affections full of desperate amazement; or, as Cyprian describes emulation, it is [l] *a moth of the soul, a consumption, to make another mans happiness his misery, to torture, crucifie, and execute himself, to eat his own heart. Meat and drink can do such men no good: they do always grieve, sigh, and groan, day and*

[a] Insitum mortalibus a naturæ recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis intueri. Hist. l. 2. Tacit. [b] Legi Chaldæos, Græcos, Hebræos; consului sapientes, pro remedio invidiæ; hoc enim inveni, renunciare felicitati, et perpetuo miser esse. [c] Omne peccatum aut excusationem secum habet, aut voluptatem; sola invidia utræque caret. Reliqua vitia finem habent; ira defervescit; gula satiatur; odium finem habet, invidia numquam quiescit. [d] Urebat me æmulatio propter stultos. [e] Hier. 12. l. Hab. 1. [f] Invidit privati nomen supra principis attoli. [g] Tacit. Hist. lib. 2. part. 6. [h] Perituræ dolore et invidiâ, si quam viderint ornatiorem se in publicum prodiisse. Platina, dial. amorum. [i] Ant. Guianerius, lib. 2. cap. 8. vit. M. Aurelii. Femina, vicinam elegantius se vestitam videns, leænæ instar in virum insurgit, &c. [j] Quod insignis equo et ostro veheretur, quamquam nullius cum injuriâ, ornatum illum, tamquam læsæ, gravabantur. [k] Quod pulchritudine omnes excelleret, puellæ indignitate occiderunt, [l] Late patet invidiæ fecunda pernicies; et livor radix omnium malorum, fons cladium: inde odium surgit, æmulatio. Cyprian. ser. 2. de Livore. [m] Valerius, l. 3. cap. 9. [n] Qualis est animi tinea, quæ tabes pectoris, zelare in altero, vel aliorum felicitatem suam facere miseriam, et velut quosdam pectori suo admovere carnifices, cogitationibus et sensibus suis adhibere tortores, qui se intestinis cruciatibus lacerent? Non cibus talibus lætus, non potus potest esse jucundus; suspiratur semper et gemitur, et doletur dies et noctes; pectus sine intermissione laceratur.

ithout intermission; their breast is torn asunder: and a little after, *ever he is, whom thou dost emulate and envy, he may avoid thee; u canst neither avoid him, nor thy self. Wheresoever thou art, he thee; thine enemy is ever in thy breast; thy destruction is within hou art a captive, bound hand and foot, as long as thou art mali- nd envious, and canst not be comforted. It was the devils over-* and, whensoever thou art thoroughly affected with this passion, it thine. Yet no perturbation so frequent, no passion so common.

[a] Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων·
Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

A potter emulates a potter; | A beggar emulates a beggar;
One smith envies another: | A singing man his brother.

y society, corporation, and private family, is full of it; it takes hold of all sorts of men, from the prince to the ploughman; even amongst it is to be seen: scarce three in a company, but there is siding, faction, on, between two of them, some *simultas*, jarr, private grudge, heart- in the midst of them. Scarce two gentlemen dwell together in the , (if they be not near kin or linked in marriage) but there is emulation them and their servants, some quarrel or some grudge betwixt their · children, friends and followers, some contention about wealth, gentry, ncy, &c. by means of which, (like the frog in [c] Æsop, *that would ll she was as big as an ox, but burst her self at last*) they will stretch their fortunes, callings, and strive so long, that they consume their ce in law-suits, or otherwise in hospitality, feasting, fine clothes, to ew bumbast titles; for *ambitiosâ paupertate laboramus omnes;* to e one another, they will tire their bodies, macerate their souls, and, contentions or mutual invitations, begger themselves. Scarce two holars in an age, but with bitter invectives they fall foul one on the nd their adherents—Scotists, Thomists, Reals, Nominals, Plato and e, Galenists and Paracelsians, &c. it holds in all professions.

st [d] emulation in studies, in all callings, is not to be disliked: 'tis *um cos*, as one calls it—the whetstone of wit, the nurse of wit and and those noble Romans, out of this spirit, did brave exploits, a modest ambition, as Themistocles was roused up with the glory of es; Achilles trophies moved Alexander.

[e] Ambire semper stulta confidentia est:
Ambire numquam deses arrogantia est:

uggish humour not to emulate or to sue at all, to withdraw himself, refrain from such places, honours, offices, through sloth, niggard- ear, bashfulness, or otherwise, to which, by his birth, place, fortunes, on, he is called, apt, fit, and well able to undergo: but, when it is rate, it is a plague and a miserable pain. What a deal of money nry the eighth, and Francis the first, king of France, spend at that interview! and how many vain courtiers, seeking each to outbrave pent themselves, their lively-hood and fortunes, and dyed beggars! the emperour was so galled with it, that he killed all his equals; Nero. This passion made [f] Dionysius the tyrant banish Plato and nus the poet, because they did excell and eclipse his glory, as he ; the Romans exile Coriolanus, confine Camillus, murder Scipio; eeks, by ostracism, to expel Aristides, Nicias, Alcibiades, imprison

lis est ille, quem æmularis, cui invides, is te subterfugere potest; at tu non te: ubicunque versarius tuus tecum est; hostis tuus semper in pectore tuo est, pernicies intus inclusa: vinctus, zelo dominante captivus: nec solatia tibi ulla subveniunt: hinc diabolus inter m mundi, et periit primus, et perdidit. Cyprian. ser. 2. de zelo et livore. [a] Hesiod. op. [b] Rana, cupida æquandi bovem, se distendebat, &c. [c] Æmulatio alit ingenia. Pater- er. Vol. [d] Grotius, Epig. lib. 1. [e] Anno 1519, betwixt Ardes and Quine. [f] Spartian.

Theseus, make away Phocion, &c. When Richard the first, and Philip of France, were fellow souldiers together at the siege of Acon, in the Holy land, and Richard had approved himself to be the more valiant man, in so much that all mens eyes were upon him, it so gauled Philip, (*Francum urebat regis victoria*, saith mine [u] author; *tam ægre ferebat Richardi gloriam, ut carpere dicta, calumniari facta*) that he cavilled at all his proceedings, and fell at length to open defiance. He could contain no longer, but, hasting home, invaded his territories, and professed open war. *Hatred stirs up contention* (*Prov.* 10. 12); and they break out at last into immortal enmity, into virulency, and more than Vatinian hate and rage; [v] they persecute each other, their friends, followers, and all their posterity, with bitter taunts, hostile wars, scurril invectives, libels, calumnies, fire, sword, and the like, and will not be reconciled. Witness that Guelf and Gibelline faction in Italy; that of the Adurni and Fregosi in Genoa; that of Cneius Papirius and Quintus Fabius in Rome; Cæsar and Pompey; Orleans and Burgundy in France; York and Lancaster in England. Yea, this passion so rageth [w] many times, that it subverts, not men only, and families, but even populous cities. [x] Carthage and Corinth can witness as much; nay flourishing kingdoms are brought into a wilderness by it. This hatred, malice, faction, and desire of revenge, invented first all those racks, and wheels, strappadoes, brazen bulls, feral engines, prisons, inquisitions, severe laws, to macerate and torment one another. How happy might we be, and end our time with blessed days, and sweet content, if we could contain our selves, and, as we ought to do, put up injuries, learn humility, meekness, patience, forget and forgive, (as in [y] Gods word we are injoyned), compose such small controversies amongst our selves, moderate our passions in this kind, *and think better of others* (as [z] Paul would have us) *than of our selves; be of like affection one towards another, and not avenge our selves, but have peace with all men.* But being that we are so peevish and perverse, insolent and proud, so factious and seditious, so malicious and envious, we do *invicem angariare*, maul and vex one another, torture, disquiet, and precipitate ourselves into that gulf of woes and cares, aggravate our misery, and melancholy, heap upon us hell and eternal damnation.

Subsect. IX.—*Anger, a Cause.*

Anger, a perturbation, which carries the spirits outwards, preparing the body to melancholy, and madness it self—*ira furor brevis est;* and (as [a] Piccolomineus accounts it) one of the three most violent passions. [b] Aretæus sets it down for an especial cause (so doth Seneca, ep. 18. l. 1.) of this malady. [c] Magninus gives the reason; *ex frequenti irâ supra modum calefiunt;* it over-heats their bodies; and, if it be too frequent, it breaks out into manifest madness, saith S. Ambrose. 'Tis a known saying; *furor fit læsa sæpius patientia;* the most patient spirit that is, if he be often provoked, will be incensed to madness; it will make a devil of a saint: and therefore Basil (belike) in his Homily *de Irâ*, calls it *tenebras rationis, morbum animæ, et dæmonem pessimum;* the darkning of our understanding, and a bad angel. [d] Lucian (*in Abdicato, Tom.* 1) will have this passion to

[u] Johannes Heraldus, l. 2. c. 12. de bello sac. [v] Nulla dies tantum poterit lenire furorem.—Æterna bella pace sublatâ gerunt.—Jurat odium, nec ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desiit. Patercculus, vol. 1. [w] Ita sævit hæc Stygia ministra, ut urbes subvertat aliquando, deleat populos, provincias alioqui florentes redigat in solitudines, mortales vero miseros in profundâ miseriarum valle miserabiliter immergat. [x] Carthago, æmula Romani imperii, funditus interiit. Sallust. Catil. [y] Paul. 3. Col. [z] Rom. 12. [a] Grad. 1. c. 54. [b] Ira, et mœror, et ingens animi consternatio, melancholicos facit. Aretæus. Ira immodica gignit insaniam. [c] Reg. sanit. parte 2. c. 3. In apertam insaniam mox ducitur iratus. [d] Gilberto Cognato interprete. Multis, et præsertim senibus, ira impotens insaniam facit, et importuna calumnia: hæc initio perturbat animum; paullatim vergit ad insaniam. Porro mulierum corpora multa infestant, et in hunc morbum adducunt, præcipue si quæ oderint aut invideant, &c. hæc paullatim in insaniam tandem evadunt.

work this effect, especially in old men and women. *Anger and calumny* (saith he) *trouble them at first, and, after a while, break out into open madness: many things cause fury in women, especially if they love or hate overmuch, or envy, be much grieved or angry; these things, by little and little, lead them on to this malady.* From a disposition, they proceed to an habit; for there is no difference between a mad man and an angry man, in the time of his fit. Anger, as Lactantius describes it, (*L. de Irâ Dei, ad Donatum, c.* 5.) is, [e] *sæva animi tempestas, &c.* a cruel tempest of the mind, *making his eyes sparkle fire, and stare, teeth gnash in his head, his tongue stutter, his face pale or red; and what more filthy imitation can be of a mad man?*

[f]Ora tument irâ; fervescunt sanguine venæ;
Lumina Gorgonio sævius angue micant.

They are void of reason, inexorable, blind, like beasts and monsters for the time, say and do they know not what, curse, swear, rail, fight, and what not? How can a mad man do more? as he said in the comedy, [g] *iracundiâ non sum apud me;* I am not mine own man. If these fits be immoderate, continue long, or be frequent, without doubt they provoke madness. Montanus (*consil.* 21) had a melancholy Jew to his patient; he ascribes this for a principal cause: *irascebatur levibus de caussis;* he was easily moved to anger. Ajax had no other beginning of his madness; and Charles the sixth, that lunatick French king, fell into this misery, out of the extremity of his passion, desire of revenge, and malice; [h] incensed against the duke of Britain, he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep for some days together; and in the end, about the calends of July, 1392, he became mad upon his horse-back, drawing his sword, striking such as came neer him promiscuously, and so continued all the days of his life. (*Æmil. lib.* 10. *Gal. hist.*) Hegesippus (*de excid. urbis Hieros. l.* 1. *c.* 37) hath such a story of Herod, that, out of an angry fit, became mad, and [i] leaping out of his bed, he killed Josippus, and played many such Bedlam pranks. The whole court could not rule him for a long time after. Sometimes he was sorry and repented, much grieved for that he had done, *postquam defervuit ira;* by and by outragious again. In hot cholerick bodies, nothing so soon causeth madness, as this passion of anger, besides many other diseases, as Pelesius observes, (*Cap.* 21. *l.* 1. *de hum. affect. caussis*) *Sanguinem imminuit, fel auget:* and, as [j] Valesius controverts, (*Med. controv. lib.* 5. *contro.* 8) many times kills them quite out. If this were the worst of this passion, it were more tolerable: [k] *but it ruines and subverts whole towns,* [l] *cities, families, and kingdoms. Nulla pestis humano generi pluris stetit,* saith Seneca, (*de Irâ, lib.* 1) no plague hath done mankind so much harm. Look into our histories; and you shall almost meet with no other subject, but what a company [m] of hare-brains have done in their rage. We may do well, therefore, to put this in our precession amongst the rest: *From all blindness of heart, from pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisie, from envy, hatred, and malice, anger, and all such pestiferous perturbations, good Lord, deliver us!*

Subsect. X.—*Discontents, Cares, Miseries, &c. Causes.*

Discontents, cares, crosses, miseries, or whatsoever it is that shall cause any molestation of spirits, grief, anguish, and perplexity, may well be reduced to this head. Preposterously placed here, in some mens judgements, they may seem: yet, in that Aristotle in his [n] Rhetorick defines these cares, as he

[e] Sæva animi tempestas, tantos excitans fluctus, ut statim ardescant oculi, os tremat, lingua titubet, dentes concrepent, &c. [f] Ovid. [g] Terence. [h] Infensus Britanniæ duci, et in ultionem versus, nec cibum cepit, nec quietem; ad Calendas Julias, 1392, comites occidit. [i] Indignatione nimiâ furens, animique impotens, exsilüit de lecto: furentem non capiebat aula, &c. [j] An ira possit hominem interimere. [k] Abernethy. [l] As Troy, sævæ memorem Junonis ob iram. [m] Stultorum regum et populorum continet æstus. [n] Lib. 2. Invidia est dolor, et ambitio est dolor, &c.

doth envy, emulation, &c. still by grief, I think I may well rank them in this irascible row; being that they are, as the rest, both causes and symptomes of this disease, producing the like inconveniences, and are, most part, accompanied with anguish and pain (the common etymology will evince it—*cura, quasi corrura*); *dementes curæ, insomnes, curæ, damnosæ curæ, tristes, mordaces, carnifices*, &c. biting, eating, gnawing, cruel, bitter, sick, sad, unquiet, pale, tetrick, miserable, intolerable cares (as the poets[s] call them;) worldly cares, and are as many in number as the sea sands. [t] Galen, Fernelius, Felix Plater, Valescus de Taranta, &c. reckon afflictions, miseries, even all these contentions, and vexations of the mind, as principal causes, in that they take away sleep, hinder concoction, dry up the body, and consume the substance of it. They are not so many in number, but their causes be as divers, and not one of a thousand free from them, or that can vindicate himself, whom that *Ate dea*—

[s] *Per hominum capita mœstiter ambulans,*
Plantas pedum teneras habens—

Over mens heads walking aloft,
With tender feet treading so soft—

Homers goddess Ate, hath not involved into this discontented [r] rank, or plagued with some misery or other. Hyginus (*fab.* 220) to this purpose hath a pleasant tale. Dame Cura by chance went over a brook, and, taking up some of the dirty slime, made an image of it. Jupiter, eftsoons coming by, put life to it; but Cura and Jupiter could not agree what name to give him, or who should own him. The matter was referred to Saturn as judge: he gave this arbitrement; his name shall be *Homo ab humo: Cura eum possideat quamdiu vivat*: Care shall have him whilst he lives; Jupiter his soul, and Tellus his body when he dies. But, to leave tales—A general cause, a continuate cause, an inseparable accident to all men, is discontent, care, misery. Were there no other particular affliction (which who is free from?) to molest a man in this life, the very cogitation of that common misery were enough to macerate, and make him weary of his life; to think that he can never be secure, but still in danger, sorrow, grief, and persecution. For, to begin at the hour of his birth, as [u] Pliny doth elegantly describe it, *he is born naked, and falls*[x] *a whining at the very first; he is swadled and bound up, like a prisoner; cannot help himself; and so he continues to his lives end; cujusque feræ pabulum*, saith [y] Seneca, impatient of heat and cold, impatient of labour, impatient of idleness, exposed to Fortunes contumelies. To a naked mariner Lucretius compares him, cast on shore by shipwrack, cold and comfortless in an unknown land: [z] No estate, age, sex, can secure himself from this common misery. *A man, that is born of a woman, is of short continuance, and full of trouble* (Job 14. 1. 22); *and, while his flesh is upon him, he shall be sorrowful: and, while his soul is in him, it shall mourn. All his days are sorrow, and his travels grief: his heart also taketh not rest in the night*; (Ecclus. 2. 23. and 2. 11) *all that is in it, is sorrow and vexation of spirit*; [a] *ingress, progress, regress, egress, much alike. Blindness seizeth on us in the beginning, labour in the middle, grief in the end, errour in all. What day ariseth to us, without some grief, care, or anguish? or what so secure and pleasing a morning have we seen, that hath not been overcast before the evening.* One is miserable, another ridiculous, a third odious. One complains of this grievance, another of that. *Aliquando nervi,*

[s] Insomnes, Claudianus. tristes, Virg. mordaces, Luc. edaces, Hor. mœstæ, amare, Ovid. damnosæ, inquietæ, Mart. urentes, rodentes, Mant. &c. [t] Galen. l. 3. c. 7, de locis affectis. Homines sunt maxime melancholici quando vigiliis, multis, et sollicitudinibus, et laboribus, et curis, fuerint circumventi. [u] Lucian. Podag. [x] Omnia imperfecta, confusa, et perturbatione plena. Cardan. [y] Lib. 7. nat. hist. cap. 1. Hominem nudum et ad vagitum edit natura. Flens ab initio, devinctus jacet, &c.

[z] Δακρυχέων γενόμην, καὶ δακρύσας ἀποθνήσκω·
Τῷ γενὸς ἀνθρωπῶν πολυδάκρυτον, ἀσθενὲς, οἰκτρόν.

Lacrymans natus sum, et lacrymans morior, &c. [a] Ad Marinum. [b] Boëthius. [c] Initium cæcitas, progressum labor, exitum dolor, error omnia: quem tranquillum, quæso, quem non laboriosum aut sordium diem egimus? Petrarch.

aliquando pedes, verant, (Seneca) *nunc destillatio, nunc hepatis morbus; nunc deest, nunc superest, sanguis:* now the head akes, then the feet, now the lungs, then the liver, &c. *Huic census exuberat: sed est pudori degener sanguis, &c.* He is rich, but base born; he is noble, but poor: a third hath means; but he wants health, peradventure, or wit to manage his estate. Children vex one, wife a second, &c. *Nemo facile cum conditione suâ concordat,* no man is pleased with his fortune; a pound of sorrow is familiarly mixt with a dram of content; little or no joy, little comfort, but [x]every where danger, contention, anxiety in all places. Go where thou wilt; and thou shalt find discontents, cares, woes, complaints, sickness, diseases, incumbrances, exclamations. *If thou look into the market, there* (saith [y] Chrysostom) *is brawling and contention; if to the court, there knavery and flattery, &c. if to a private mans house, there's cark and care, heaviness, &c.* As he said of old, [z] *Nil homine in terrâ spirat miserum magis almâ:* No creature so miserable as man, so generally molested, [a] *in miseries of body, in miseries of mind, miseries of heart, in miseries asleep, in miseries awake, in miseries wheresoever he turns,* as Bernard found. *Numquid tentatio est vita humana super terram?* A meer temptation is our life; (Austin. *confess. lib.* 10. *cap.* 28) *catena perpetuorum malorum; et quis potest molestias et difficultates pati?* Who can endure the miseries of it? [b] *In prosperity we are insolent and intolerable, dejected in adversity, in all fortunes foolish and miserable.* [c] *In adversity, I wish for prosperity; and, in prosperity, I am afraid of adversity. What mediocrity may be found? where is no temptation? what condition of life is free?* [d] *Wisdom hath labour annexed to it, glory envy; riches and cares, children and incumbrances, pleasure and diseases, rest and beggery, go together; as if a man were therefore born,* (as the Platonists hold) *to be punished in this life, for some precedent sins:* or that, as [e] Pliny complains, *Nature may be rather accounted a step-mother, than a mother unto us, all things considered: no creatures life so brittle, so full of fear, so mad, so furious; only man is plagued with envy, discontent, griefs, covetousness, ambition, superstition.* Our whole life is an Irish sea, wherein there is nought to be expected, but tempestuous storms, and troublesome waves, and those infinite;

> [f] Tantum malorum pelagus aspicio,
> Ut non sit inde enatandi copia:

no Halcyonian times, wherein a man can hold himself secure, or agree with his present estate: but, as Boëthius inferrs, [g] *there is something in every one of us, which, before tryal, we seek, and, having tryed, abhor:* [h] *we earnestly wish, and eagerly covet, and are eftsoons weary of it.* Thus, betwixt hope and fear, suspicions, angers, [i] *Inter spemque metumque, timores inter et iras,* betwixt falling in, falling out, &c. we bangle away our best days, befool out our times, we lead a contentious, discontent, tumultuous, melancholy, miserable life; insomuch that, if we could foretell what was to come, and it put to our choice, we should rather refuse, than accept of, this painful life. In a word, the world itself is a maze, a labyrinth of errours, a desart, a wilderness, a den of thieves, cheaters, &c. full of filthy puddles, horrid rocks,

[x] Ubique periculum, ubique dolor, ubique naufragium, in hoc ambitu, quocunque me vertam. Lipsius. [y] Hom. 10. Si in forum iveris, ibi rixæ, et pugnæ; si in curiam, ibi fraus, adulatio; si in domum privatam, &c. [z] Homer. [a] Multis repletur homo miseriis, corporis miseriis, animi miseriis, dum dormit, dum vigilat, quocunque se vertit. Lususque rerum, temporumque nascimur. [b] In blandiente fortunâ intolerandi, in calamitatibus lugubres, semper stulti et miseri. Cardan. [c] Prospera in adversis desidero, et adversa prosperis timeo; quis inter hæc medius locus, ubi non sit humanæ vitæ tentatio? [d] Cardan. consol. Sapientiæ labor annexus, gloriæ invidia, divitiis curæ, sobolo solicitudo, voluptadi morbi, quieti paupertas, ut quasi luendorum scelerum causâ nasci hominem possis cum Platonistes agnoscere. [e] Lib. 7. cap. 1. Non satis æstimare, an melior parens natura homini, an tristior noverca, fuerit. Nulli fragilior vita, pavor, confusio, rabies major; uni animantium ambitio data, luctus, avaritia; uni superstitio. [f] Euripides. [g] De consol. l. 2. Nemo facile cum conditione suâ concordat. Inest singulis quod imperiti petant, experti horreant. [h] Ease in honore juvat, mox displicet. [i] Hor.

precipitiums, an ocean of adversity, an heavy yoke, wherein infirmities and calamities overtake and follow one another, as the sea-waves; and, if we scape Scylla, we fall foul on Charybdis; and so, in perpetual fear, labour, anguish, we run from one plague, one mischief, one burden, to another, *duram servientes servitutem;* and you may as soon separate weight from lead, heat from fire, moystness from water, brightness from the sun, as misery, discontent, care, calamity, danger, from a man. Our towns and cities are but so many dwellings of human misery, *in which, grief and sorrow,* (j as he right well observes out of Solon) *innumerable troubles, labours of mortal men, and all manner of vices, are included, as in so many pens.* Our villages are like mole-hills, and men as so many emmets, busie, busie still, going to and fro, in and out, and crossing one anothers projects, as the lines of several *sea-cards* cut each other in a globe or map; *now light and merry,* but (k as one follows it) *by-and-by sorrowful and heavy; now hoping, then distrusting; now patient, to morrow crying out; now pale, then red; running, sitting, sweating, trembling, halting, &c.* Some few amongst the rest, or perhaps one of a thousand, may be *pullus Jovis,* in the worlds esteem, *gallinæ filius albæ,* an happy and fortunate man, *ad invidiam felix,* because rich, fair, well allied, in honour and office; yet peradventure ask himself, and he will say, that of all others, l he is most miserable and unhappy. A fair shooe, *hic soccus novus, elegans,* as he m said; *sed nescis ubi urat;* but thou knowest not where it pincheth. It is not another mans opinion can make me happy: but (as n Seneca well hath it) *he is a miserable wretch, that doth not account himself happy; though he be soveraign lord of a world, he is not happy, if he think himself not to be so; for what availeth it what thine estate is, or seem to others, if thou thy self dislike it?* A common humour it is of all men to think well of other mens fortunes, and dislike their own: o *Cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio, sors:* but p *qui fit, Mæcenas, &c.* how comes it to pass? what's the cause of it? Many men are of such a perverse nature, they are well pleased with nothing, (saith q Theodoret) *neither with riches, nor poverty: they complain when they are well, and, when they are sick, grumble at all fortunes, prosperity and adversity; they are troubled in a cheap year, in a barren: plenty, or not plenty, nothing pleaseth them, war nor peace, with children, nor without.* This, for the most part, is the humour of us all, to be discontent, miserable and most unhappy, as we think at least; and shew me him that is not so, or that ever was otherwise. Quintus Metellus his felicity is infinitely admired amongst the Romans, insomuch, that (as r Paterculus mentioneth of him) you can scarce find, of any nation, order, age, sex, one for happiness to be compared unto him: he had, in a word, *bona animi, corporis, et fortunæ,* goods of mind, body, and fortune; so had P. Mutianus s Crassus. Lampsaca, that Lacedæmonian lady, was such another in t Plinies conceit, *a kings wife, a kings mother, a kings daughter;* and all the world esteemed as much of Polycrates of Samos. The Greeks brag of their Socrates, Phocion, Aristides; the Psophidians in particular of their Aglaïs, *omni vitâ*

j Borrhæus in 6 Joh. Urbes et oppida nihil aliud sunt quam humanarum ærumnarum domicilia, quibus luctus et mœror, et mortalium varii infinitique labores, et omnis generis vitia, quasi septis includuntur. k Nat. Chytræus, de lit. Europæ. Lætus nunc, mox tristis; nunc sperans, paullo post diffidens: patiens hodie, cras ejulans; nunc pallens, rubens, currens, sedens, claudicans, tremens, &c. l Sua cuique calamitas præcipua. m Cn. Græcinus. n Epist. 9. l. 7. Miser est qui se beatissimum non judicat; licet imperet mundo, non est beatus, qui se non putat: quid enim refert, qualis status tuus sit, si tibi videtur malus? o Hor. ep. l. 1. 4. p Hor. ser. 1. sat. 1. q Lib. de curat. Græc. affec. cap. 6. de provident. Multis nihil placet; atque adeo et divitias damnant, et paupertatem; de morbis expostulant; bene valentes, graviter ferunt; atque, ut semel dicam, nihil eos delectat, &c. r Vix ullius gentis, ætatis, ordinis, hominem invenies, cujus felicitatem fortunæ Metelli compares. Vol. l. s P. Crassus Mutianus quinque habuisse dicitur rerum bonarum maxima, quod esset ditissimus, quod esset nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, jurisconsultissimus, pontifex maximus. t Idb. 7. Regis filia, regis uxor, regis mater.

felix, ab omni periculo immunis (which, by the way, Pausanias held impossible;) the Romans of their [t]Cato, Curius, Fabricius, for their composed fortunes, and retired estates, government of passions, and contempt of the world: yet none of all these was happy or free from discontent—neither Metellus, Crassus, nor Polycrates; for he died a violent death, and so did Cato: and how much evil doth Lactantius and Theodoret speak of Socrates! —a weak man—and so of the rest. There is no content in this life; but (as [u]he said) *all is vanity and vexation of spirit;* lame and imperfect. Hadst thou Sampsons hair, Milos strength, Scanderbegs arm, Solomons wisdom, Absaloms beauty, Crœsus his wealth, *Pasetis obulum*, Cæsars valour, Alexanders spirit, Tullys or Demosthenes eloquence, Gyges ring, Perseus Pegasus, and Gorgons head, Nestors years to come, all this would not make thee absolute, give thee content and true happiness in this life, or so continue it. Even in the midst of all our mirth, jollity, and laughter, is sorrow and grief; or, if there be true happiness amongst us, 'tis but for a time: [v]*Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne:* a fair morning turns to a lowring afternoon. Brutus and Cassius, once renowned, both eminently happy—yet you shall scarce find two (saith Paterculus) *quos fortuna maturius destituerit*, whom fortune sooner forsook. Hannibal, a conqueror all his life, met with his match, and was subdued at last: *Occurrit forti, qui mage fortis erat.* One is brought in triumph, as Cæsar into Rome, Alcibiades into Athens, *coronis aureis donatus*, crowned, honoured, admired; by-and-by his statues demolished, he hissed out, massacred, &c. [x]Magnus Gonsalva, that famous Spaniard, was of the prince and people at first honoured, approved; forthwith confined and banished. *Admirandas actiones graves plerumque sequuntur invidiæ, et acres calumniæ* ('tis Polybius his observation): grievous enmities, and bitter calumnies, commonly follow renowned actions. One is born rich, dies a beggar; sound to day, sick to morrow; now in most flourishing estate, fortunate and happy, by-and-by deprived of his goods by foreign enemies, robbed by thieves, spoiled, captivated, impoverished, as they of [y]Rabbah, *put under iron saws, and under iron harrows, and under axes of iron, and cast into the tile-kiln.*

[z] Quid me felicem totiès jactâstis, amici?
Qui cecidit, stabili non erat ille gradu.

He that erst marched like Xerxes with innumerable armies, as rich as Crœsus, now shifts for himself in a poor cock-boat, is bound in iron chains, with Bajazet the Turk, and a foot-stool with Aurelian, for a tyrannizing conquerour to trample on. So many casualties there are, that, as Seneca said of a city consumed with fire, *una dies interest inter maximam civitatem et nullam*, one day betwixt a great city, and none; so many grievances from outward accidents, and from our selves, our own indiscretion, inordinate appetite; one day betwixt a man and no man. And (which is worse) as if discontents and miseries would not come fast enough upon us, *homo homini dæmon;* we maul, persecute, and study how to sting, gaul, and vex one another with mutual hatred, abuses, injuries; preying upon, and devouring, as so many [a]ravenous birds; and, as juglers, panders, bawds, cosening one another; or raging as [b]wolves, tygers, and devils, we take a delight to torment one another; men are evil, wicked, malicious, treacherous, and [c]naught, not loving one another, or loving themselves, not hospitable, charitable, nor sociable as they ought to be, but counterfeit, dissemblers,

[t] Qui nihil unquam mali aut dixit, aut fecit, quod aliter facere non potuit. [u] Solomon, Eccles. 1. 14. [v] *Hor. Art. Poët.* [x] Jovius, vitâ ejus. [y] 2 Sam. 12. 31. [z] Boëthius, lib. 1. met. 1. [a] Omnes hic aut captantur, aut captant; aut cadavera quæ lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant. Petron. [b] Homo omne monstrum est; ille nam superat feras; lupoesque et ursos pectore obscuro tegit. Heins. [c] Quod Patrerculus de populo Romano, durante bello Punico, per annos 115, aut bellum inter eos, aut belli præparatio, aut infida pax, idem ego de mundi accolis.

ambodexters, all for their own ends, hard-hearted, merciless, pitiless; and, to benefit themselves, they care not what mischief they procure to others. [d]Praxinoë and Gorgo, in the poet, when they had got in to see those costly sights, they then cried *bene est*, and would thrust out all the rest; when they are rich themselves, in honour, preferred, full, and have even what they would, they debar others of those pleasures which youth requires, and they formerly have enjoyed. He sits at table in a soft chair at ease; but he doth not remember in the mean time, that a tired waiter stands behind him, *an hungry fellow ministers to him full: he is athirst that gives him drink*, (saith [e]Epictetus) *and is silent while he speaks his pleasure; pensive, sad, when he laughs. Pleno se ploruit auro*; he feasts, revels, and profusely spends, hath variety of robes, sweet musick, ease, and all the pleasure the world can afford, whilst many an hunger-starved poor creature pines in the street, wants clothes to cover him, labours hard all day long, runs, rides for a trifle, fights peradventure from sun to sun, sick and ill, weary, full of pain and grief, is in great distress and sorrow of heart. He lothes and scorns his inferiour, hates or emulates his equal, envies his superiour, insults over all such as are under him, as if he were of another species, a demi-god, not subject to any fall, or humane infirmities. Generally they love not, are not beloved again: they tire out others bodies with continual labour, they themselves living at ease, caring for none else, *sibi nati;* and are so far many times from putting to their helping hand, that they seek all means to depress, even most worthy and well deserving, better than themselves, those whom they are, by the laws of nature, bound to relieve and help, as much as in them lyes: they will let them cater-waul, starve, beg, and hang, before they will any wayes (though it be in their power) assist or ease: [f]so unnatural are they for the most part, so unregardful, so hard-hearted, so churlish, proud, insolent, so dogged, of so bad a disposition. And, being so brutish, so devilishly bent one towards another, how is it possible, but that we should be discontent of all sides, full of cares, woes, and miseries?

If this be not a sufficient proof of their discontent and misery, examine every condition and calling apart. Kings, princes, monarchs, and magistrates, seem to be most happy; but look into their estate, you shall [g]find them to be most encombred with cares, in perpetual fear, agonie, suspicion, jealousie; that, as he [h]said of a crown, if they knew but the discontents that accompanie it, they would not stoop to take it up. *Quem mihi regem dabis*, (saith Chrysostom) *non curis plenum?* what king canst thou shew me, not full of cares? [i]*Look not on his crown, but consider his afflictions; attend not his number of servants, but multitude of crosses. Nihil aliud potestas culminis, quam tempestas mentis*, as Gregory seconds him: soveraignty is a tempest of the soul: Sylla like, they have brave titles, but terrible fits—*splendorem titulo, cruciatum animo;* which made [j]Demosthenes vow, *si vel ad tribunal, vel ad interitum duceretur*, if to be a judge, or to be condemned, were put to his choice, he would be condemned. Rich men are in the same predicament: what their pains are, *stulti nesciunt, ipsi sentiunt* —they feel, fools perceive not, as I shall prove elsewhere; and their wealth is brittle, like childrens rattles: they come and go; there is no certainty in them; those whom they elevate, they do as suddenly depress, and leave in a vale of misery. The middle sort of men are so many asses

[d]Theocritus, Idyll. 15. [e]Qui sedet in mensâ, non meminit sibi otioso ministrare negotiosos, edenti esurientes, bibenti sitientes, &c. [f]Quando in adolescentiâ suâ ipsi vixerint lautius, et liberius voluptates suas expleverint, illi gnatis imponunt duriores continentiæ leges. [g]Lugubris Ate luctuque fero regum tumidas obsidet arces.—Res est inquieta felicitas. [h]Plus aloës quam mellis habet.—Non humi jacentem tolleres. Valer. l. 7. c. 3. [i]Non diadema aspicias, sed vitam afflictione *refertam*, non catervas satellitum, sed curarum multitudinem. [j]As Plutarch relateth.

to bear burdens; or, if they be free, and live at ease, they spend themselves, and consume their bodies and fortunes with luxury, and riot, contention, emulation, &c. The poor I reserve for another [k] place, and their discontents.

For particular professions, I hold, as of the rest, there's no content or security in any. On what course will you pitch? how resolve? To be a divine? 'tis contemptible in the world's esteem: to be a lawyer? 'tis to be a wrangler: to be a physician? [l] *pudet lotii?* 'tis loathed: a philosopher? a mad man: an alchymist? a begger: a poet? *esurit*, an hungry jack: a musician? a player: a school-master? a drudge: an husband-man? an emmet: a merchant? his gains are uncertain: a mechanician? base. a chirurgion? fulsome: a tradesman? a [m] lyar: a taylor? a thief: a serving-man? a slave: a soldier? a butcher: a smith, or a metal-man? the pot's never from's nose: a courtier? a parasite. As he could find no tree in the wood to hang himself, I can shew no state of life to give content. The like you may say of all ages: children live in a perpetual slavery, still under the tyrannical government of masters: young men, and of riper years, subject to labour, and a thousand cares of the world, to treachery, falshood, and cozenage:

[n] ——Incedit per ignes,
Suppositos cineri doloso:

[o] old are full of aches in their bones, cramps, and convulsions, *silicernia*, dull of hearing, weak-sighted, hoary, wrinckled, harsh, so much altered as that they cannot know their own face in a glass, a burden to themselves and others: after seventy years, *all is sorrow* (as David hath it); they do not live, but linger. If they be sound, they fear diseases; if sick, weary of their lives: *von est vivere, sed valere, vita.* One complains of want, a second of servitude, [p] another of a secret or incurable disease, of some deformity of body, of some loss, danger, death of friends, shipwrack, persecution, imprisonment, disgrace, repulse, [q] contumely, calumny, abuse, injury, contempt, ingratitude, unkindness, scoffs, flouts, unfortunate marriage, single life, too many children, no children, false servants, unhappy children, barrenness, banishment, oppression, frustrate hopes, and ill success, &c.

Cætera de genere hoc (adeo sunt multa) loquacem
Delassare valent Fabium——

talking Fabius will be tyred before he can tell half of them; they are the subject of whole volumes, and shall (some of them) be more opportunely dilated elsewhere. In the mean time, thus much I may say of them, that generally they crucifie the soul of man, [r] attenuate our bodies, dry them, wither them, rivel them up like old apples, and make them as so many anatomies ([s] *ossa atque pellis est totus, ita curis macet*); they cause *tempus fœdum et squalidum*, cumbersome dayes, *ingrataque tempora*, slow, dull, and heavy times; make us howl, roar, and tear our hairs (as Sorrow did in [t] Cebes table), and groan for the very anguish of our souls. Our hearts fail us, as Davids did, (Psal. 40. 12) *for innumerable troubles that compassed him*; and we are ready to confess with Hezekiah (Isa. 58. 17.) *behold! for felicity, I had bitter grief:* to weep with Heraclitus, to curse the day of our birth, with Jeremy (20. 14), and our stars with Job; to hold that axiom of Silenus, [u] *better never to have been born, and the best next of all, to dye quickly*; or, if we must live, to abandon the world, as Timon did, creep into caves and holes, as our anchorites; cast all into the sea, as Crates Thebanus; or, as Cleombrotus Ambraciotes four hundred auditors, precipitate our selves to be rid of these miseries.

[k] Sect. 2. mem. 4. subsect. 6. [l] Stercus et urina, medicorum fercula prima. [m] Nihil lucrantur, nisi admodum mentiendo. Tull. Offic. [n] Hor. l. 2. od. 1. [o] Rarus felix idemque senex. Seneca, in Herc. Œtæo. [p] Omitto ægros, exsules, mendicos, quos nemo audet felices dicere. Card. lib. 8. c. 48. de rer. var. [q] Spretæque injuria formæ. [r] Attenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curæ. [s] Plautus. [t] Hæc, quæ crines revellit, Ærumna. [u] Optimum non nasci, aut cito mori.

SUBSECT. XI.—*Concupiscible Appetite, as Desires, Ambition, Causes.*

THESE concupiscible and irascible appetites are as the two twists of a rope, mutually mixt one with the other, and both twining about the heart; both good, (as Austin holds, *l.* 14. *c.* 9. *de civ. Dei*) [v]*if they be moderate; both pernitious if they be exorbitant.* This concupiscible appetite, howsoever it may seem to carry with it a shew of pleasure and delight, and our concupiscences most part affect us with content and a pleasing object, yet, if they be in extreams, they rack and wring us on the other side. A true saying it is, *desire hath no rest*, is infinite in it self, endless, and ([w]one calls it) a perpetual rack, [x]or horse-mill (according to Austin), still going round as in a ring. They are not so continual, as divers: *facilius atomos dinumerare possem*, (saith [y]Bernard) *quam motus cordis; nunc hæc, nunc illa cogito:* you may as well reckon up the motes in the sun, as them. [z]*It extends it self to every thing* (as Guianerius will have it) *that is superfluously sought after*, or to any [a]*fervent desire* (as Fernelius interprets it): be it in what kind soever, it tortures, if immoderate, and is (according to [b]Plater and others) an especial cause of melancholy. *Multuosis concupiscentiis dilaniantur cogitationes meæ*, [c]Austin confessed—that he was torn a-pieces with his manifold desires; and so doth [d]Bernard complain, *that he could not rest for them a minute of an hour: this I would have, and that, and then I desire to be such and such.* 'Tis a hard matter therefore to confine them, being they are so various and many, and unpossible to apprehend all. I will only insist upon some few of the chief, and most noxious in their kind, as that exorbitant appetite and desire of honour, which we commonly call *ambition;* love of money, which is *covetousness*, and that greedy desire of gain: *self-love*, pride, and inordinate desire of *vain-glory* or applause; *love of study* in excess; *love of women*, (which will require a just volume of it self). Of the other I will briefly speak, and in their order.

Ambition, a proud covetousness or dry thirst of honour, a great torture of the mind, composed of envy, pride, and covetousness, a gallant madness, one [e]defines it, a pleasant poyson, Ambrose, *a canker of the soul; an hidden plague;* [f]Bernard, *a secret poyson, the father of livor, and mother of hypocrisie, the moth of holiness, and cause of madness, crucifying and disquieting all that it takes hold of.* [g]Seneca calls it, *rem solicitam, timidam, vanam ventosam*, a windy thing, a vain, solicitous, and fearful thing: for, commonly, they that, like Sisyphus, roll this restless stone of ambition, are in a perpetual agony, still [h]perplexed, *semper taciti, tristesque recedunt*, (Lucretius) doubtful, timorous, suspicious, loth to offend in word or deed, still cogging, and colloguing, embracing, capping, cringing, applauding, flattering, fleering, visiting, waiting at mens doors, with all affability, counterfeit honesty, and humility.[i] If that will not serve, if once this humour (as [j]Cyprian describes it) possess his thirsty soul, *ambitionis salsugo ubi bibulam animam possidet*, by hook and by crook he will obtain it; *and from his hole he will climbe to all honours and offices, if it be possible for him to get up; flattering one, bribing another, he will leave no means unassay'd to win all.* [k]It is a wonder to see how slavishly these kind of men subject themselves, when they are

[v] Bonæ, si rectam rationem sequuntur; malæ, si exorbitant. [w] Tho. Buovic. Prov. 18. [x] Molam asinariam. [y] Tract. de Inter. c. 92. [z] Circa quamlibet rem mundi hæc passio fieri potest, quæ superflue diligatur. [a] Ferventius desiderium. [b] Imprimis vero appetitus, &c. 3. de alien. ment. [c] Conf. l. c. 29. [d] Per diversa loca vagor; nullo temporis momento quiesco; talis et talis esse cupio; illud atque illud habere desidero. [e] Ambros. l. 3. super Lucam. ærugo animæ. [f] Nihil animum cruciat, nihil molestius inquietat; secretum virus, pestis occulta, &c. epist. 126. [g] Ep. 88. [h] Nihil infelicius his; quantus iis timor, quanta dubitatio, quantus conatus, quanta solicitudo! nulla illis a molestiis vacua hora. [i] Semper attonitus, semper pavidus quid dicat, faciatve: ne displiceat, humilitatem simulat, honestatem mentitur. [j] Cypr. Prolog. ad ser. to. 2. Cunctos honorat, universis inclinat, subsequitur, obsequitur; frequentat curias, visitat optimates, amplexatur, applaudit, adulatur: per fas et nefas e latebris, in omnem gradum ubi aditus patet, se ingerit, discurrit. [k] Turbæ *cogit* ambitio regem inservire, ut Homerus Agamemnonem querentem inducit.

about a sute, to every inferiour person; what pains they will take, run, ride, cast, plot, countermine, protest and swear, vow, promise, what labours undergo, early up, down late; how obsequious and affable they are, how popular and courteous, how they grin and fleer upon every man they meet; with what feasting and inviting, how they spend themselves and their fortunes, in seeking that, many times, which they had much better be without (as [l] Cineas the orator told Pyrrhus); with what waking nights, painful hours, anxious thoughts, and bitterness of mind, *inter spemque metumque*, distracted and tired, they consume the interim of their time. There can be no greater plague for the present. If they do obtain their sute, which with such cost and solicitude they have sought, they are not so freed: their anxiety is anew to begin; for they are never satisfied; *nihil aliud nisi imperium spirant;* their thoughts, actions, endeavours are all for soveraignty and honour; like [m] Lues Sforsia (that huffing duke of Milan, *a man of singular wisdom, but profound ambition, born to his own, and to the destruction of Italy*) though it be to their own ruine, and friends undoing, they will contend; they may not cease; but as a dog in a wheel, a bird in a cage, or a squirrel in a chain, (so [n] Budæus compares them) [o] they climbe and climbe still with much labour, but never make an end, never at the top. A knight would be a baronet, and then a lord, and then a vicount, and then an earl, &c. a doctor a dean, and then a bishop; from tribune to prætor: from bailiff to mayor: first this office, and then that: as Pyrrhus, (in [p] Plutarch) they will first have Greece, then Africk, and then Asia, and swell with Æsops frog so long, till in the end they burst, or come down, with Sejanus, *ad Gemonias scalas*, and break their own necks: or as Evangelus the piper, (in Lucian) that blew his pipe so long, till he fell down dead. If he chance to miss, and have a canvas, he is in a hell on the other side; so dejected, that he is ready to hang himself, turn heretick, Turk, or traytor, in an instant. Enraged against his enemies, he [q] rails, swears, fights, slanders, detracts, envies, murders; and, for his own part, *si appetitum explere non potest, furore corripitur;* if he cannot satisfie his desire, (as [r] Bodine writes) he runs mad: so that, both wayes, hit or miss, he is distracted so long as his ambition lasts; he can look for no other but anxiety and care, discontent and grief, in the mean time—[s] madness itself, or violent death, in the end. The event of this is common to be seen in populous cities, or in princes courts; for a courtiers life (as Budæus describes it) *is a* [t] *gallimaufry of ambition, lust, fraud, imposture, dissimulation, detraction, envy, pride; the court, a common conventicle of flatterers, time-servers; politicians, &c.* or (as [u] Anthony Perez will) *the suburbs of hell it self.* If you will see such discontented persons, there you shall likely find them: [v] and (which he observed of the markets of old Rome)

> Qui perjurum convenire vult hominem, mitto in Comitium;
> Qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinæ sacrum;
> Dites, damnatos maritos, sub Basilicâ quærito, &c.

Perjur'd knaves, knights of the post, lyers, crackers, bad husbands, &c. keep their several stations, they do still, and always did, in every commonwealth.

[l] Plutarchus. Quin convivemur, et in otio nos oblectemus, quoniam in promptu id nobis sit, &c. [m] Jovius, hist. l. 1. Vir singulari prudentiâ, sed profundâ ambitione; ad exitium Italiæ natus. [n] Ut hedera arbori adhæret, sic ambitio, &c. [o] Lib. 3. de contemptu rerum fortuitarum. Magno conatu et impetu moventur; super eodem centro rotati, non proficiunt, nec ad finem perveniunt. [p] Vita Pyrrhi. [q] Ambitio in insaniam facile delabitur, si excedat. Patritius, l. 4. tit. 20. de regis instit. [r] Lib. 5. de rep. cap. 1. [s] Imprimis vero appetitus, seu concupiscentia nimia rei alicujus honestæ vel inhonestæ, phantasium lædunt; unde multi ambitiosi, philauti, irati, avari, &c. insani. Felix Plater, l. 3. de mentis alien. [t] Aulica vita colluvies ambitionis, cupiditatis, simulationis, imposturæ, fraudis, invidiæ, superbiæ Titanicæ: diversorium sulæ, et commune conventiculum, assentandi artificum, &c. Budæus de asse. lib. 5. [u] In his Aphor. [v] Plautus, Curcul. act. 4. sec. 1.

SUBSECT. XII.—*Φιλαργύρια, Covetousness, a Cause.*

PLUTARCH (in his [w] book whether the diseases of the body be more grievous than those of the soul) is of opinion, *if you will examine all the causes of our miseries in this life, you shall find them, most part, to have had their beginning from stubborn anger, that furious desire of contention, or some unjust or immoderate affection, as covetousness, &c.* From whence *are wars and contentions amongst you?* [x] St. James asks: I will add usury, fraud, rapine, simony, oppression, lying, swearing, bearing false witness, &c. are they not from this fountain of covetousness, that greediness in getting, tenacity in keeping, sordidity in spending? that they are so wicked, [y] *unjust against God, their neighbour, themselves*, all comes hence. *The desire of money is the root of all evil, and they that lust after it, pierce themselves through with many sorrows*, 1 Tim. 6. 10. Hippocrates therefore, in his epistle to Crateva an herbalist, gives him this good counsel, that, if it were possible, [z] *amongst other hearbs, he should cut up that weed of covetousness by the roots, that there be no remainder left; and then know this for a certainty, that, together with their bodies, thou maist quickly cure all the diseases of their minds:* for it is indeed the pattern, image, epitome, of all melancholy, the fountain of many miseries, much discontent, care and woe—this *inordinate or immoderate desire of gain, to get or keep money*, as [a] Bonaventure defines it; or, as Austin describes it, a madness of the soul; Gregory, a torture; Chrysostom, an unsatiable drunkenness; Cyprian, blindness, *speciosum supplicium*, a plague subverting kingdoms, families, an [b] incurable disease; Budæus, an ill habit, [c] *yielding to no remedies;* (neither Æsculapius nor Plutus can cure them) a continual plague, saith Solomon, and vexation of spirit, another hell. I know that there be some of opinion, that covetous men are happy, and worldly-wise, that there is more pleasure in getting wealth than in spending, and no delight in the world like unto it. 'Twas Bias problem of old, *With what art thou not weary? with getting money.* [d] *What is most delectable? to gain.* What is it, trow you, that makes a poor man labour all his life time, carry such great burdens, fare so hardly, macerate himself, and endure so much misery, undergo such base offices with so great patience, to rise up early, and lye down late, if there were not an extraordinary delight in getting and keeping of money? What makes a merchant, that hath no need, *satis superque domi*, to range over all the world, through all those intemperate [e] zones of heat and cold, voluntarily to venture his life, and be content with such miserable famine, nasty usage, in a stinking ship, if there were not a pleasure and hope to get money, which doth season the rest, and mitigate his indefatigable pains? What makes them go into the bowels of the earth, an hundred fathom deep, endangering their dearest lives, enduring damps and filthy smells, (when they have enough already, if they could be content, and no such cause to labour) but an extraordinary delight they take in riches? This may seem plausible at first shew, a popular and strong argument: but let him that so thinks, consider better of it; and he shall soon perceive that it is far otherwise than he supposeth; it may be haply pleasing at the first, as, most part, all melancholy is; for such men likely have some *lucida intervalla*, pleasant symptomes intermixt: but you must note that of [f] Chrysos-

[w] Tom. 2. Si examines, omnes miseriæ causssas vel a furioso contendendi studio, vel ab injustâ cupiditate, originem traxisse scies.—Idem fere Chrysostomus, Com. in c. 6. ad Roman. ser. 11. [x] Cap. 4. 1. [y] Ut sit iniquus in Deum, in proximum, in seipsum. [z] Si vero, Crateva, inter cæteras herbarum radices, avaritiæ radicem secare posses amaram, ut nullæ reliquiæ essent, probe scito, &c. [a] Cap. 6. Diætæ salutis. Avaritia est amor immoderatus pecuniæ vel acquirendæ vel retinendæ. [b] Malus est morbus, malque afficit avaritia, siquidem censeo, &c. Avaritia difficilius curatur quam insania; quoniam hac omnes fere medici laborant. Hip. ep. Abderit. [c] Ferum profecto dirumque ulcus animi, remediis non cedens, medendo exasperatur. [d] Quâ re non es lassus? lucrum faciendo. Quid maxime delectabile? lucrari. [e] Extremos currit mercator ad Indos. Hor. [f] *Hom.* 2. Aliud avarus, aliud dives.

tome, *'tis one thing to be rich, another to be covetous:* generally they are all fools, dizards, mad-men, [g] miserable wretches, living besides themselves, *sine arte fruendi*, in perpetual slavery, fear, suspicion, sorrow, and discontent; *plus aloës quam mellis habent;* and are, indeed, *rather possessed by their money, than possessors;* as [h] Cyprian hath it, *mancipati pecuniis*, bound prentise to their goods, as [i] Pliny; or as Chrysostom, *servi divitiarum*, slaves and drudges to their substance; and we may conclude of them all, as [j] Valerius doth of Ptolemæus king of Cyprus, *he was in title a king of that island, but, in his mind, a miserable drudge of money:*

> [k] Potiore metallis
> Libertate carens———

wanting his liberty, which is better than gold. Damasippus the Stoick (in Horace) proves that all mortal men dote by fits, some one way, some another, but that covetous men [l] are madder than the rest: and he that shall truly look into their estates, and examine their symptomes, shall find no better of them, but that they are all [m] fools, as Nabal was, *re et nomine* (1 Reg. 15): for, what greater folly can there be, or [n] madness, than to macerate himself when he need not? and when (as Cyprian notes) [o] *he may be freed from his burden, and eased of his pains, will go on still, his wealth increasing, when he hath enough, to get more, to live besides himself*, to starve his *genius*, keep back from his wife [p] and children, neither letting them nor other friends use or enjoy that which is theirs by right, and which they much need perhaps: like a hog, or dog in the manger, he doth only keep it, because it shall do nobody else good, hurting himself and others; and, for a little momentary pelf, damn his own soul. They are commonly sad and tetrick by nature, as Achabs spirit was because he could not get Naboths vineyard (1 *Reg.* 22); and, if he lay out his money at any time, though it be to necessary uses, to his own children's good, he brawls and scolds; his heart is heavy; much disquieted he is, and loth to part from it: *miser abstinet, et timet uti.* (Hor.) He is of a wearish, dry, pale constitution, and cannot sleep for cares and worldly business; his riches (saith Solomon) will not let him sleep, and unnecessary business which he heapeth on himself; or, if he do sleep, 'tis a very unquiet, interrupt, unpleasing sleep, with his bags in his arms,

> ———congestis undique saccis
> Indormit inhians;

and, though he be at a banquet, or at some merry feast, *he sighs for grief of heart* (as [q] Cyprian hath it) *and cannot sleep, though it be upon a down bed; his wearish body takes no rest,* [r] *troubled in his abundance, and sorrowful in plenty, unhappy for the present, and more unhappy in the life to come* (Basil). He is a perpetual drudge, [s] restless in his thoughts, and never satisfied, a slave, a wretch, a dust-worm; *semper quod idolo suo immolet, sedulus observat;* (Cypr. *prolog. ad sermon.*) still seeking what sacrifice he may offer to his golden god, *per fas et nefas*, he cares not how; his trouble is endless: [t] *crescunt divitiæ; tamen curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei:* his wealth increaseth; and the more he hath, the more [u] he wants, like Pharaohs lean kine, which devoured the fat, and were not satisfied. [v] Austin

[g] Divitiæ, ut spinæ, animum hominis timoribus, solicitudinibus, angoribus, mirifice pungunt, vexant, cruciant. Greg. in Hom. [h] Epist. ad Donat. cap. 2. [i] Lib. 9. ep. 30. [j] Lib. 9. cap. 4. Insulæ rex titulo, sed animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium. [k] Hor. 10. lib. 1. [l] Danda est helleboro multo pars maxima avaris. [m] Luke 12. 20. Stulte, hac nocte eripiam animam tuam. [n] Opes quidem mortalibus sunt dementia. Theog. [o] Ed. 2. lib. 2. Exonerare cum se possit et relevare ponderibus, pergit magis fortunis augentibus pertinaciter incubare. [p] Non amicis, non liberis, non ipsi sibi quidquam impertit; possidet ad hoc tantum, ne possidere alteri liceat, &c. Hieron. ad Paulin. Tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet. [q] Epist. 2. lib. 2. Suspirat in convivio, bibat licet gemmis, et toro molliore marcidum corpus condiderit, vigilat in plumâ. [r] Angustatur ex abundantiâ, contristatur ex opulentiâ, infelix præsentibus bonis, infelicior in futuris. [s] Illorum cogitatio nunquam cessat, qui pecunias supplere diligunt. Gulaner. tract. 15. c. 17. [t] Hor. 3. Od. 24. Quo plus sunt potæ, plus sitiuntur aquæ. [u] Hor. 1. 2. Sat. 6. O si angulus ille proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum! [v] Lib. 3. lib. arbit. Immoritur studiis, et amore senescit habendi.

therefore defines covetousness, *quarumlibet rerum inhonestam et insatiabilem cupiditatem*, an unhonest and unsatiable desire of gain; and, in one of his epistles, compares it to hell, [w] *which devours all, and yet never hath enough, a bottomless pit*, an endless misery; *in quem scopulum avaritiæ cadaverosi senes ut plurimum impingunt*; and, that which is their greatest corrosive, they are in continual suspicion, fear, and distrust. He thinks his own wife and children are so many thieves, and go about to cozen him, his servants are all false:

Et divûm atque hominum clamat continuo fidem,	If his doors creek, then out he cryes anon,
Rem suam periisse, seque eradicarier,	His goods are gone, and he is quite undone.
De se suo tigillo fumus si quâ exit foras.	

Timidus Plutus, an old proverb—as fearful as Plutus: so doth Aristophanes, and Lucian, bring him in fearful still, pale, anxious, suspicious, and trusting no man. [x] *They are afraid of tempests for their corn, they are afraid of their friends, least they should ask something of them, beg or borrow; they are afraid of their enemies, lest they hurt them; thieves, lest they rob them; they are afraid of war, and afraid of peace, afraid of rich, and afraid of poor; afraid of all.* Last of all, they are afraid of want, that they shall dye beggers; which makes them lay up still, and dare not use that they have: (what if a dear year come, or dearth, or some loss?) and were it not that they are loth to [y] lay out money on a rope, they would be hanged forthwith, and sometimes dye to save charges, and make away themselves, if their corn and cattle miscarry, though they have abundance left, as [z] Agellius notes. [a] Valerius makes mention of one, that, in a famine, sold a mouse for two hundred pence, and famished himself. Such are their cares, [b] griefs, and perpetual fears. These symptomes are elegantly expressed by Theophrastus in his character of a covetous man: [c] *lying in bed, he asks his wife whether she shut the trunks and chests fast, the capcase be sealed, and whether the hall door be bolted; and, though she say all is well, he riseth out of his bed in his shirt, bare foot, and bare legged, to see whether it be so, with a dark lanthorn searching every corner*, scarce sleeping a wink all night. Lucian, in that pleasant and witty dialogue called Gallus, brings in Micyllus the cobler disputing with his cock, sometimes Pythagoras; where, after much speech *pro* and *con*, to prove the happiness of a mean estate, and discontents of a rich man, Pythagoras his cock in the end, to illustrate by examples that which he had said, brings him to Gniphon the usurers house at mid-night, and after that to Eucrates; whom they found both awake, casting up their accounts, and telling of their money, [d] lean, dry, pale, and anxious, still suspecting lest some body should make a hole through the wall, and so get in; or, if a rat or mouse did but stir, starting upon a sudden, and running to the door to see whether all were fast. Plautus, in his Aulularia, makes old Euclio [e] commanding Staphyla his wife to shut the doors fast, and the fire to be put out, lest any body should make that an errant to come to his house: when he washed his hands, [f] he was loth to fling away the foul water; complaining that he was undone, because the smoak got out of his roof. And, as he went from home, seeing a crow scrat upon the muck-hill, returned in all haste, taking it for *malum omen*, an ill sign, his money was digged up;

[w] Avarus vir inferno est similis, &c. modum non habet, hoc egentior, quo plura habet. [x] Erasm. Adag. chil. 3. cent. 7. pro. 72. Nulli fidentes, omnium formidant opes: ideo pavidum malum vocat Euripides: metuunt tempestates ob frumentum, amicos ne rogent, inimicos ne lædant, fures ne rapiant; bellum timent, pacem timent, summos, medios, infimos. [y] Hall, Char. [z] Agellius, lib. 3. c. 1. Interdum eo sceleris perveniunt, ob lucrum ut vitam propriam commutent. [a] Lib. 7. cap. 6. [b] Omnes perpetuo morbo agitantur; suspicatur omnes timidus, sibique ob aurum insidiari putat, nunquam quiescens. Plin. Procem. lib. 14. [c] Cap. 18. In lecto jacens, interrogat uxorem an arcam probe clausit, an capsula, &c. E lecto surgens nudus, et absque calceis, accensâ lucernâ omnia obliens et lustrans, et vix somno indulgens. [d] Curis extenuatus, vigilans, et secum supputans. [e] Cave, quemquam alienum in ædes intromiseris. Ignem extingui volo, ne caussæ quidquam sit, quod te quisquam quæritet. Si bona Fortuna veniat, ne intromiseris. Occlude sis fores ambobus pessulis. Discrucior animi, quia domo abeundum est mihi. Nimis hercule invitus abeo; nec, quid agam, scio. [f] *Plorat aquam profundere,* [illegible]*em fumus de tigillo exit foras.*

with many such. He that will but observe their actions, shall find these and many such passages, not feigned for sport, but really performed, verified indeed by such covetous and miserable wretches; and that it is

> ——— [f] manifesta phrenesis,
> Ut locuples moriaris, egenti vivere fato——

a meer madness, to live like a wretch, and dye rich.

SUBSECT XIII.—*Love of Gaming, &c. and Pleasures immoderate; Causes.*

IT is a wonder to see, how many poor distressed miserable wretches one shall meet almost in every path and street, begging for an alms, that have been well descended, and sometimes in flourishing estate, now ragged, tattered, and ready to be starved, lingring out a painful life, in discontent and grief of body and mind, and all through immoderate lust, gaming, pleasure, and riot. 'Tis the common end of all sensual Epicures and brutish prodigals, that are stupified and carried away headlong with their several pleasures and lusts. Cebes, in his table, S. Ambrose, in his second book of Abel and Cain, and, amongst the rest, Lucian, in his tract *de Mercede conductis*, hath excellent well deciphered such mens proceedings in his picture of *Opulentia*, whom he feigns to dwell on the top of a high mount, much sought after by many suiters. At their first coming they are generally entertained by *Pleasure* and *Dalliance*, and have all the content that possibly may be given, so long as their money lasts; but, when their means fail, they are contemptibly thrust out at a back door, headlong, and there left to *Shame*, *Reproach*, *Despair*. And he, at first that had so many attendants, parasites, and followers, young and lusty, richly array'd, and all the dainty fare that might be had, with all kind of welcome and good respect, is now upon a sudden stript of all, [h] pale, naked, old, diseased, and forsaken, cursing his stars, and ready to strangle himself; having no other company but *Repentance*, *Sorrow*, *Grief*, *Derision*, *Beggery*, and *Contempt*, which are his daily attendants to his lives end. As the [i] prodigal son had exquisite musick, merry company, dainty fare at first, but a sorrowful reckoning in the end; so have all such vain delights and their followers. [j] *Tristes voluptatum exitus ut quisquis voluptatum suarum reminisci volet intelliget:* as bitter as gall and wormwood is their last; grief of mind, madness it self. The ordinary rocks upon which such men do impinge and precipitate themselves, are cards, dice, hawks, and hounds, (*insanum venandi studium*, one calls it—*insanæ substructiones*) their mad structures, disports, playes, &c. when they are unseasonably used, imprudently handled, and beyond their fortunes.—Some men are consumed by mad phantastical buildings, by making galleries, cloisters, taraces, walks, orchards, gardens, pools, rillets, bowers, and such like places of pleasure, (*inutiles domos*, [k] Xenophon calls them) which howsoever they be delightsome things in themselves, and acceptable to all beholders, an ornament, and befitting some great men, yet unprofitable to others, and the sole overthrow of their estates. Forestus, in his observations, hath an example of such a one that became melancholy upon the like occasion, having consumed his substance in an unprofitable building, which would afterward yield him no advantage. Others, I say, are [l] overthrown by those mad sports of hawking and hunting—honest recreations, and fit for some great men, but not for every base inferiour person. Whilst they will maintain their faulkoners, dogs, and hunting nags, their wealth (saith [m] Salmutze) *runs away with hounds, and their fortunes flye away with hawks:*

[f] Juv. Sat. 14. [h] Ventricosus, nudus, pallidus, læva pudorem occultans, dextrâ seipsum strangulans. Occurrit autem exeunti Pœnitentia, his miserum conficiens, &c. [i] Luke 15. [j] Boëthius. [k] In Œconom. Quid si nunc ostendam eos qui magnâ vi argenti domus inutiles ædificant? inquit Socrates. [l] Sarisburiensis, Polycrat. l. 1. c. 4. Venatores omnes adhuc institutionem redolent Centaurorum. Raro invenitur quisquam eorum modestus et gravis, raro continens, et, ut credo, sobrius unquam. [m] Pandect. Tit. 32. Avolant opes cum accipitre.

they persecute beasts so long, till, in the end, they themselves degenerate into beasts (as [n] Agrippa taxeth them), [o] Actæon like: for, as he was eaten to death by his own dogs, so do they devour themselves and their patrimonies, in such idle and unnecessary disports, neglecting in the mean time their more necessary business, and to follow their vocations. Over-mad too sometimes are our great men in delighting and doting too much on it; [p] *when they drive poor husbandmen from their tillage* (as [q] Sarisburiensis objects, *Polycrat. l.* 1. *c.* 4), *fling down countrey farms, and whole towns, to make parks and forests, starving men to feed beasts, and* [r] *punishing in the mean time such a man that shall molest the beasts' game, more severely than him that is otherwise a common hacker, or a notorious thief.* But great men are some wayes to be excused; the meaner sort have no evasion why they should not be counted mad. Poggius, the Florentine, tells a merry story to this purpose, condemning the folly and impertinent business of such kinds of person. A physician of Milan, (saith he) that cured mad men, had a pit of water in his house, in which he kept his patients, some up to the knees, some to the girdle, some to the chin, *pro modo insaniæ*, as they were more or less affected. One of them by chance, that was well recovered, stood in the door, and, seeing a gallant pass by with a hawk on his fist, well mounted, with his spaniels after him, would needs know to what use all this preparation served. He made answer, to kill certain fowl. The patient demanded again, what his fowl might be worth, which he killed in a year. He replyed, five or ten crowns; and when he urged him farther what his dogs, horse, and hawks, stood him in, he told him four hundred crowns. With that the patient bad him be gone, as he loved his life and welfare; "for, if our master come and find thee here, he will put thee in the pit, amongst mad men, up to the chin;" taxing the madness and folly of such vain men that spend themselves in those idle sports, neglecting their business and necessary affairs. Leo Decimus, that hunting pope, is much discommended by [s] Jovius in his life, for his immoderate desire of hawking and hunting, in so much, that (as he saith) he would sometimes live about Ostia weeks and moneths together, leave suiters [t] unrespected, bulls and pardons unsigned, to his own prejudice, and many private mens loss: [u] *and, if he had been by chance crossed in his sport, or his game not so good, he was so impatient, that he would revile and miscall many times men of great worth with most bitter taunts, look so sowr, be so angry and waspish, so grieved and molested, that it is incredible to relate it.* But if he had good sport, and been well pleased on the other side, *incredibili munificentiâ*, with unspeakable bounty and munificence, he would reward all his fellow hunters, and deny nothing to any suiter, when he was in that mood. To say truth, 'tis the common humour of all gamesters, as Galatæus observes: if they win, no men living are so jovial and merry; but, [v] if they lose, though it be but a trifle, two or three games at tables, or dealings at cards for two pence a game, they are so cholerick and testy, that no man may speak with them, and break many times into violent passions, oaths, imprecations, and unbeseeming speeches, little differing from mad men for the time. Generally of all gamesters and gaming, if it be excessive, thus much we may conclude, that, whether they win or lose for the present, their winnings are not *munera*

[n] Insignis venatorum stultitia, et supervacanea cura eorum, qui, dum nimium venationi insistunt, ipsi, abjectâ omni humanitate, in feras degenerant, ut Actæon, &c. [o] Sabin. in Ovid. Met. [p] Agrippa. de vanit. scient. Insanum venandi studium, dum a novalibus arcentur agricolæ, subtrahunt prædia rusticis, agri colonis præcluduntur, sylvæ et prata pastoribus, ut augeantur pascua feris.—Majestatis reus agricola, si gustârit. [q] A novalibus suis arcentur agricolæ, dum feræ habeunt vagandi libertatem: istis ut pascua augeantur, prædia subtrahuntur, &c. Sarisburiensis. [r] Feris quam hominibus æquiores. Camb. de Guil. Conq. qui 36 ecclesias matrices depopulatus est ad Forestam Novam. Mat. Paris. [s] Tom. 2. de vitis illustrium, l. 4. de vit. Leon. 10. [t] Venationibus adeo perdite studebat et aucupiis. [u] Aut infeliciter venatus, tam impatiens inde, ut summos sæpe viros acerbissimis contumeliis oneraret; et incredibile est, quali vultûs animique habitu dolorem iracundiamque præferret. &c. [v] *Unicuique* autem hoc a naturâ insitum est, ut doleat, sicubi erraverit aut deceptus sit.

fortunæ, sed insidiæ, as that wise Seneca determines—not fortunes gifts, but baits; the common catastrophe is [w] beggery; [x] *ut pestis vitam, sic adimit alea pecuniam*; as the plague takes away life, so doth gaming goods; for [y] *omnes nudi, inopes et egeni*;

> [z] Alea Scylla vorax, species certissima furti,
> Non contenta bonis, animum quoque perfida mergit,
> Fœda, furax, infamis, iners, furiosa, ruina.

For a little pleasure they take, and some small gains and gettings now and then, their wives and children are wringed in the mean time; and they themselves, with the loss of body and soul, rue it in the end. I will say nothing of those prodigious prodigals, [a] *perdendæ pecuniæ genitos*, (as he taxed Anthony) *qui patrimonium sine ullâ fori calumniâ amittunt* (saith [b] Cyprian), and [c] mad Sybaritical spendthrifts, *quique unâ comedunt patrimonia mensâ*; that eat up all at a breakfast, at a supper, or amongst bauds, parasites, and players; consume themselves in an instant, (as if they had flung it into [d] Tyber) with great wagers, vain and idle expences, &c. not themselves only, but even all their friends; as a man desperately swimming drowns him that comes to help him, by suretiship and borrowing they will willingly undo all their associates and allies; [e] *irati pecuniis*, as he saith—angry with their money. [f] *What with a wanton eye, a liquorish tongue, and a gamesome hand*, when they have undiscreetly impoverished themselves, mortgaged their wits together with their lands, and entombed their ancestors fair possessions in their bowels, they may lead the rest of their dayes in prison, as many times they do, and there repent at leisure: and, when all is gone, begin to be thrifty: but *sera est in fundo parsimonia*; 'tis then too late to look about; their [g] end is misery, sorrow, shame and discontent. And well they deserve to be infamous and discontent, [h] *catamidiari in amphitheatro*, (as by Adrian the emperours edict they were of old; *decoctores bonorum suorum*; so he calls them—prodigal fools) to be publickly shamed, and hissed out of all societies, rather than to be pittied or relieved. [i] The Tuscans and Bœotians brought their bankrupts into the market place in a bier, with an empty purse carried before them, all the boyes following, where they sat all day, *circumstante plebe*, to be infamous and ridiculous. At [k] Padua in Italy, they have a stone called the *stone of turpitude*, near the senate house, where spend-thrifts, and such as disclaim nonpayment of debts, do sit with their hinder parts bare, that, by that note of disgrace, others may be terrified from all such vain expence, or borrowing more than they can tell how to pay. The [l] civilians of old set guardians over such brain-sick prodigals, as they did over mad-men, to moderate their expences, that they should not so loosely consume their fortunes, to the utter undoing of their families.

I may not here omit those two main plagues, and common dotages of humane kind, wine and women, which have infatuated and besotted myriads of people. They go commonly together.

> [m] Qui vino indulget, quemque alea decoquit, ille
> In Venerem putris.

To whom is sorrow, saith Solomon, (Prov. 23. 39) to whom is wo, but to such a one as loves drink? It causeth torture, (*vino tortus et irâ*) and bitterness of mind (*Sirac.* 31. 21). *Vinum furoris*, Jeremy calls it (*chap.* 15), wine of madness, as well he may; for *insanire facit sanos*, it makes sound men sick and sad, and wise men [n] mad, to say and do they know not what. *Accidit hodie*

[w] Juven. Sat. 8. Nec enim loculis comitantibus itur ad casum tabulæ; positâ sed luditur arcâ.—Lemnius, instit. c. 44. Mendaciorum quidem, et periuriorum, et paupertatis, mater est alea: nullam habens patrimonii reverentiam, quum liiud effuderit, sensim in furta delabitur et rapinas. Saris. Polycrat. l. 1. c. 6. [x] Damhoderus. [y] Dan. Souter. [z] Petrar. dial. 27. [a] Sallust. [b] Tom. 3. Ser. de aleâ. [c] Plutus in Aristoph. calls all such gamesters mad men; Si in insanum hominem contigero. Spontaneum ad se trahunt furorem: et os, et nares, et oculos, rivos faciunt furoris et diversoria. Chrys. hom. 71. [d] Paschasius Justus, l. 1. de aleâ. [e] Seneca. [f] Hall. [g] In Sat. 11. fiad deficiente crumenâ, et crescente gulâ, quis te manet exitus—rebus in ventrem mersis? [h] Spartian. Adriano. [i] Alex. ab Alex. l. 6. c. 10. Idem Gerbelius, l. 5. Græ. disc. [k] Fines Moris [l] Justinian in Digestis. [m] Persius, Sat. 5. [n] Poculum quasi sinus, in quo sæpe naufragium faciæ jactuâ tum pecuniæ tum mentis. Erasm. in Prov. Calicum remiges. chil. 4. cent. 7. Pro. 41.

ribilis casus (saith [o] St. Austin): hear a miserable accident: Cyrillus son this *r*, in his drink, *matrem prægnantem nequiter oppressit, sororem violare vo- t, patrem occidit fere, et duas alias sorores ad mortem vulneravit*—would *re* violated his sister, killed his father, &c. A true saying it was of him, *o dari lætitiam et dolorem*; drink causeth mirth, and drink causeth sorrow; nk causeth *poverty and want*, (Prov. 21.) *shame and disgrace. Multi obiles evasere ob vini potum, et* (Austin) *amissis honoribus, profugi aber- unt:* many men have made shipwrack of their fortunes, and go like rogues d beggars, having turned all their substance into *aurum potabile*, that other- se might have lived in good worship and happy estate; and, for a few hours asure (for their *Hilary* term's but short), or [p] *free madness* (as Seneca ls it), purchase unto themselves eternal tediousness and trouble.

That other madness is on women. *Apostatare facit cor*, (saith the wise an) [q] *atque homini cerebrum minuit.* Pleasant at first she is (like Diosco- es Rhododaphne, that fair plant to the eye, but poyson to the taste); the t as bitter as wormwood in the end, (Prov. 5. 4) and sharp as a two-edged ord (7. 21). *Her house is the way to hell, and goes down to the chambers death.* What more sorrowful can be said? They are miserable in this life, ad, beasts, led like [r] *oxen to the slaughter*: and (that which is worse) whore- sters and drunkards shall be judged; *amittunt gratiam*, (saith Austin) *rdunt gloriam, incurrunt damnationem æternam.* They lose grace and glory:

> [s] brevis illa voluptas
> Abrogat æternum cœli decus:——

ey gain hell and eternal damnation.

SUBSECT. XIV.—*Philautia or Self-love, Vain-glory, Praise, Honour, Immoderate Applause, Pride, over-much Joy, &c. Causes.*

SELF-LOVE, pride, and vain-glory, [t] *cæcus amor sui*, (which Chrysostome lls one of the devils three great nets; [u] Bernard, *an arrow which pierceth e soul through, and slayes it; a slye insensible enemy, not perceived*) are ain causes. Where neither anger, lust, covetousness, fear, sorrow, &c. nor ıy other perturbation, can lay hold, this will slily and insensibly pervert us. *uem non gula vicit, philautia superavit* (saith Cyprian): whom surfeiting ıuld not overtake, self-love hath overcome. [v] *He that hath scorned all oney, bribes, gifts, upright otherwise and sincere, hath inserted himself to) fond imagination, and sustained all those tyrannical concupiscences of the ıdy, hath lost all his honour, captivated by vain-glory.* (Chrysostom. *sup.*).) *Tu sola animum mentemque peruris, gloria:* a great assault and cause our present malady—although we do most part neglect, take no notice of , yet this is a violent batterer of our souls, causeth melancholy and dotage. his pleasing humour, this soft and whispering popular air, *amabilis insania*, iis delectable frensie, most irrefragable passion, *mentis gratissimus error*, iis acceptable disease, which so sweetly sets upon us, ravisheth our senses, lls our souls asleep, puffs up our hearts as so many bladders, and that ithout all feeling, [w] in so much as *those that are misaffected with it, never so uch as once perceive it, or think of any cure.* We commonly love him best i this [x] malady, that doth us most harm, and are very willing to be hurt: *dulationibus nostris libenter favemus* (saith [y] Jerome): we love him, we love im for it: [z] *O Bonciari, suave, suave fuit a te tali hæc tribui*; 'twas sweet

[o] Ser. 33. ad frat. in Eremo. [p] Liberæ unius horæ insaniam æterno temporis tædio penset, Menander. [q] Prov. 5. [r] Merlin. Cocc. [s] Hor. [t] Sagitta, que animam penetrat, levius netrat, sed non leve infligit vulnus. sup. cant. [u] Qui omnem pecuniarum contemtum habent, et illi imaginationi totius mundi se immiscuerint, et tyrannicas corporis concupiscentias sustinuerint, multoties, capti a vanâ gloriâ, omnia perdiderunt. [v] Hac correpti non cogitant de medelâ. Di, talem a terris avertite pestem. [w] Ep. ad Eustochium, de custod. virgin. [x] Lips. Ep. ad Bonciarium.

to hear it: and, as [a]Pliny doth ingenuously confess to his dear friend Augurinus, *all thy writings are most acceptable, but those especially that speak of us:* again, a little after to Maximus, [b] *I cannot express how pleasing it is to me to hear my self commended.* Though we smile to ourselves, at least ironically, when parasites bedawb us with false *encomions*, as many princes cannot chuse but do, *quum tale quid nihil intra se repererint*, when they know they come as far short, as a mouse to an elephant, of any such vertues; yet it doth us good. Though we seem many times to be angry, [c]*and blush at our own praises, yet our souls inwardly rejoice: it puffs us up;* 'tis *fallax suavitas, blandus dæmon, makes us swell beyond our bounds, and forget our selves.* Her two daughters are lightness of mind, immoderate joy and pride, not excluding those other concomitant vices, which [d]Jodocus Lorichius reckons up—bragging, hypocrisie, pievishness, and curiosity.

Now the common cause of this mischief ariseth from our selves or others: [e]we are active and passive. It proceeds inwardly from our selves, as we are active causes, from an overweening conceit we have of our good parts, own worth (which indeed is no worth), our bounty, favour, grace, valour, strength, wealth, patience, meekness, hospitality, beauty, temperance, gentry, knowledge, wit, science, art, learning, our [f]excellent gifts and fortunes, for which (Narcissus like) we admire, flatter, and applaud our selves, and think all the world esteems so of us; and, as deformed women easily believe those that tell them they be fair, we are too credulous of our own good parts and praises too well perswaded of our selves. We brag and venditate our [g]own works, (and scorn all others in respect of us; *inflati scientiâ*, saith Paul) our wisdom, [h]our learning: all our geese are swans; and we as basely esteem and vilifie other mens, as we do over-highly prize and value our own. We will not suffer them to be in *secundis*, no not in *tertiis*; what! *mecum confertur Ulysses?* they are *mures, muscæ, culices, præ se*, nitts and flies compared to his inexorable and supercilious, eminent and arrogant worship; though indeed they be far before him. Only wise, only rich, only fortunate, valorous, and fair, puffed up with this tympany of self conceit, as the proud [i]Pharisee, they are not (as they suppose) *like other men*, of a purer and more precious metal: [j]*Soli rei gerendæ sunt efficaces* (which that wise Periander held of such): [k]*meditantur omne qui prius negotium, &c. Novi quemdam* (saith [l]Erasmus) I knew one so arrogant that he thought himself inferiour to no man living, like [m]Callisthenes the philosopher, that neither held Alexanders acts, or any other subject, worthy of his pen, such was his insolency; or Seleucus, king of Syria, who thought none fit to contend with him but the Romans; [n] *eos solos dignos ratus quibuscum de imperio certaret.* That which Tully writ to Atticus long since, is still in force—[o] *there was never yet true poet or orator, that thought any other better than himself.* And such, for the most part, are your princes, potentates, great philosophers, historiographers, authors of sects or heresies, and all our great scholars, as [p]Hierom defines: *a natural philosopher is glories creature, and a very slave of rumour, fame, and popular opinion:* and, though they write *de contemptu gloriæ*, yet (as he observes) they will put their names to their books. *Vobis et famæ*

[a] Ep. lib. 9. Omnia tua scripta pulcherrima existimo, maxime tamen illa quæ de nobis. [b] Exprimere non possum, quam sit jucundum, &c. [c] Hieron. Et, licet nos indignos dicimus, et calidus rubor ora perfundat, attamen ad laudem suam intrinsecus animæ lætantur. [d] Thesaur. Theo. [e] Nec enim mihi cornea fibra est. Per. [f] E manibus illis Nascentur violæ. Pers. 1. Sat. [g] Omnia enim nostra supra modum placent. [h] Fab. l. 10. c. 3. Ridentur, mala qui componunt carmina; verum Gaudent scribentes, et se venerantur, et ultro, Si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere, beati. Hier. ep. 2. l. 2. [i] Luke, 18. 10. [j] De meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan. [k] Auson. sap. [l] Chil. 3. cent. 10. pro. 97. Qui se crederit neminem ullâ in re præstantiorem. [m] Tanto fastu scripsit, ut Alexandri gesta inferiora scriptis suis existimaret. Jo. Vossius, lib. 1. cap. 9. de hist. [n] Plutarch. vit. Catonis. [o] Nemo unquam pœta orator, qui quemquam se meliorem arbitraretur. [p] Consol. ad Paammachium. Mundi philosophus, gloriæ animal, et popularis auræ et rumorum venale mancipium.

semper dedi, saith Trebellius Pollio, I have wholly consecrated my self to
ı and fame. *'Tis all my desire, night and day, 'tis all my study to raise
name.* Proud [q]Pliny seconds him: *Quamquam O! &c.* and that vain-
rious [r]orator is not ashamed to confess in an Epistle of his to Marcus
ɔceius, *ardeo incredibili cupiditate, &c. I burn with an incredible desire
have [s]my name registred in thy book.* Out of this fountain proceed all
ıse cracks and brags,——[t]*speramus carmina fingi posse linenda cedro, et
ɔi servanda cupresso*——[u] *Non usitatâ nec tenui ferar pennâ*——*nec in
rá morabor longius. Nil parvum aut humili modo, nil mortale, loquor.
ɔar, quâ violens obstrepit Aufidus.*——*Exegi monumentum ære peren-
ıs.—Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis, &c. cum venit illa
ɔs, &c. parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis astra ferar, nomenque
't indelebile nostrum*—(This of Ovid I have paraphrased in English—

And when I am dead and gone,	And I shall be alive;
My corps laid under a stone,	In these my works for ever,
My fame shall yet survive,	My glory shall persever, &c.)

d that of Ennius,

Nemo me lacrymis decoret, neque funera fletu
Faxit: cur? volito vivu' per ora virum.—

th many such proud strains, and foolish flashes, too common with writers.
ot so much as Democharis on the [v]Topicks, but he will be immortal.
ɹpotius, *de famâ*, shall be famous; and well he deserves, because he
ɹit of fame; and every trivial poet must be renowned, ——*plausuque petit
ɹarescere vulgi.* This puffing humour it is, that hath produced so many
eat tomes, built such famous monuments, strong castles, and Mausolean
mbs, to have their acts eternized, *Digito monstrari, et dicier, "Hic est!"*
see their names inscribed, as Phryne on the walls of Thebes, *Phryne fecit.*
his causeth so many bloody battles, ——*et noctes cogit vigilare serenas;*
ng journeys, *Magnum iter intendo; sed dat mihi gloria vires*—— gaining
ɔnour, a little applause, pride, self-love, vain-glory—that is it which makes
ıem take such pains, and break out into those ridiculous strains, this high
ɔnceit of themselves, to [w]scorn all others, *ridiculo fastu et intolerando con-
ɹmtu* (as [x]Palæmon the grammarian contemned Varro, *secum et natas et
ıorituras literas jactans*) and brings them to that height of insolency, that
ıey cannot endure to be contradicted, [y]*or hear of any thing but their own
ɔmmendation*, which Hierom notes of such kind of men: and (as [z]Austin
ɹell seconds him) *'tis their sole study, day and night, to be commended and
ɹpplauded;* when as indeed, in all wise mens judgments, *quibus cor sapit,*
ıey are [a]mad, empty vessels, funges, beside themselves, derided, *et ut ca-
ıelus in proverbio, quærens cornua, etiam quas habebat aures amisit;* their
ɹorks are toyes, as an almanack out of date, [b]*auctoris pereunt garrulitate
ui*; they seek fame and immortality, but reap dishonour and infamy; they
re a common obloquy, *insensati*, and come far short of that which they
uppose or expect. ([c]*O puer, ut sis vitalis, metuo.*) Of so many myriads
ıf poets, rhetoricians, philosophers, sophisters, (as [d]Eusebius well observes)
ɹhich have written in former ages, scarce one of a thousands works remains;
ɔomina et libri simul cum corporibus interierunt; their books and bodies are
ıerished together. It is not, as they vainly think, they shall surely be ad-

[q] Epist. 5. Capitoni suo. Diebus ac noctibus, noc solum cogito, si quâ me possum levare huma
d voto meo sufficit, &c. [r]Tullius. [s] Ut nomen meum scriptis tuis illustretur.—Inquies animus
tudio æternitatis noctes et dies angebatur. Heinsius, orat. funeb. de Scal. [t] Hor. art. Poët.
Od. ult. l. 3. Jamque opus exegi—Vade, liber felix! Palingen. lib. 18. [v] In lib. 8. [w] De ponde
ejicere. [x] Sueton. lib. de gram. [y] Nihil libenter audiunt, nisi laudes suas. [z] Epis. 56. Nihil
liud dies noctesque cogitant, nisi ut in studiis suis laudentur ab hominibus. [a] Quæ major demential
ut dici aut excogitari potest, quam sic ob gloriam cruciari? Insaniam istam, Domine, longe fac a me.
ıustin. conf. lib. 10. cap. 37. [b] Mart. l. 5. 51. [c] Hor. Sat. l. 1. 9. [d] Lib. cont. Philos. cap. 1.

mired and immortal: as one told Philip of Macedon insulting after a victory, that his shadow was no longer than before, we may say to them,

Nos demiramur, sed non cum deside vulgo,	We marvail too, not as the vulgar we,
Sed velut Harpyias, Gorgonas, et Furias:	But as we Gorgons, Harpy, or Furies see:

or, if we do applaud, honour, and admire—*quota pars*, how small a part, in respect of the whole world, never so much as hears our names! how few take notice of us! how slender a tract, as scant as Alcibiades his land in a map! And yet every man must and will be immortal, as he hopes, and extend his fame to our antipodes, when as half, no not a quarter of his own province or city, neither knows nor hears of him: but, say they did, what's a city to a kingdom, a kingdom to Europe, Europe to the world, the world it self that must have an end, if compared to the least visible star in the firmament, eighteen times bigger than it? and then, if those stars be infinite, and every star there be a sun, as some will, and as this sun of ours hath its planets about him, all inhabited; what proportion bear we to them? and where's our glory? *Orbem terrarum victor Romanus habebat*, as he crackt in Petronius; all the world was under Augustus: and so, in Constantines time, Eusebius brags he governed all the world: *universum mundum præclare admodum administravit——et omnes orbis gentes imperatori subjectæ*: so of Alexander it is given out, the four monarchies, &c. when as neither Greeks nor Romans ever had the fifteenth part of the now known world, nor half of that which was then described. What braggadocians are they and we then! *quam brevis hic de nobis sermo!* as [d] he said: [e] *pudebit aucti nominis*: how short a time, how little a while, doth this fame of ours continue! Every private province, every small territory and city, when we have all done, will yield as generous spirits, as brave examples in all respects, as famous as ourselves—Cadwallader in Wales, Rollo in Normandy—Robbin-hood and Little John are as much renowned in Sherwood, as Cæsar in Rome, Alexander in Greece, or his Hephæstion. [f] *Omnis ætas omnisque populus in exemplum et admirationem venit*: every town, city, book, is full of brave souldiers, senators, scholars; and though [g] Brasidas was a worthy captain, a good man, and, as they thought, not to be matched in Lacedæmon, yet, as his mother truly said, *plures habet Sparta Brasidâ meliores*: Sparta had many better men than ever he was: and, howsoever thou admirest thyself, thy friend, many an obscure fellow the world never took notice of, had he been in place or action, would have done much better than he or he, or thou thyself.

Another kind of mad men there is, opposite to these, that are insensibly mad, and know not of it—such as contemn all praise and glory, think themselves most free, when as indeed they are most mad: *calcant, sed alio fastu!* a company of cynicks, such as are monks, hermites, anachorites, that contemn the world, contemn themselves, contemn all titles, honours, offices, and yet, in that contempt, are more proud than any man living whatsoever. They are proud in humility; proud in that they are not proud; *sæpe homo de vanæ gloriæ contemtu vanius gloriatur*, as Austin hath it (*confess. lib.* 10. *cap.* 38): like Diogenes, *intus gloriantur*, they brag inwardly, and feed themselves fat with a self-conceit of sanctity, which is no better than hypocrisie. They go in sheeps russet, many great men that might maintain themselves in cloth of gold, and seem to be dejected, humble, by their outward carriage, when as inwardly they are swoln full of pride, arrogancy, and self-conceit. And therefore Seneca adviseth his friend Lucilius, [h] *in his attire*

[d] Tull. som. Scip. [e] Boëthius. [f] Putean. Cisalp. hist. lib. 1. [g] Plutarch. Lycurgo. [h] Epist. 5. Illud te admoneo, ne eorum more, qui non proficere, sed conspici cupiunt, facias aliqua, quæ in habitu too, aut genere vitæ, notabilia sint. Asperum cultum, et intonsum caput, negligentiorem barbam, indictum argento odium, cubile humi positum, et quidquid aliud laudem perversâ vitâ sequitur, devita.

and gesture, outward actions, especially to avoid all such things as are more notable in themselves: as a rugged attire, hirsuite head, horrid beard, contempt of money, coarse lodging, and whatsoever leads to fame that opposite way.

All this madness yet proceeds from our selves: the main engin which batters us, is from others; we are meerly passive in this business. A company of parasites and flatterers, that, with immoderate praise, and bumbast epithetes, glozing titles, false elogiums, so bedawb and applaud, gild over many a silly and undeserving man, that they clap him quite out of his wits. *Res imprimis violenta est laudum placenta*, as Hierom notes: this common applause is a most violent thing, (a drum, a fife, and trumpet, cannot so animate) that fattens men, erects and dejects them in an instant. [i] *Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.* It makes them fat and lean, as frost doth conies. [j] *And who is that mortal man that can so contain himself, that, if he be immoderately commended and applauded, will not be moved?* Let him be what he will, those parasites will overturn him: if he be a king, he is one of the nine worthies, more than a man, a God forthwith [k] (*edictum Domini Deique nostri*); and they will sacrifice unto him:

> ——— ——— [l] divinos, si tu patiaris, honores
> Ultro ipsi dabimus, meritasque sacrabimus aras.

If he be a souldier, then Themistocles, Epaminondas, Hector, Achilles, *duo fulmina belli, triumviri terrarum, &c.* and the valour of both Scipios is too little for him; he is *invictissimus, serenissimus, multis tropæis ornatissimus, naturæ dominus*, although he be *lepus galeatus*, indeed a very coward, a milk sop, [m] and (as he said of Xerxes) *postremus in pugnâ, primus in fugâ*, and such a one as never durst look his enemy in the face. If he be a big man, then is he a Sampson, another Hercules: if he pronounce a speech, another Tully or Demosthenes (as of Herod in the Acts, *the voyce of God, and not of man*): if he can make a verse, Homer, Virgil, &c. And then my silly weak patient takes all these elogiums to himself: if he be a scholar so commended for his much reading, excellent style, method, &c. he will eviscerate himself like a spider, study to death: *Laudatas ostentat avis Junonia pennas:* peacock-like, he will display all his feathers. If he be a souldier, and so applauded, his valour extoll'd, though it be *impar congressus*, as that of Troilus and Achilles—*infelix puer*—he will combat with a giant, run first upon a breach: as another [n] Philippus, he will ride into the thickest of his enemies. Commend his house-keeping, and he will beggar himself: commend his temperance, he will starve himself.

> ——— ——— laudataque virtus
> Crescit; et immensum gloria calcar habet.

he is mad, mad, mad! no whoe with him; *Impatiens consortis erit;* he will over the [o] Alpes, to be talked of, or to maintain his credit. Commend an ambitious man, some proud prince or potentate: *si plus æquo laudatur*, (saith [p] Erasmus) *cristas erigit exuit hominem, Deum se putat:* he sets up his crest, and will be no longer a man, but a God.

> ——— [q] nihil est, quod credere de se
> Non audet, quam laudatur, Dis æqua potestas.

How did this work with Alexander, that would needs be Jupiters son, and go, like Hercules, in a lions skin? Domitian, a God, ([r] *Dominus Deus noster sic fieri jubet*) like the [s] Persian kings, whose image was adored by all

[i] Hor. [j] Quis vero tam bene modulo suo metiri se novit, ut eum assiduæ et immodicæ laudationes non moveant? Hen. Steph. [k] Mart. [l] Stroza. [m] Justin. [n] Livius. Gloriâ tantum elatus, non irâ, in medios hostes irruere, quod, completis muris, conspici se pugnantem, a muro spectantibus egregium ducebat. [o] I, demens, et sævas curre per Alpes: Aude aliquid, &c. Ut pueris placeas, et declamatio fias. Juv. Sat. 10. [p] In Mor. Encom. [q] Juvenal. Sat. 4. [r] Sueton. c. 13 in Domitiano. [s] Brisonius.

that came into the city of Babylon. Commodus the emperour was so gulled by his flattering parasites, that he must be called Hercules. [t]Antonius the Roman would be crowned with ivy, carried in a chariot, and adored for Bacchus. Cotys, king of Thrace, was married to [u]Minerva, and sent three several messengers, one ofter another, to see if she were come to his bedchamber. Such a one was [v]Jupiter Menecrates, Maximinus Jovianus, Dioclesianus Herculeus, Sapor the Persian king, brother of the sun and moon, and our modern Turks, that will be Gods on earth, kings of kings, Gods shadow, commanders of all that may be commanded, our kings of China and Tartaria in this present age. Such a one was Xerxes, that would whip the sea, fetter Neptune, *stultâ jactantiâ*, and send a challenge to Mount Athos; and such are many sottish princes, brought into a fools paradise by their parasites. 'Tis a common humour, incident to all men, when they are in great places, or come to the solstice of honour, have done, or deserv'd well, to applaud and flatter themselves. *Stultitiam suam produnt, &c.* (saith [w]Platerus) your very tradesmen, if they be excellent, will crack and brag, and shew their folly in excess. [x]They have good parts; and they know it; you need not tell them of it; out of a conceit of their worth, they go smiling to themselves, and perpetual meditation of their trophies and plaudites: they run at the last quite mad, and lose their wits. Petrarch, (*lib* 1. *de contemtu mundi*) confessed as much of himself; and Cardan (in his fifth book of wisdom) gives an instance in a smith of Milan, a fellow citizen of his, [y]one Galeus de Rubeis, that, being commended for refinding of an instrument of Archimedes, for joy ran mad. Plutarch (in the life of Artaxerxes) hath such a like story of one Chamus a souldier, that wounded king Cyrus in battel, and *grew thereupon so* [z]*arrogant, that, in a short space after, he lost his wits.* So many men, if any new honour, office, preferment, booty, treasure, possession, or patrimony, *ex insperato* fall unto them, for immoderate joy, and continual meditation of it, cannot sleep, [a]or tell what they say or do; they are so ravished on a sudden, and with vain conceits transported, there is no rule with them. Epaminondas therefore, the next day after his Leuctrian victory, [b]*came abroad all squalid and submiss*, and gave no other reason to his friends of so doing, then that he perceived himself the day before, by reason of his good fortune, to be too insolent, overmuch joyed. That wise and vertuous lady [c]queen Katharin, dowager of England, in private talk, upon like occasion, said, *that* [d]*she would not willingly endure the extremity of either fortune; but, if it were so that of necessity she must undergo the one, she would be in adversity, because comfort was never wanting in it; but still counsel and government were defective in the other:* they could not moderate themselves.

Subsect. XV.—*Love of Learning, or overmuch Study. With a Digression of the Misery of Scholars, and why the Muses are melancholy.*

Leonartus Fuchsius (*Instit. lib.* 3. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 1), Felix Plater (*lib.* 3. *de mentis alienat.*) Herc. de Saxoniâ (*Tract. post. de melanch. cap.* 3), speak of a [e]peculiar fury, which comes by overmuch study. Fernelius

[t] Antonius, ab assentatoribus evectus, Liberum se Patrem appellari jussit, et pro deo se venditavit. Redimitus hederâ, et coronâ velatus aureâ, et thyrsum tenens, cothurnisque succinctus, curru, velut Liber Pater, vectus est Alexandriæ. Pater. vol. post. [u] Minervæ nuptias ambiit, tanto furore, percitus, ut satellites mitteret ad videndum num dea in thalamum venisset, &c. [v] Ælian. lib. 12. [w] De mentis alienat. cap. 3. [x] Sequiturque superbia formam. Livius, lib. 11. Oraculum est, vivida sæpe ingenia luxuriare hac, et evanescere; multosque sensum penitus amisisse. Homines intuentur, ac si ipsi non essent homines. [y] Galeus de Rubeis, civis noster, faber ferrarius, ob inventionem instrumenti, cochleæ olim Archimedis dicti, præ lætitiâ insanivit. [z] Insaniâ postmodum correptus, ob nimiam inde arrogantiam. [a] Bene ferre magnam disce fortunam. Hor.—Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repente Dives ab exili progredieri loco. Ausonius. [b] Processit squalidus et submissus, ut hesterni diei gaudium intemperans hodie castigaret. [c] Uxor Hen. VIII. [d] Neutrius se fortunæ extremam libenter experturam dixit: sed, si necessitas alterius subinde imponeretur, optare se difficilem et adversam; quod in hac nulli unquam defuit solatium, in alterâ multis consilium, &c. Lod. Vives. [e] Peculiaris furor qui ex literis fit.

). 1. *cap.* 18) [f] puts study, contemplation, and continual meditation, as an ecial cause of madness; and, in his 86 *consul.* cites the same words. Jo. culanus (*in lib. Rhasis ad Almansorem, cap.* 16) amongst other causes, kons up *studium vehemens:* so doth Levinus Lemnius (*lib. de occul. nat. rac. lib.* 1 *cap.* 16). [g] *Many men* (saith he) *come to this malady by con- ual* [h] *study, and night-waking; and, of all other men, scholars are most ject to it;* and such (Rhasis adds) [i] *that have commonly the finest wits ont. lib.* 1. *tract.* 9). Marsilius Ficinus (*de sanit. tuendâ, lib.* 1. *cap.* 7) ts melancholy amongst one of those five principal plagues of students: 'tis common maul unto them all, and almost in some measure an inseparable mpanion. Varro (belike for that cause) calls *tristes philosophos et severos.* vere, sad, dry, tetrick, are common epithetes to scholars: and [j] Patritius, erefore, in the Institution of Princes, would not have them to be great stu- nts: for (as Machiavel holds) study weakens their bodies, dulls their spirits, ates their strength and courage; and good scholars are never good souldiers; ich a certain Goth well perceived; for, when his countrey-men came into eece, and would have burned all their books, he cried out against it, by all ans they should not do it: [k] *leave them that plague, which in time will nsume all their vigour, and martial spirits.* The [l] Turks abdicated Cornu- s, the next heir, from the empire, because he was so much given to his book; d 'tis the common tenent of the world, that learning dulls and dimmisheth e spirits, and so, *per consequens,* produceth melancholy.

Two main reasons may be given of it, why students should be more sub- ct to this malady than others. The one is, they live a sedentary, solitary e, *sibi et Musis,* free from bodily exercise, and those ordinary disports ich other men use; and many times, if discontent and idleness concur ith it (which is too frequent), they are precipitated into this gulf on a dden: but the common cause is overmuch study; too much learning (as Festus told Paul) hath made thee mad: 'tis that other extreme which fects it. So did Trincavellius (*lib.* 1. *consil.* 12. *et* 13) find by his expe- ence, in two of his patients, a young baron, and another, that contracted is malady by too vehement study; so Forestus (*observat. l.* 10 *observ.* 3) in a young divine in Lovain, that was mad, and said [n] *he had a bible his head.* Marsilius Ficinus (*de sanit. tuend. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. 3, 4, *et lib.* *cap.* 10) gives many reasons [o] *why students dote more often than others:* he first is their negligence: [p] *other men look to their tools; a painter will ash his pensils; a smith will look to his hammer, anvil, forge; an hus- andman will mend his plough-irons, and grind his hatchet if it be dull; a aulkner or huntsman will have an especial care of his hawks, hounds, orses, dogs, &c.; a musician will string and unstring his lute, &c. only cholars neglect that instrument (their brain and spirits, I mean) which they aily use, and by which they range over all the world, which by much study consumed. Vide* (saith Lucian) *ne, funiculum nimis intendendo, aliquando brumpas:* see thou twist not the rope so hard, till at length it [q] break;

[f] Nihil magis auget, ac assidua studia, et profundæ cogitationes. [g] Non desunt, qui ex jugi studio, t intempestivâ lucubratione, huc devenerunt: hi, præ cæteris, enim plerumque melancholiâ solent in- estari. [h] Study is a continual and earnest meditation, applyed to some thing with great desire. 'ully. [i] Et illi qui sunt subtilis ingenii et multæ præmeditationis, de facili incidunt in melancho- am. [j] Ob studiorem solicitudinem, lib. 5. tit. 5. [k] Gaspar Ens. Thesaur. Polit. Apoteles. 31. Græcis hanc pestem relinquite, quæ dubium non est quin brevi omnem ils vigorem ereptura Martios- ue spiritus exhaustura sit, ut ad arma tractanda plane innabiles futuri sint. [l] Knolles, Turk. Hist. [m] Act. 26. 24. [n] Nimiis studiis melancholicus evasit, dicens, se Biblium in capite habere. [o] Cur melancholiâ assiduâ, crebrisque deliramentis, vexentur eorum animi, ut desipere cogantur. [p] Solers quilibet artifex instrumenta sua diligentissime curat, penicillos pictor; malleos incudesque faber fer- arius; miles equos arma: venator, auceps, aves et canes; citharam citharœdus, &c. soli Musarum nystæ tam negligentes sunt, ut instrumentum illud, quo mundum universum metiri solent, spiritus elicet, penitus negligere videantur. [q] Arcus, (et arma tuæ tibi sunt imitanda Dianæ) Si nunquam *eases* tendere, mollis erit. Ovid.

Ficinus in his fourth chapter gives some other reasons: Saturn and Mercury, the patrons of learning, are both dry planets: and Origanus assigns the same cause, why Mercurialists are so poor, and most part beggers; for that their president Mercury had no better fortune himself. The Destinies, of old, put poverty upon him as a punishment; since when, poetry and beggery are *gemelli*, twin-born brats, inseparable companions;

> [r] And, to this day, is every scholar poor:
> Gross gold from them runs headlong to the boor:

Mercury can help them to knowledge, but not to money. The second is contemplation, [s] *which dryes the brain, and extinguisheth natural heat; for, whilst the spirits are intent to meditation above in the head, the stomach and liver are left destitute; and thence come black blood and crudities, by defect of concoction; and, for want of exercise, the superfluous vapours cannot exhale, &c.* The same reasons are repeated by Gomesius (*lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. *de sale*), [t] Nymannus (*orat. de Imag.*), Jo. Voschius (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. *de peste*): and something more they add, that hard students are commonly troubled with gowts, catarrhes, rheums, *cachexia*, *bradypepsia*, bad eyes, stone, and collick, [u] crudities, oppilations, *vertigo*, winds, consumptions, and all such diseases as come by over-much sitting: they are most part lean, dry, ill-coloured, spend their fortunes, lose their wits, and many times their lives; and all through immoderate pains, and extraordinary studies. If you will not believe the truth of this, look upon great Tostatus and Thomas Aquinas works; and tell me whether those men took pains? peruse Austin, Hierom, &c. and many thousands besides.

Qui cupit optatam cursu contingere metam,	He that desires this wished goal to gain,
Multa tulit, fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit.	Must sweat and freeze before he can attain,

and labour hard for it. So did Seneca, by his own confession (*ep.* 8): [v] *not a day that I spend idle; part of the night I keep mine eyes open, tired with waking, and now slumbering, to their continual task.* Hear Tully (*pro Archiâ Poëtâ*): *whilst others loytered, and took their pleasures, he was continually at his book.* So they do that will be scholars, and that to the hazard, (I say) of their healths, fortunes, wits, and lives. How much did Aristotle and Ptolomy spend (*unius regni pretium*, they say—more than a kings ransome) how many crowns *per annum*, to perfect arts, the one about his History of Creatures, the other on his *Almagest?* How much time did Thebet Benchorat employ, to find out the motion of the eighth sphear? forty years and more, some write. How many poor scholars have lost their wits, or become dizards, neglecting all worldly affairs, and their own health, wealth, *esse* and *bene esse*, to gain knowledge! for which, after all their pains, in the worlds esteem they are accounted ridiculous and silly fools, ideots, asses, and (as oft they are) rejected, condemned, derided, doting, and mad. Look for examples in Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2. *de manid et delirio*): read Trincavellius (*l.* 3. *consil.* 36. *et c.* 17), Montanus (*consil.* 233), [w] Garceus (*de Judic. genit. cap.* 33), Mercurialis (*consil.* 86. *cap.* 25), Prosper [x] Calenus (in his book *de atrâ bile*): go to Bedlam, and ask. Or if they keep their wits, yet they are esteemed scrubs and fools, [y] by reason of their carriage; *after seven years study,*

[r] Ephemer. [s] Contemplatio cerebrum exsiccat et extinguit calorem naturalem; unde cerebrum frigidum et siccum evadit, quod est melancholicum. Accedit ad hoc, quod natura, in contemplatione, cerebro prorsus, cordique intenta, stomachum heparque destituit; unde, ex alimentis male coctis, sanguis crassus et niger efficitur, dum nimio otio membrorum superflui vapores non exhalant. [t] Cerebrum exsiccatur, corpora sensim gracilescunt. [u] Studiosi sunt cachectici, et numquam bene colorati: propter debilitatem digestivæ facultatis, multiplicantur in iis superfluitates. Jo. Voschius, part. 2. cap. 5. de peste. [v] Nullus mihi per otium dies exit; partem noctis studiis dedico, non vero somno, sed oculos, vigiliâ fatigatos cadentesque, in operâ detineo. [w] Johannes Hanuschius Bohemus, nat. 1516, eruditus vir, nimiis studiis in phrenesin incidit. Montanus instanceth in a Frenchman of Tolosa. [x] Cardinalis Cæcius, ob laborem, vigilias, et diuturna studia, factus melancholicus. [y] Pers. Sat. 3. They cannot fiddle; but, as Themistocles said, he could make a small town become a great city.

——— ——— [a]statuâ taciturnius exit
Plerumque, et risu populum quatit:

because they cannot ride an horse, which every clown can do; salute and court a gentlewoman, carve at table, cringe, and make congies, which every common swasher can do, *hos populus ridet:* they are laughed to scorn, and accounted silly fools, by our gallants. Yea, many times, such is their misery, they deserve it: a meer scholar, a meer ass.

[a] Obstipo capite, et figentes lumine terram,
Murmura cum secum et rabiosa silentia rodunt,
Atque exporrecto trutinantur verba labello,
Ægroti veteris meditantes somnia, gigni
De nihilo nihilum; in nihilum nil posse reverti.

[b] ——— who do lean awry
Their heads, piercing the earth with a fixt eye;

When, by themselves, they gnaw their murmurings,
And furious silence, as 'twere ballancing
Each word upon their out-stretcht lip, and when
They meditate the dreams of old sick men,
As, out of nothing nothing can be brought,
And that which is, can ne're be turned to nought.

Thus they go commonly meditating unto themselves, thus they sit, such is their action and gesture. Fulgosus (*l.* 8. *c.* 7) makes mention how Th. Aquinas, supping with king Lewis of France, upon a sudden knocked his fist upon the table, and cryed, *conclusum est contra Manichæos;* his wits were a woolgathering (as they say), and his head busied about other matters: when he perceived his error, he was much [c] abashed. Such a story there is of Archimedes in Vitruvius, that, having found out the means to know how much gold was mingled with the silver in king Hierons crown, ran naked forth of the bath and cryed, εὕρηκα, I have found; [d] *and was commonly so intent to his studies, that he never perceived what was done about him: when the city was taken, and the souldiers now ready to rifle his house, he took no notice of it.* [e] S[t] Bernard rode all day long by the Lemnian lake, and asked at last where he was (Marullus, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 4). It was Democritus carriage alone that made the Abderites suppose him to have been mad, and send for Hippocrates to cure him: if he had been in any solemn company, he would upon all occasions fall a laughing. Theophrastus saith as much of Heraclitus, for that he continually wept, and Laërtius of Menedemus Lampsacenus, because he ran like a madman, [f] *saying, he came from hell as a spie, to tell the devils what mortal men did.* Your greatest students are commonly no better—silly, soft fellows in their outward behaviour, absurd, ridiculous to others, and no whit experienced in worldly business: they can measure the heavens, range over the world, teach others wisdom; and yet, in bargains and contracts, they are circumvented by every base tradesman. Are not these men fools? and how should they be otherwise, *but as so many sots in schools, when* (as [g] he well observed) *they neither hear nor see such things as are commonly practised abroad?* how should they get experience? by what means? [h] *I knew in my time many scholars,* saith Æneas Sylvius (in an epistle of his to Gasper Scitick, chancellor to the emperour) *excellent well learned, but so rude, so silly, that they had no common civility, nor knew how to manage their domestick or publick affairs. Paglarensis was amazed, and said his farmer had surely cozened him, when he heard him tell that his sow had eleven pigs, and his ass had but one foal.* To say the best of this profession, I can give no other testimony of them in general, than that of [i] Pliny of Isæus—*he is yet a scholar; than which kind of men there is nothing so simple, so sincere, none better;* they are, most part, harmless, honest, *upright, innocent,* plain dealing men.

[a] Ingenium, sibi quod vanas desumpsit Athenas. Et septem studiis annos dedit, insenuitque Libris et curis, statuâ taciturnius exit Plerumque, et risu populum quatit. Hor. ep. 2. lib. 2. [b] Pers. Sat. [b] Translated by M. B. Holiday. [c] Thomas, rubore confusus, dixit se de argumento cogitâsse. [d] Plutarch vitâ Marcelli. Nec sensit urbem captam, nec milites in domum irruentes, adeo intentus studiis, &c. [e] Lib. 2. cap. 18. [f] Sub Furiæ larvâ circumivit urbem, dictitans se exploratorem ab inferis venisse, delaturum dæmonibus mortalium peccata. [g] Petronius. Ego arbitror in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil eorum, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident. [h] Novi, meis diebus, plerosque studiis literarum deditos, qui disciplinis admodum abundabant; sed hi nihil civilitatis habebant, nec rem. publ. nec domesticam regere nôrant. Stupuit Paglarensis, et furti villicum accusavit, qui suem fetam undecim porcellos, asinam unam duntaxat pullum, enixam retulerat. [i] Lib. 1. Epist. 3. Adhuc scholasticus tantum est; quo genere hominum, nihil aut est simplicius, aut sincerius, aut melius.

Now, because they are commonly subject to such hazards and inconveniences, as dotage, madness, simplicity, &c. Jo. Voschius would have good scholars to be highly rewarded, and had in some extraordinary respect above other men, [j] *to have greater privileges than the rest, that adventure themselves and abbreviate their lives for the publick good.* But our patrons of learning are so far, now a dayes, from respecting the Muses, and giving that honour to scholars, or reward, which they deserve, and are allowed by those indulgent privileges of many noble princes, that, after all their pains taken in the universities, cost and charge, expences, irksom hours, laborious tasks, wearisome dayes, dangers, hazards (barred *interim* from all pleasures which other men have, mewed up like hawks all their lives) if they chance to wade through them, they shall in the end be rejected, contemned, and (which is their greatest misery) driven to their shifts, exposed to want, poverty, and beggery. Their familiar attendants are,

[k] Pallentes Morbi, Luctus, Curæque, Laborque,
Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, et turpis Egestas,
Terribiles visu formæ———

Grief, Labour, Care, pale Sickness, Miseries,
Fear, filthy Poverty, Hunger that cryes;
Terrible monsters to be seen with eyes.

If there were nothing else to trouble them, the conceit of this alone were enough to make them all melancholy. Most other trades and professions, after some seven years prenticeship, are enabled by their craft to live of themselves. A merchant adventures his goods at sea; and, though his hazard be great, yet, if one ship return of four, he likely makes a saving voyage. An husbandmans gains are almost certain; *quibus ipse Jupiter nocere non potest* ('tis [l]Catos hyperbole, a great husband himself): only scholars, methinks, are most uncertain, unrespected, subject to all casualties, and hazards: for, first, not one of a many proves to be a scholar; all are not capable and docile; *ex omni ligno non fit Mercurius:* [m] we can make majors and officers every year, but not scholars: kings can invest knights and barons, as Sigismond the emperour confessed: universities can give degrees; and— *Tu quod es, e populo quilibet esse potest:* but he, nor they, nor all the world, can give learning, make philosophers, artists, oratours, poets. We can soon say, (as Seneca well notes) *O virum bonum! o divitem!* point at a rich man, a good, an happy man, a proper man, *sumtuose vestitum, calamistratum, bene olentem: magno temporis impendio constat hæc laudatio, o virum literatum!* but 'tis not so easily performed to find out a learned man. Learning is not so quickly got: though they may be willing to take pains, and to that end sufficiently informed and liberally maintained by their patrons and parents, yet few can compass it: or, if they be docile, yet all mens wills are not answerable to their wits; they can apprehend, but will not take pains; they are either seduced by bad companions, *vel in puellam impingunt, vel in poculum*, and so spend their time to their friends grief and their own undoings. Or, put case they be studious, industrious, of ripe wits, and perhaps good capacities, then how many diseases of body and mind must they encounter? No labour in the world like unto study. It may be, their temperature will not endure it: but, striving to be excellent, to know all, they lose health, wealth, wit, life, and all. Let him yet happily escape all these hazards, *æreis intestinis*, with a body of brass, and is now consummate and ripe; he hath profited in his studies, and proceeded with all applause: after many expences, he is fit for preferment: where shall he have it? he is as far to seek it, as he was (after twenty years standing) at the first day of his coming to the university. For, what course shall he take, being now capable and ready? The most

[j] Jure privilegiandi, qui ob commune bonum abbreviant sibi vitam. [k] Virg. Æn. lib. 6. [l] Plutarch, vitâ ejus. Certum agricolationis lucrum, &c. [m] Quotannis fiunt consules et proconsules: rvx et poëta quotannis non nascitur.

rable and easie, and about which many are imployed, is to teach a school, rn lecturer or curat; and, for that, he shall have faulkners wages, ten und *per annum*, and his diet, or some small stipend, so long as he can ease his patron or the parish; if they approve him not (for usually they but a year or two—as inconstant, as [n] they that cryed, "Hosanna" one y, and "Crucifie him" the other), serving-man like, he must go look a w master: if they do, what is his reward?

> [o] Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
> Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.

ke an ass, he wears out his time for provender, and can shew a stum rod, *jam tritam et laceram*, saith [p] Hædus, an old torn gown, an ensign of s infelicity; he hath his labour for his pain, a *modicum* to keep him till he decrepit; and that is all. *Grammaticus non est felix, &c.* If he be a ncher chaplain in a gentlemans house, (as it befel [q] Euphormio) after some ven years service, he may perchance have a living to the halves, or some all rectory with the mother of the maids at length, a poor kinswoman, or rackt-chamber-maid, to have and to hold during the time of his life. But, ne offend his good patron, or displease his lady mistres in the mean time,

> [r] Ducetur plantâ, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
> Ponetur que foras, si quid tentaverit unquam
> Hiscere———————

Hercules did by Cacus, he shall be dragged forth of doors by the heels, away th him. If he bend his forces to some other studies, with an intent to be a retis to some noble man, or in such a place with an embassadour, he shall d that these persons rise, like prentises, one under another: and so, in many desmens shops, when the master is dead, the foreman of the shop commonly ps in his place. Now for poets, rhetoricians, historians, philosophers, [s] mathematicians, sophisters, &c. they are like grashoppers: sing they must in summer, and pine in the winter; for there is no preferment for them. Even so they re at first, if you will believe that pleasant tale of Socrates which he told fair dædrus under a plane-tree, at the banks of the river Ismenus. About noon, nen it was hot, and the grashoppers made a noise, he took that sweet occasion tell him a tale, how grashoppers were once scholars, musicians, poets, &c. fore the Muses were born, and lived without meat and drink, and for that use were turned by Jupiter into grashoppers: and may be turned again, *in ithoni cicadas, aut Lyciorum ranas*, for any reward I see they are like to ve: or else, in the mean time, I would they could live, as they did, without y viaticum, like so many [t] *manucodiatæ*, those Indian birds of Paradise, as e commonly call them—those, I mean, that live with the air and dew of aven, and need no other food; for, being as they are, their [u] *rhetorick only rves them to curse their bad fortunes;* and many of them, for want of eans, are driven to hard shifts; from grashoppers they turn to humble-bees d wasps, plain parasites, and make the Muses mules, to satisfie their hungerarved panches, and get a meals meat: To say truth, 'tis the common rtune of most scholars, to be servile and poor, to complain pittifully, and y open their wants to their respectless patrons, as [v] Cardan doth, as [w] Xynder, and many others; and (which is too common in those dedicatory istles) for hope of gain, to lye, flatter, and with hyperbolical elogiums d commendations, to magnifie and extol an illiterate unworthy idiot, for s excellent vertues, whom they should rather (as [x] Machiavel observes) lifie, and rail at downright for his most notorious villanies and vices. So

Mat. 21. [o] Hor. ep. 20. l. 1. [p] Lib. 1. de contem. amor. [q] Satyricon. [r] Juv. Sat. 3. rs. colit. astra. [s] Aldrovandus, de Avibus, l. 12. Gesner, &c. [t] Literas habent, queis sibi et tunæ suæ maledicant. Sat. Menip. [u] Lib. de libris proprils, fol. 24. [w] Præfat. translat. Plaoh. [x] Polit. disput. Laudibus extollunt eos, ac si virtutibus pollerent, quos, ob infinita scelera, *ius vituperare* oporteret.

they prostitute themselves, as fidlers or mercenary tradesmen, to serve great mens turns for a small reward. They are like [y] Indians; they have store of gold, but know not the worth of it: for I am of Synesius opinion, [z] *King Hieron got more by Simonides acquaintance, than Simonides did by his:* they have their best education, good institution, sole qualification from us; and, when they have done well, their honour and immortality from us; we are the living tombs, registers, and so many trumpetours of their fames: what was Achilles, without Homer? Alexander, without Arrian and Curtius? who had known the Cæsars, but for Suetonius and Dion?

[a] Vixerunt fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illacrymabiles

Urgentur, ignotique, longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

They are more beholden to scholars, than scholars to them; but they undervalue themselves, and so, by those great men, are kept down. Let them have all that Encyclopædia, all the learning in the world; they must keep it to themselves, [b] *live in base esteem, and starve, except they will submit* (as Budæus well hath it) *so many good parts, so many ensigns of arts, vertues, and be slavishly obnoxious to some illiterate potentate, and live under his insolent worship, or honour, like parasites, qui tamquam mures, alienum, panem comedunt.* For, to say truth, *artes hæ non sunt lucrativæ* (as Guido Bonat, that great astrologer could foresee) they be not gainful arts these, *sed esurientes et famelicæ*, but poor and hungry.

[a] Dat Galenus opes; dat Justinianus honores;
Sed genus et species cogitur ire pedes:

The rich physician, honour'd lawyers, ride,
Whil'st the poor scholar foots it by their side.

Poverty is the Muses patrimony; and, as that poetical divinity teacheth us, when Jupiters daughters were each of them married to the Gods, the Muses alone were left solitary, Helicon forsaken of all suters; and I believe it was, because they had no portion.

Calliope longum cœlebs cur vixit in ævum?
Nempe nihil dotis, quod numeraret, erat.

Why did Calliope live so long a maid?
Because she had no dowry to be paid.

Ever since, all their followers are poor, forsaken, and left unto themselves; in so much that, as [d] Petronius argues, you shall likely know them by their cloaths. *There came,* saith he, *by chance into my company, a fellow, not very spruce to look on, that I could perceive by that note alone, he was a scholar, whom commonly rich men hate. I asked him what he was: he answered, a poet. I demanded again why he was so ragged: he told me, this kind of learning never made any man rich.*

[a] Qui pelago credit, magno se fœnore tollit;
Qui pugnas et castra petit, præcingitur auro;
Vilis adulator picto jacet ebrius ostro;
Sola pruinosis horret facundia pannis.

A merchants gain is great, that goes to sea:
A souldier embossed all in gold:
A flatterer lyes fox'd in brave array,
A scholar only ragged to behold.

All which our ordinary students right well perceiving in the universities—how unprofitable these poetical, mathematical, and philosophical studies are, how little respected, how few patrons—apply themselves in all haste to those three commodious professions of law, physick, and divinity, sharing themselves between them, [f] rejecting these arts in the mean time, history, philosophy, philology, or lightly passing them over, as pleasant toyes, fitting only table talk, and to furnish them with discourse. They are not so behoveful: he that can tell his money, hath arithmetick enough: he is a true geometrician, can measure out a good fortune to himself; a perfect astrologer, that can cast the rise

[y] Or, as horses know not their strength, they consider not their own worth. [z] Plura ex Simonidis familiaritate Hieron consequutus est, quam ex Hieronis Simonides. [a] Hor. lib. 4. od. 9. [b] Inter inertes et plebeios fere jacet, ultimum locum habens, nisi tot artis virtutisque insignia, turpiter, obnoxie, supparasitando fascibus subjecerit protervæ insolentisque potentiæ. Lib. 1. de contemt. rerum fortuitarum. [a] Buchanan. eleg. lib. [d] In Satyrico. Intrat senex, sed cultu non ita speciosus, ut facile appareret eum hâc notâ literatum esse; quos divites odisse solent. Ego, inquit, poëta sum. Quare ergo tam male vestitus es? Propter hoc ipsum; amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit. [a] Petronius Arbiter. [f] Oppressus paupertate animus nihil eximium aut sublime cogitare potest. Amœnitates literarum, aut elegantiam, quoniam nihil præsidii in his ad vitæ commodum videt, primo negligere, mox odisse, incipit. Heins.

and fall of others, and mark their errant motions to his own use. The best opticks are, to reflect the beams of some great mens favour and grace to shine upon him. He is a good engineer, that alone can make an instrument to get preferment. This was the common tenent and practice of Poland, as Cromerus observed, not long since, in the first book of his history: their universities were generally base; not a philosopher, a mathematician, an antiquary, &c. to be found of any note amongst them, because they had no set reward or stipend; but every man betook himself to divinity, *hoc solum in votis habens, opimum sacerdotium:* a good personage was their aim. This was the practice of some of our neer neighbours, as [g] Lipsius inveighs; *they thrust their children to the study of law and divinity, before they be informed aright, or capable of such studies. Scilicet omnibus artibus antistat spes lucri; et formosior est cumulus auri, quam quidquid Græci Latinique delirantes scripserunt. Ex hoc numero deinde veniunt ad gubernacula reipub. intersunt et præsunt consiliis regum; o pater! o patria!* so he complained; and so many others: for even so we find, to serve a great man, to get an office in some bishops court (to practise in some good town), or compass a benefice, is the mark we shoot at, as being so advantagious, the high way to preferment

Although, many times, for aught I can see, these men fail as often as the rest in their projects, and are as usually frustrate of their hopes: for, let him be a doctor of the law, an excellent civilian of good worth, where shall he practise and expatiate? Their fields are so scant, the civil law with us so contracted with prohibitions, so few causes, by reason of those all-devouring municipal laws (*quibus nihil illiteratius*, saith [h] Erasmus—an illiterate and a barbarous study; for, though they be never so well learned in it, I can hardly vouchsafe them the name of scholars, except they be otherwise qualified) and so few courts are left to that profession, such slender offices, and those commonly to be compassed at such dear rates, that I know not how an ingenious man should thrive amongst them. Now, for physicians, there are in every village so many mountebanks, empericks, quack-salvers, Paracelsians, (as they call themselves), *causifici et sanicidæ* (so [i] Clenard terms them), wisards, alcumists, poor vicars, cast apothecaries, physicians men, barbers, and good wives, professing great skill, that I make great doubt how they shall be maintained, or who shall be their patients. Besides, there are so many of both sorts, and some of them such harpyes, so covetous, so clamorous, so impudent, and (as [j] he said) litigious idiots,

Quibus loquacis affatim arrogantiæ est, Peritiæ parum aut nihil, Nec ulla mica literarii salis; Crumenimulga natio,	Loquutuleia turba, litium strophæ, Maligna litigantium Cohors, togati vultures, Lavernæ alumni, agyrtæ, &c.
Which have no skill, but prating arrogance, No learning, such a purse-milking nation,	Gown'd vultures, thieves, and a litigious rout Of couseners that haunt this occupation,

that they cannot well tell how to live one by another, but, as he jested (in the comedy) of clocks, they were so many, [k] *major pars populi aridâ reptat fame*, they are almost starved a great part of them, and ready to devour their fellows, [l] *et noxiâ calliditate se corripere;* such a multitude of pettifoggers, and empericks, such impostors, that an honest man knows not in what sort to compose and behave himself in their society, to carry himself with credit in so vile a rout; *scientiæ nomen, tot sumtibus partum et vigiliis, profiteri dispudeat, postquam, &c.*

Last of all, to come to our divines, the most noble profession and worthy of double honour, but of all others the most distressed and miserable. If you will not believe me, hear a brief of it, as it was, not many years since, publicly preached at Pauls cross, [m] by a grave minister then, and now a reverend

[g] Epistol. quæst. lib. 4. ep. 21. [h] Ciceron. dial. [i] Epist. lib. 2. [j] Ja. Dousa, Epodon. lib. 2. car. 2. [k] Plautus. [l] Barc. Argensis. lib. 3. [m] Joh. Howson, 4 Novembris, 1597. The sermon was printed by Arnold Hartfield.

bishop of this land. *We, that are bred up in learning, and destinated by our parents to this end, we suffer our childhood in the grammer school, which Austin calls* magnam tyrannidem, et grave malum, *and compares it to the torments of martyrdom; when we come to the university, if we live of the college allowance, as Phalaris objected to the Leontines,* παντῶν ἐνδεῖς πλὴν λιμοῦ καὶ φόβου, *needy of all things but hunger and fear; or, if we be maintained but partly by our parents cost, do depend in* [un] *necessary maintenance, books, and degrees, before we come to any perfection, five hundreth pounds, or a thousand marks. If, by this price of the expence of time, our bodies and spirits, our substance and patrimonies, we cannot purchase those small rewards, which are ours by law, and the right of inheritance, a poor personage, or a vicarage of* 50l. per annum, *but we must pay to the patron for the lease of a life (a spent and out-worn life), either in annual pension, or above the rate of a coppyhold, and that with the hazard and loss of our souls, by simony and perjury, and the forfeiture of all our spiritual preferments,* in esse and posse, *both present and to come; what father after a while will be so improvident, to bring up his son, to his great charge, to this necessary beggery? What Christian will be so irreligious, to bring up his son in that course of life, which, by all probability and necessity,* cogit ad turpia, *enforcing to sin, will entangle him in simony and perjury, when as the poet saith, Invitatus ad hæc aliquis de ponte negabit——a beggers brat, taken from the bridge where he sits a begging, if he knew the inconvenience, had cause to refuse it.* This being thus, have not we fished fair all this while, that are initiate divines, to find no better fruits of our labours? [n] *Hoc est, cur palles? cur quis non prandeat, hoc est?* Do we macerate our selves for this? Is it for this we rise so early all the year long, [o] *leaping* (as he saith) *out of our beds, when we hear the bell ring, as if we had heard a thunder clap?* If this be all the respect, reward, and honour, we shall have, [p] *Frange leves calamos, et scinde, Thalia, libellos:* let us give over our books, and betake ourselves to some other course of life. To what end should we study? [q] *Quid me literulas stulti docuere parentes?* what did our parents mean to make us scholars, to be as far to seek for preferment after twenty years study, as we were at first? why do we take such pains? *Quid tantum insanis juvat impallescere chartis?* If there be no more hope of reward, no better encouragement, I say again, *Frange leves calamos, et scinde, Thalia, libellos:* let's turn souldiers, sell our books, and buy swords, guns, and pikes, or stop bottles with them, turn our philosophers gowns (as Cleanthes once did) unto millers coats, leave all, and rather betake our-selves to any other course of life, than to continue longer in this misery. [r] *Præstat dentiscalpia radere, quam literariis monumentis magnatum favorem emendicare.*

Yea, but me thinks I hear some man except at these words, that (though this be true which I have said of the estate of scholars, and especially of divines, that it is miserable and distressed at this time, that the church suffers shipwrack of her goods, and that they have just cause to complain) there is a fault; but whence proceeds it? if the cause were justly examined, it would be retorted upon our selves; if we were cited at that tribunal of truth, we should be found guilty, and not able to excuse it. That there is a fault among us, I confess: and, were there not a buyer, there would not be a seller: but to him that will consider better of it, it will more than manifestly appear, that the fountain of these miseries proceeds from these griping pa-

[n] Pers. Sat. 3. [o] E lecto exsilientes, ad subitum tintinnabuli plausum, quasi fulmine territi. 1. [p] Mart. [q] Mart. [r] Sat. Menip.

ons. In accusing them, I do not altogether excuse us: both are faulty, ey and we: yet, in my judgement, theirs is the greater fault, more appant causes, and much to be condemned. For my part, if it be not with me I would, or as it should, I do ascribe the cause (as [s]Cardan did in the ce case) *meo infortunio potius quam illorum sceleri*, to [t]mine own infelity, rather than their naughtiness, (although I have been baffled in my ne by some of them, and have as just cause to complain as another) or ther indeed to mine own negligence; for I was ever like that Alexander ı [u]Plutarch) Crassus his tutor in philosophy, who, though he lived many ars familiarly with rich Crassus, was even as poor when from, (which many ondred at) as when he came first to him. He never asked; the other never ve him any thing; when he travelled with Crassus, he borrowed an hat of m, at his return restored it again. I have had some such noble friends, quaintance, and scholars; but, most part, (common courtesies and ordiry respects excepted) they and I parted as we met: they gave me as much I requested, and that was —— And as Alexander ab Alexandro (*Genial. er. l.* 6. *c.* 16) made answer to Hieronymus Massainus, that wondred, *um plures ignavos et ignobiles ad dignitates et sacerdotia promotos quotie videret*, when other men rose, still he was in the same state, *eodem tenore fortunâ, cui mercedem laborum studiorumque deberi putaret*, whom he ought to deserve as well as the rest—he made answer, that he was content th his present estate, was not ambitious: and, although *objurgabundus am segnitiem accusaret, cum obscuræ sortis homines ad sacerdotia et pontificatus evectos, &c.* he chid him for his backwardness, yet he was still the me: and for my part (though I be not worthy perhaps to carry Alexanders oks) yet, by some overweening and well wishing friends, the like speeches ve been used to me; but I replied still, with Alexander, that I had enough d more peradventure than I deserved; and, with Libanius Sophista, that ther chose (when honours and offices by the emperour were offered unto m) to be *talis sophista, quam talis magistratus*, I had as live be still Democritus junior, and *privus privatus, si mihi jam daretur optio, quam talis rtasse doctor, talis dominus —— Sed quorsum hæc?* For the rest, 'tis on oth sides, *facinus detestandum* to buy and sell livings, to detain from the urch that which Gods and mens laws have bestowed on it; but in them ost, and that from the covetousness and ignorance of such as are interested this business. I name covetousness in the first place, as the root of all ese mischiefs, which (Achan like) compels them to commit sacrilege, and to ake simoniacal compacts, (and what not?) to their own ends, [v]and that ndles God's wrath, brings a plague, vengeance, and an heavy visitation on themselves and others. Some, out of that insatiable desire of filthy cre, to be enriched, care not how they come by it, *per fas et nefas*, hook crook, so they have it. And others, when they have, with riot and prodility, imbezzelled their estates, to recover themselves, make a prey of the urch, (robbing it, as [w]Julian the Apostate did) spoile parsons of their renues (in keeping half back, [x]as a great man amongst us observes) *and that intenance on which they should live;* by means whereof, barbarism is inreased, and a great decay of Christian professours: for who will apply mself to these divine studies, his son, or friend, when, after great pains

Lib. 3. de cons. [s]I had no money: I wanted impudence: I could not scamble, temporise, dible: non pranderet olus, &c.—Vis, dicam? ad palpandum et adulandum penitus insulsus, recudi ı possum, jam senior, ut sim talis; et fingi nolo, utcunque male cedat in rem meam, et obscurus e delitescam. [u]Vit. Crassi. Nec facile judicari potest, utrum pauperior cum primo ad Crassum, [v]Deum habent iratum; sibique mortem æternam acquirunt, aliis miserabilem ruinam. Serre, *in Josuam*, 7. Euripides. [w]Nicephorus, lib. 10. cap. 5. [x]Lord Cook, in his Reports, second *fol.* 44.

taken, they shall have nothing whereupon to live? But with what event do they these things?

> [f] Opesque totis viribus venamini:
> At inde messis accidit miserrima.

They toyle and moyle, but what reap they? They are commonly unfortunate families that use it, accursed in their progeny, and, as common experience evinceth, accursed themselves in all their proceedings. *With what face* (as [g] he quotes out of Austin) *can they expect a blessing or inheritance from Christ in heaven, that defraud Christ of his inheritance here on earth?* I would all our simoniacal patrons, and such as detain tithes, would read those judicious tracts of S[r] Henry Spelman and S[r] James Sempill, knights; those late elaborate and learned treatises of D[r] Tilslye and M[r] Montague, which they have written of that subject. But, though they should read, it would be to small purpose; *clames licet, et mare cœlo confundas;* thunder, lighten, preach hell and damnation, tell them 'tis a sin: they will not believe it; denounce and terrifie; they have [e] cauterized consciences; they do not attend; as the inchanted adder, they stop their ears. Call them base, irreligious, prophane, barbarous, pagans, atheists, epicures, (as some of them surely are) with the bawd in Plautus, *Euge! optime!* they cry; and applaud themselves with that miser, [h] *simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ:* say what you will, *quocunque modo rem:* as a dog barks at the moon, to no purpose are your sayings: take your heaven, let them have money—a base, prophane, epicurean, hypocritical rout. For my part, let them pretend what zeal they will, counterfeit religion, blear the worlds eyes, bumbast themselves, and stuffe out their greatness with church spoils, shine like so many peacocks—so cold is my charity, so defective in this behalf, that I shall never think better of them, than that they are rotten at core, their bones are full of epicurean hypocrisie, and atheistical marrow; they are worse than heathens. For, as Dionysius Halicarnasseus observes (*Antiq. Rom. lib.* 7.) [c] *Primum locum, &c. Greeks and barbarians observe all religious rites, and dare not break them, for fear of offending their gods:* but our simoniacal contracters, our senseless Achans, our stupified patrons, fear neither God nor Devil: they have evasions for it; it is no sin, or not due *jure divino*, or, if a sin, no great sin, &c. And, though they be daily punished for it, and they do manifestly perceive, that (as he said) frost and fraud come to foul ends; yet (as [d] Chrysostome follows it) *nulla ex pœnâ fit correctio; et, quasi adversis malitia hominum provocetur, crescit quotidie quod puniatur:* they are rather worse than better:——*iram atque animos a crimine sumunt;* and the more they are corrected, the more they offend: but let them take their course, ([e] *Rode, caper, vites*) go on still as they begin, ("'tis no sin!") let them rejoyce secure; Gods vengeance will overtake them in the end; and these ill gotten goods, as an eagles feathers, [f] will consume the rest of their substance; it is [g] *aurum Tholosanum*, and will produce no better effects. *Let them lay it up safe, and make their conveyances never so close, lock and shut door*, saith [h] Chrysostome: *yet fraud and covetousness, two most violent thieves, are still included; and a little gain, evil gotten, will subvert the rest of their goods.* The eagle in Æsop, seeing a piece of flesh, now ready to be sacrificed, swept it away with her claws, and carried it to her nest: but there was a burning coal stuck to it by chance, which unawares consumed her young ones, nest and all together. Let our simoniacal church-chopping patrons, and sacrilegious harpies, look for no better success.

[f] Euripides. [g] Sir Henry Spelman, de non temerandis Ecclesiis. [h] 1 Tim. 4. 2. [h] Hor. [c] Primum locum apud omnes gentes habet patritius deorum cultus, et geniorum; nam hunc diutissime custodiunt, tam Græci quam barbari, &c. [d] Tom. 1. de steril. trium annorum sub Eliâ sermone. [e] Ovid. Fast. [f] De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres. [g] Strabo, l. 4. Geog. [h] Nihil facilius opes evertet, quam avaritia et fraude parta. Etsi enim seram addas tali arcæ, et exteriore januâ et vecte eam communias, intus tamen fraudem et avaritiam, &c. In 5 Corinth.

A second cause is ignorance, and from thence contempt: *successit odium in literas ab ignorantiâ vulgi*; which [j]Junius well perceived: this hatred and contempt of learning proceeds out of [j] ignorance; as they are themselves barbarous, idiots, dull, illiterate, and proud, so they esteem of others. *Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones:* let there be bountiful patrons, and there will be painful scholars in all sciences. But, when they contemn learning, and think themselves sufficiently qualified, if they can write and read, scamble at a piece of evidence, or have so much Latin as that emperour had, [k]*qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere*, they are unfit to do their countrey service, to perform or undertake any action or employment, which may tend to the good of a common-wealth, except it be to fight, or to do countrey justice, with common sense, which every yeoman can likewise do. And so they bring up their children, rude as they are themselves, unqualified, untaught, uncivil most part. [l]*Quis e nostrâ juventute legitime instituitur literis? quis oratores aut philosophos tangit? quis historiam legit, illam rerum agendarum quasi animam? Præcipitant parentes vota sua, &c.* 'twas Lipsius complaint to his illiterate countrey-men: it may be ours. Now shall these men judge of a scholars worth, that have no worth, that know not what belongs to a students labours, that cannot distinguish between a true scholar and a drone? or him that by reason of a voluble tongue, a strong voice, a pleasing tone, and some trivantly Polyanthean helps, steals and gleans a few notes from other mens harvests, and so makes a fairer shew, than he that is truly learned indeed; that thinks it no more to preach, than to speak, [m] *or to run away with an empty cart* (as a grave man said); and thereupon vilifie us, and our pains; scorn us, and all learning. [n] Because they are rich, and have other means to live, they think it concerns them not to know, or to trouble themselves with it; a fitter task for younger brothers, or poor mens sons, to be pen and inkhorn men, pedantical slaves, and no whit beseeming the calling of a gentleman, as Frenchmen and Germans commonly do, neglecting therefore all humane learning: what have they to do with it? Let marriners learn astronomy; merchants factors study arithmetick; surveyors get them geometry; spectacle-makers opticks; landleapers geography; town-clarks rhetorick; what should he do with a spade, that hath no ground to dig? or they with learning, that have no use of it? Thus they reason, and are not ashamed to let marriners, prentises, and the basest servants, be better qualified than themselves. In former times, kings, princes, and emperours were the only scholars, excellent in all faculties.

Julius Cæsar mended the year, and writ his own Commentaries:

> ——————[o] media inter prœlia, semper
> Stellarum cœlique plagis, superisque vacavit.

[p]Antoninus, Adrian, Nero, Severus, Julian, &c. [q]Michael the emperour, and Isacius, were so much given to their studies, that no base fellow would take so much pains: Orion, Perseus, Alphonsus, Ptolemæus, famous astronomers; Sabor, Mithridates, Lysimachus, admired physicians—Platos kings, all; Evax, that Arabian prince, a most expert jueller, and an exquisite philosopher; the kings of Ægypt were priests of old, and chosen from thence: *Rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos:* but those heroical times are past: the Muses are now banished, in this bastard age, *ad sordida tuguriola*, to

[j]Acad. cap. 7. [j]Ars neminem habet inimicum, præter ignorantem. [k]He that cannot dissemble cannot live. [l]Epist. quæst. lib. 4. epist. 21. Lipsius. [m]Dr. King, in his last lecture on Jonah, sometimes right reverend lord bishop of London. [n]Quibus opes et otium, hi barbaro fastu literas contemnunt. [o]Lucan. lib. 8. [p]Spartian. Soliciti de rebus nimis. [q]Nicet. l. Anne. Fumis incubrationum sordebant.

meaner persons, and confined alone almost to universities. In those dayes, scholars were highly beloved, [r]honoured, esteemed, as old Ennius by Scipio Africanus, Virgil by Augustus, Horace by Mæcenus; princes companions; dear to them, as Anacreon to Polycrates, Philoxenus to Dionysius, and highly rewarded. Alexander sent Xenocrates the philosopher fifty talents, because he was poor, *visu rerum aut eruditione præstantes viri mensis olim regum adhibiti*, as Philostratus relates of Adrian, and Lampridius of Alexander Severus. Famous clarks came to these princes courts, *velut in Lycæum*, as to an university, and were admitted to their tables, *quasi divûm epulis accumbentes;* Archelaüs, that Macedonian king, would not willingly sup without Euripides, (amongst the rest he drank to him at supper one night, and gave him a cup of gold for his pains) *delectatus poëtæ suavi sermone:* and it was fit it should be so, because (as [s]Plato in his Protagoras well saith) a good philosopher as much excells other men, as a great king doth the commons of his countrey; and again, [t]*quoniam illis nihil deest, et minime egere solent, et disciplinas, quas profitêntur, soli a contemtu vindicare possunt;* they needed not to beg so basely, as they compell [u]scholars in our times to complain of poverty, or crouch to a rich chuff for a meals meat, but could vindicate themselves, and those arts which they professed. Now they would and cannot; for it is held by some of them, as an axiom, that to keep them poor, will make them study; they must be dieted, as horses to a race, not pampered; [v]*alendos volunt, non saginandos, ne melioris mentis flammula extinguatur:* a fat bird will not sing, a fat dog cannot hunt; and so, by this depression of theirs, [w]some want means, others will, all want [x]incouragement, as being forsaken almost, and generally contemned. 'Tis an old saying, *Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones;* and 'tis a true saying still. Yet oftentimes, I may not deny it, the main fault is in ourselves. Our academicks too frequently offend in neglecting patrons (as [y]Erasmus well taxeth), or making ill choice of them; *negligimus oblatos, aut amplectimur parum aptos;* or, if we get a good one, *non studemus mutuis officiis favorem ejus alere*, we do not plye and follow him as we should. *Idem mihi accidit adolescenti* (saith Erasmus, acknowledging his fault); *et gravissime peccavi:* and so [z]may I say my self, I have offended in this, and so peradventure have many others: we did not *respondere magnatum favoribus, qui cœperunt nos amplecti*, apply our selves with that readiness we should: idleness, love of liberty, (*immodicus amor libertatis effecit, ut diu cum perfidis amicis*, as he confesseth, *et perti naci paupertate, colluctarer*) bashfulness, melancholy, timorousness, cause many of us to be too backward and remiss. So some offend in one extream, but too many on the other: we are, most part, too forward, too solicitous, too ambitious, too impudent: we commonly complain *deesse Mæcenates*, want of encouragement, want of means, when as the true defect is our want of worth, our insufficiency. Did Mæcenas take notice of Horace or Virgil, till they had shewed themselves first? or had Bavius and Mævius any patrons? *Egregium specimen dent*, saith Erasmus: let them approve themselves worthy first, sufficiently qualified for learning and manners, before they presume or impudently intrude and put themselves on great men, as too many do, with such base flattery, parasitical colloguing, such hyperbolical

[r]Grammaticis olim et dialecticis jurisque professoribus, qui specimen eruditionis dedissent, eadem dignitatis insignia decreverunt imperatores, quibus ornabant heroas. Erasm. ep. Jo. Fabio epis. Vien. [s]Probus vir et philosophus magis præstat inter alios homines, quam rex inclytus inter plebeios. [t]Heinsius, præfat. Poëmatum. [u]Servile nomen scholaris jam. [v]Seneca. [w]Haud facile emergunt, &c. [x]Mediâ quod noctis ab horâ Sedisti, quâ nemo faber, quâ nemo sedebat, Qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro; Rara tamen merces. Juv. Sat. 7. [y]Chil. 4. cent. 1. adag. 1. [z]Had I done as others did, put my self forward, I might have haply been as great a man as many of my equals.

elogies they do usually insinuate, that it is a shame to hear and see. *Immodicæ laudes conciliant invidiam, potius quam laudem ;* and vain commendations derogate from truth; and we think, in conclusion, *non melius de laudato, pejus de laudante*, ill of both, the commender and commended. So we offend; but the main fault is in their harshness, defect of patrons. How beloved of old, and how much respected, was Plato of Dionysius! How dear to Alexander was Aristotle, Demaratus to Philip, Solon to Crœsus, Anaxarchus and Trebatius to Augustus, Cassius to Vespasian, Plutarch to Trajan, Seneca to Nero, Simonides to Hieron! how honoured!

[a]Sed hæc prius fuere; nunc recondita
Senent quiete,

those dayes are gone; *Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum:* as he said of old, and we may truly say now: he is our amulet, our [b]sun, our sole comfort and refuge, our Ptolemy, our common Mæcenas, *Jacobus munificus, Jacobus pacificus, mysta Musarum, rex Platonicus: grande decus, columenque nostrum ;* a famous scholar himself, and the sole patron, pillar, and sustainer of learning: but his worth in this kind is so well known, that (as Paterculus, of Cato) *jam ipsum laudare nefas sit ;* and (which [c]Pliny to Trajan) *seria te carmina, honorque æternus annalium, non hæc brevis et pudenda prædicatio, colet.* But he is now gone, the sun of ours set; and yet no night follows.———*Sol occubuit ; nox nulla sequuta est.* We have such another in his room—

———[d]alter
Aureus; et simili frondescit virga metallo;

and long may he reign and flourish amongst us.

Let me not be malitious, and lye against my genius; I may not deny, but that we have a sprinkling of our gentry, here and there one, excellently well learned, like those Fuggeri in Germany, Dubartas, Du Plessis, Sadael in France, Picus Mirandula, Schottus, Barotius in Italy; *Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto:* but they are but few in respect of the multitude: the major part (and some again excepted, that are indifferent) are wholly bent for hawks and hounds, and carried away many times with intemperate lust, gaming, and drinking. If they read a book at any time, (*si quid est interim otii a venatu poculis, aleâ, scortis*) 'tis an English Chronicle, S^r. Huon of Bordeaux, Amadis de Gaul, &c. a play-book, or some pamphlet of news, and that at such seasons only, when they cannot stir abroad, to drive away time: [e]their sole discourse is dogs, hawks, horses, and what news? If some one have been a traveller in Italy, or as far as the emperours court, wintered in Orleance, and can court his mistris in broken French, wear his clothes neatly in the newest fashion, sing some choice outlandish tunes, discourse of lords, ladies, towns, palaces, and cities, he is compleat, and to be admired: [f]otherwise he and they are much at one; no difference betwixt the master and the man, but worshipful titles:—wink, and choose betwixt him that sits down (clothes excepted) and him that holds the trencher behind him. Yet these men must be our patrons, our governours too sometimes, statesmen, magistrates, noble, great and wise by inheritance.

Mistake me not (I say again) *vos, o patricius sanguis!* you that are worthy senators, gentlemen, I honour your names and persons, and, with all submissiveness, prostrate myself to your censure and service. There are amongst you, I do ingenuously confess, many well deserving patrons, and true patriots, of my knowledge, besides many hundreds which I never saw,

[a] Catullus, Juven. [b] Nemo est quem non Phœbus hic noster solo intuitu lubentiorem reddat. [c] Panegyr. [d] Virgil. [e] Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illâ Fortunâ. Juv. Sat. 8. [f] Quis *enim generosum* dixerit hunc, qui Indignus genere, et præclaro nomine tantum Insignis? Juv. Sat. 8.

no doubt, or heard of—pillars of our common-wealth, [g]whose worth, bounty, learning, forwardness, true zeal in religion, and good esteem of all scholars, ought to be consecrated to all posterity: but, of your rank, there are a deboshed, corrupt, covetous, illiterate crew again, no better than stocks, *merum pecus* (testor Deum, non mihi videri dignos ingenui hominis appellatione) barbarous Thracians, (*et quis ille Thrax qui hoc neget?*) a sordid, prophane, pernicious company, irreligious, impudent and stupid, (I know not what epithets to give them) enemies to learning, confounders of the church, and the ruin of a common-wealth. Patrons they are by right of inheritance, and put in trust freely to dispose of such livings to the churches good; but (hard taskmasters they prove) they take away their straw, and compel them to make their number of brick: they commonly respect their own ends; commodity is the steer of all their actions; and him they present, in conclusion, as a man of greatest gifts, that will give most: no penny, [h]no *Pater-noster*, as the saying is. *Nisi preces auro fulcias, amplius irritas; ut Cerberus offâ*, their attendants and officers must be bribed, fed, and made, as Cerberus is by a sop by him that goes to hell. It was an old saying, *omnia Romæ venalia*; 'tis a rag of popery, which will never be rooted out; there is no hope, no good to be done, without money. A clark may offer himself, approve his [i]worth, learning, honesty, religion, zeal; they will commend him for it; but——[j]*probitas laudatur, et alget.* If he be a man of extraordinary parts, they will flock afar off to hear him, as they did, in Apuleius, to see Psyche: *multi mortales confluebant ad videndum sæculi decus, speculum gloriosum: laudatur ab omnibus; spectatur ab omnibus; nec quisquam, non rex, non regius, cupiens ejus nuptiarum, petitor accedit; mirantur quidem divinam speciem omnes; sed, ut simulacrum fabre politum, mirantur:* many mortal men came to see fair Psyche, the glory of her age: they did admire her, commend, desire her for her divine beauty, and gaze upon her, but, as on a picture: none would marry her, *quod indotata*: fair Psyche had no money. [k]So they do by learning:

——[j] didicit jam dives avarus Tantum admirari, tantum laudare, disertos, Ut pueri Junonis avem——	Your rich men have now learn'd of latter dayes T' admire, commend, and come together To hear and see a worthy scholar speak, As children do a peacock's feather.

He shall have all the good words that may be given, "[m]a proper man, and 'tis pity he hath no preferment," all good wishes; but, inexorable, indurate as he is, he will not prefer him, though it be in his power, because he is *indotatus*, he hath no money. Or, if he do give him entertainment, let him be never so well qualified, plead affinity, consanguinity, sufficiency, he shall serve seven years, as Jacob did for Rachel, before he shall have it. [n]If he will enter at first, he must get in at that simoniacal gate, come off soundly, and put in good security to perform all covenants; else he will not deal with, or admit him. But, if some poor scholar, some parson chaff, will offer himself; some trencher chaplain, that will take it to the halves, thirds, or accept of what he will give, he is welcom; be comformable, preach as he will have him, he likes him before a million of others; for the best is alwayes best cheap: and then (as Hierom said to Cromatius) *patellâ dignum operculum:* such a patron, such a clark; the cure is well supplyed, and all parties pleased. So that is still verified in our age, which [o]Chrysostome complained

[g] I have often met with my self, and conferred with, divers worthy gentlemen in the countrey, no whit inferiour, if not to be preferred for divers kind of learning, to many of our academicks. [h] Ipse, licet Musis venias comitatus, Homere, Si nihil attuleris, ibi, Homere, foras. [i] Et legat historicos, auctores noverit omnes, Tamquam ungues digitosque suos. Juv. Sat. 7. [j] Juvenal. [k] Tu vero licet Orpheus sis, saxa sono testudinis emolliens, nisi plumbea eorum corda auri vel argenti malleo emollias, &c. Salisburiensis, Polycrat, lib. 5. c. 10. [l] Juven. Sat. 7. [m] Euge! bene! no need. Donus epod. l. 3. Dos ipsa scientia, sibique congiarium est. [n] Quatuor ad portas ecclesias itus ad omnes; Sanguinis, aut Simonis, præsulis, atque Dei. Holcot. [o] Lib. contra Gentiles, de Babilâ martyre.

of in his time: *qui opulentiores sunt, in ordinem parasitorum cogunt eos, et ipsos tamquam canes ad mensas suas enutriunt, eorumque impudentes ventres iniquarum cœnarum reliquiis differciunt, iisdem pro arbitrio abutentes:* rich men keep these lecturers, and fawning parasites, like so many dogs, at their tables; and, filling their hungry guts with the offals of their meat, they abuse them at their pleasure, and make them say what they propose. [p] *As children do by a bird or a butterflye in a string, pull in and let him out as they list, do they by their trencher chaplains, prescribe, command their wits, let in and out, as to them it seems best.* If the patron be precise, so must his chaplain be; if he be papistical, his clark must be so too, or else be turned out. These are those clarks which serve the turn, whom they commonly entertain, and present to church-livings, whilst in the mean time we, that are university-men, like so many hide-bound calves in a pasture, tarry out our time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as too many candles, illuminate our selves alone, obscuring one anothers light, and are not discerned here at all; the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some countrey benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light, and be seen over all. Whilst we lye waiting here (as those sick men did at the pool of [q] Bethesda, till the angel stirred the water) expecting a good hour, they step between, and beguile us of our preferment. I have not yet said. If, after long expectation, much expence, travel, earnest suit of our selves and friends, we obtain a small benefice at last, our misery begins afresh; we are suddenly encountered with the flesh, world, and devil, with a new onset: we change a quiet life for an ocean of troubles; we come to a ruinous house, which, before it be habitable, must be necessarily (to our great damage) repaired: we are compelled to sue for dilapidations, or else sued our selves; and, scarce yet settled, we are called upon for our predecessors arrerages: first fruits, tenths, subsidies, are instantly to be paid, benevolence, procurations, &c. and (which is most to be feared) we light upon a crackt title, as it befell Clenard of Brabant, for his rectory and charge of his Beginæ: he was no sooner inducted, but instantly sued, *cœpimusque* ([r] saith he) *strenue litigare, et implacabili bello confligere:* at length, after ten years suit, (as long as Troyes siege) when he had tired himself, and spent his money, he was fain to leave all for quietness sake, and give it up to his adversary. Or else we are insulted over, and trampled on by domineering officers, fleeced by those greedy harpyes to get more fees, we stand in fear of some precedent lapse; we fall amongst refractory, seditious sectaries, peevish puritans, perverse papists, a lascivious rout of atheistical Epicures, that will not be reformed, or some litigious people, (those wild beasts of Ephesus must be fought with) that will not pay their dues without much repining, or compelled by long suit; *laici clericis oppido infesti*, an old axiom; all they think well gotten that is had from the church; and, by such uncivil harsh dealings, they make their poor minister weary of his place, if not his life: and put case they be quiet honest men, make the best of it, as often it falls out, from a polite and terse academick, he must turn rustick, rude, melancholise alone, learn to forget, or else, as many do, become maltsters, grasiers, chapmen, &c. (now banished from the academy, all commerce of the Muses, and confined to a country village, as Ovid was from Rome to Pontus) and daily converse with a company of idiots and clowns.

Nos interim quod attinet (nec enim immunes ab hac noxâ sumus) idem reatus manet; idem nobis, et si non multo gravius, crimen objici potest:

[p] Præscribunt, imperant, in ordinem cogunt; ingenium nostrum, prout ipsis videbitur, astringunt et relaxant, ut papilionem pueri aut bruchum filo demittunt, aut attrahunt, nos a libidine suâ pendere æquum censentes. Heinsius. [q] John 5. [r] Epist. l. 2. Jam suffectus in locum demortui——protinus exortus est adversarius, &c. post multos labores, sumtus, &c.

nostrâ enim culpâ fit, nostra incuriâ, nostrâ avaritiâ, quod tam frequentes, fœdæque fiant in ecclesiâ nundinationes, (templum est venale, Deusque) *tot sordes invehantur, tanta grassetur impietas, tanta nequitia, tam insanus miseriarum Euripus, et turbarum æstuarium, nostro, inquam, omnium* (*academicorum imprimis*) *vitio fit. Quod tot resp. malis afficiatur, a nobis seminarium; ultro malum hoc accersimus, et quâvis contumeliâ, quâvis interim miseriâ digni, qui pro virili non occurrimus. Quid enim fieri posse speramus, quum tot indies sine delectu pauperes alumni, terræ filii, et cujuscunque ordinis homunciones, ad gradus certatim admittantur? qui si definitionem, distinctionemque unam aut alteram memoriter edidicerint, et pro more tot annos in dialecticâ posuerint, non refert quo profectu, quales demum sint, idiotæ, nugatores, otiatores, aleatores, compoteres, indigni, libidinis voluptatumque administri,* Sponsi Penelopes, nebulones, Alcinoique, *modo tot annos in academiâ insumpserint, et se pro togatis venditârint; lucri caussâ, et amicorum intercessu præsentantur: addo etiam, et magnificis nonnunquam elogiis morum et scientiæ; et, jam valedicturi, testimonialibus hisce literis, amplissime conscriptis in eorum gratiam, honorantur, ab iis, qui fidei suæ et existimationis jacturam proculdubio faciunt.* Doctores enim et professores (*quod ait* [s]*ille*) id unum curant, ut ex professionibus frequentibus, et tumultuariis potius quam legitimis, commoda sua promoveant, et ex dispendio publico suum faciant incrementum. *Id solum in votis habent annui plerumque magistratus, ut ab incipientium numero* [t]*pecunias emungant; nec multum interest, qui sint, literatores an literati, modo pingues, nitidi, ad aspectum speciosi, et* (*quod verbo dicam*) *pecuniosi sint.* [u]*Philosophastri licentiantur in artibus, artem qui non habent;* [v]eosque sapientes esse jubent, qui nullâ præditi sunt sapientiâ, et nihil ad gradum, præterquam velle, adferunt. *Theologastri,* (*solvant modo*) *satis superque docti, per omnes honorum gradus evehuntur et ascendunt. Atque hinc fit quod tam viles scurræ, tot passim idiotæ, literarum crepusculo positi, larvæ pastorum, circumforanei, vagi, bardi, fungi, crassi, asini, merum pecus in sacrosanctos theologiæ aditus illotis pedibus irrumpant, præter inverecundam frontem adferentes nihil, vulgares quasdam quisquilias, et scholarium quædam nugamenta, indigna quæ vel recipiantur in triviis. Hoc illud indignum genus hominum et famelicum, indignum, vagum, ventris mancipium, ad stivam potius relegandum, ad haras aptius quam ad aras, quod divinas hasce literas turpiter prostituit—hi sunt qui pulpita complent, in ædes nobilium irrepunt, et, quum reliquis vitæ destituantur subsidiis, ob corporis et animi egestatem, aliarum in repub. partium minime capaces sint, ad sacram hanc anchoram confugiunt, sacerdotium quovis modo captantes, non ex sinceritate,* (*quod* [w]*Paulus ait*) sed cauponantes verbum Dei. *Ne quis interim viris bonis detractum quid putet, quos habet ecclesia Anglicana quamplurimos, egregie doctos, illustres, intactæ famæ homines, et plures forsan quam quævis Europæ provincia; ne quis a florentissimis academiis, quæ viros undequaque doctissimos, omni virtutum genere suspiciendos, abunde producunt; et multo plures utraque habitura, multo splendidior futura, si non hæ sordes splendidum lumen ejus obfuscarent, obstaret corruptio, et cauponantes quædam Harpyiæ, proletariique, bonum hoc nobis non inviderent. Nemo enim tam cæcâ mente, qui non hoc ipsum videat; nemo tam stolido ingenio, qui non intelligat; tam pertinaci judicio, qui non agnoscat, ab his idiotis circumforaneis sacram pollui theologiam, ac cœlestes Musas, quasi profanum quiddam, prostitui.* Viles animæ et effrontes

[s] Jun. Acad. cap. 6. [t] Accipiamus pecuniam, demittamus asinum, ut apud Patavinos Italos. [u] Hos non ita pridem perstrinxi, in Philosophastro, Comœdiâ Latinâ, in Ædc Christi Oxon. publice habitâ, anno 1617. Feb. 16. [v] Sat. Menip. [w] 1 Cor. 7. 17.

(*sic enim Lutherus* [x]*alicubi vocat*) lucelli caussâ, ut muscæ ad mulctra, ad nobilium et heroum mensas advolant: in spem sacerdotii, *cujuslibet honoris, officii, in quamvis aulam, urbem se ingerunt, ad quodvis se ministerium compununt:*

> ——Ut nervis alienis mobile lignum
> Ducitur,

[y]offiam sequentes, psittacorum more, in prædæ spem quidvis effutiunt; *obsecundantes parasiti* ([z]Erasmus *ait*) quidvis docent, dicunt, scribunt, suadent, et contra conscientiam probant, non ut salutarem reddant gregem, sed ut magnificam sibi parent fortunam. [a]Opiniones quasvis et decreta contra verbum Dei astruunt, ne offendant patronum, sed ut retineant favorem procerum et populi plausum, sibique ipsis opes accumulent. *Eo etenim plerumque animo ad theologiam accedunt, non ut rem divinam, sed ut suam, faciant: non ad ecclesiæ bonum promovendum, sed expilandum; quærentes* (*quod Paulus ait*) non quæ Jesu Christi, sed quæ sua, *non Domini thesaurum, sed ut sibi suisque thesaurizent. Nec tantum iis, qui vilioris, fortunæ, et abjectæ sortis sunt, hoc in usu est; sed et medios, summos, elatos, ne dicam episcopos, hoc malum invasit.* [b]*Dicite, pontifices, in sacris quid facit aurum?* [c] summos sæpe viros transversos agit avaritia; *et qui reliquis morum probitate præluceret, hi facem præferunt ad simoniam, et in corruptionis hunc scopulum impingentes, non tondent pecus, sed deglubunt, et, quocunque se conferunt, expilant, exhauriunt, abradunt, magnum famæ suæ, si non animæ, naufragium facientes; ut non ab infimis ad summos, sed a summis ad infimos, malum promanâsse videatur, et illud verum sit, quod ille olim lusit, Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest:* Simoniacus enim (*quod cum* Leone *dicam*) gratiam non accipit; si non accipit, non habet; et si non habet, nec gratus potest esse, nec gratis dare: *tantum enim absunt istorum nonnulli, qui ad clavum sedent, a promovendo reliquos, ut penitus impediant, probe sibi conscii, quibus artibus illic pervenerint:* [d]nam qui ob literas, emersisse illos credat desipit; qui vero ingenii, eruditionis, experientiæ, probitatis, pietatis, et Musarum id esse pretium putat (*quod olim re verâ fuit, hodie promittitur*) planissime insanit. *Utcunque vel undecunque malum hoc originem ducat, (non ultra quæram) ex his primordiis cœpit vitiorum colluvies; omnis calamitas, omne miseriarum agmen, in ecclesiam invehitur. Hinc tam frequens simonia; hinc ortæ querelæ, fraudes, imposturæ: ab hoc fonte se derivárunt omnes nequitiæ,—ne quid obiter dicam de ambitione, adulatione plusquam aulicâ, ne tristi domicœnio laborent, de luxu, de fœdo nonnunquam vitæ exemplo, quo nonnullus offendunt, de compotatione Sybariticâ, &c. Hinc ille squalor academicus,* tristes hac tempestate Camœnæ, *quum quivis homunculus, artium ignarus, his artibus assurgat, hunc in modum promoveatur et ditescat, ambitiosis appellationibus insignis, et multis dignitatibus augustus, vulgi oculus perstringat, bene se habeat, et grandia gradiens, majestatem quamdam ac amplitudinem præ se ferens, miramque solicitudinem, barbâ reverendus togâ nitidus, purpurâ coruscus, supellectilis splendore et famulorum numero maxime conspicuus.* Quales statuæ (*quod ait* [e]*ille*) quæ sacris in ædibus columnis imponuntur, velut oneri cedentes videntur, ac si insudarent, quum re verâ sensu sint carentes, et nihil saxeam abjuvent firmitatem; *Atlantes videri volunt, quum sint statuæ lapideæ, umbratiles re verâ homunciones fungi forsan et bardi, nihil a saxo differentes; quum interim docti viri, et vitæ sanctioris ornamentis prædíti, qui æstum diei sustinent, his iniquâ sorte serviant, minimo forsan salario contenti, puris nominibus nuncupati, humiles,*

[x] Comment. in Gal. [y] Heinsius. [z] Ecclesiast. [a] Luth. in Gal. [b] Pers. Sat. 2. [c] Sallust. [d] *Sat. Menip.* [e] Budæus, de Asse, lib. 5.

obscuri ; multoque digniores licet, egentes, inhonorati, vitam privam privatam agant ; tenuique sepulti sacerdotio, vel in collegiis suis in æternum incarcerati, inglorie delitescant ;—sed nolo diutius hanc movere sentinam. Hinc illæ lacrymæ, lugubris Musarum habitus ; [f]*hinc ipsa religio* (*quod cum Secellio dicam*) in ludibrium et contemtum adducitur, *abjectum sacerdotium*, (*atque hæc ubi fiunt, ausim dicere, et putidum* [g]*putidi dicterium de clero usurpare*) putidum vulgus, *inops, rude, sordidum, melancholicum, miserum, despicabile, contemnendum.*

MEMB. IV.

SUBSECT. I.—*Non-necessary, remote, outward, adventitious, or accidental causes : as first from the Nurse.*

OF those remote, outward, ambient *necessary* causes, I have sufficiently discoursed in the precedent member. The *non-necessary*, follow ; of which (saith [h] Fuchsius) no art can be made, by reason of their uncertainty, casualty, and multitude ; so called *not necessary*, because (according to [i] Fernelius) *they may be avoided, and used without necessity.* Many of these accidental causes, which I shall entreat of here, might have well been reduced to the former, because they cannot be avoided, but fatally happen to us, though accidentally, and unawares, at some time or other : the rest are contingent and evitable, and more properly inserted in this rank of causes. To reckon up all, is a thing unpossible ; of some therefore most remarkable of these contingent causes which produce melancholy, I will briefly speak, and in their order.

From a childs nativity, the first ill accident that can likely befall him in this kind, is a bad nurse, by whose means alone he may be tainted with this [j] malady from his cradle. Aulus Gellius (*l.* 12. *c.* 1) brings in Phavorinus, that eloquent philosopher, proving this at large, [k] *that there is the same vertue and property in the milk as in the seed, and not in men alone, but in all other creatures. He gives instance in a kid and lamb : if either of them suck of the others milk, the lamb of the goates, or the kid of the ewes, the wooll of the one will be hard, and the hair of the other soft.* Giraldus Cambrensis (*Itinerar. Cambriæ, l.* 1. *c.* 2.) confirms this by a notable example, which happened in his time. A sow-pig by chance sucked a brach, and, when she was grown, [l] *would miraculously hunt all manner of deer, and that as well, or rather better, than any ordinary hound.* His conclusion is, [m] *that men and beasts participate of her nature and conditions, by whose milk they are fed.* Phavorinus urgeth it farther, and demonstrates it more evidently, that if a nurse be [n] *mis-shapen, unchaste, unhonest, impudent, drunk,* [o] cruel, or the like, the child that sucks upon her breast will be so too : all other affections of the mind, and diseases, are almost ingraffed, as it were, and imprinted in the temperature of the infant, by the nurses milk, as pox, leprosie, melancholy, &c. Cato, for some such reason, would make his servants children suck upon his wives breast, because, by that means, they would love him and his the better, and in all likelihood agree with them. A more evident example that the minds are altered by milk, cannot be given, than that of [p] Dion, which he relates of Caligulas

[f] Lib. de rep. Gallorum. [g] Campian. [h] Procem. lib. 2. Nulla ars constitui potest. [i] Lib. 1. c. 19. de morborum caussis. Quas declinare licet, aut nullâ necessitate utimur. [j] Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu. Hor. [k] Sicut valet ad fingendas corporis atque animi similitudines vis et natura seminis, sic quoque lactis proprietas. Neque id in hominibus solum, sed in pecudibus, animadversum : nam si ovium lacte hœdi, aut caprarum agni alerentur, constat fieri in his lanam duriorem, in illis capillum gigni teneriorem. [l] Adulta in ferarum persequutione ad miraculum usque sagax. [m] Tam animal quodlibet, quam homo, ab illâ, cujus lacte nutritur, naturam contrahit. [n] Improba, informis, impudica, temulenta nutrix, &c. quoniam in moribus efformandis magnam sæpe partem ingenium altricis et natura lactis tenet. [o] Hyrcanæque admôrunt ubera tigres. Virg. [p] Lib. 3. de Cæsaribus.

cruelty; it could neither be imputed to father nor mother, but to his cruel nurse alone, that anointed her paps with blood still when he sucked, which made him such a murderer, and to express her cruelty to an hair; and that of Tiberius, who was a common drunkard, because his nurse was such a one. *Et, si delira fuerit,* (q one observes) *infantulum delirum faciet;* if she be a fool or dolt, the child she nurseth will take after her, or otherwise be misaffected; which Franciscus Barbarus (*l.* 2. *c. ult. de re uxoriâ*) proves at full, and Ant. Guivarra (*lib.* 2. *de Marco Aurelio*): the child will surely participate. For bodily sickness, there is no doubt to be made. Titus, Vespasians son, was therefore sickly, because the nurse was so (Lampridius): and, if we may believe physicians, many times children catch the pox from a bad nurse, (Botaldus, *cap.* 61. *de lue Vener.*) Besides evil attendance, negligence, and many gross inconveniences, which are incident to nurses, much danger may so come to the child. r For these causes Aristotle (*Polit. lib.* 7. *c.* 17), Phavorinus, and Marcus Aurelius, would not have a child put to nurse at all, but every mother to bring up her own, of what condition soever she be; for a sound and able mother to put out her child to nurse, *is naturæ intemperies* (so s Guatso calls it): 'tis fit therefore she should be nurse her self; the mother will be more careful, loving and attendant, than any servile woman, or such hired creatures; this all the world acknowledgeth: *convenientissimum est* (as Rod. a Castro, *de nat. mulierum, lib.* 4. *c.* 12. in many words confesseth) *matrem ipsam lactare infantem,* (who denies that it should be so?) and which some women most curiously observe; amongst the rest, t that queen of France, a Spaniard by birth, that was so precise and zealous in this behalf, that when, in her absence, a strange nurse had suckled her child, she was never quiet till she had made the infant vomit it up again. But she was too jealous. If it be so, as many times it is, they must be put forth, the mother be not fit or well able to be a nurse, I would then advise such mothers, (as u Plutarch doth in his book *de liberis educandis*, and v S. Hierome, *lib.* 2. *epist.* 27. *Lætæ de institut. fil.* Magninus, *part.* 2. *Reg. sanit. cap.* 7, and the said Rodericus) that they make choice of a sound woman, of a good complexion, honest, free from bodily diseases, if it be possible, and all passions and perturbations of the mind, as sorrow, fear, grief, w folly, melancholy: for such passions corrupt the milk, and alter the temperature of the child, which, now being x *udum et molle lutum*, is easily seasoned and perverted. And if such a nurse may be found out, that will be diligent and careful withall, let Phavorinus and M. Aurelius plead how they can against it, I had rather accept of her in some cases than the mother her self; and (which Bonacialus the physician, Nic. Biesius the politician, *lib.* 4. *de repub. cap.* 8. approves) y *some nurses are much to be preferred to some mothers.* For why may not the mother be naught, a peevish drunken flurt, a waspish cholerick slut, a crazed piece, a fool, (as many mothers are) unsound, as soon as the nurse? There is more choice of nurses than mothers; and therefore, except the mother be most vertuous, staid, a woman of excellent good parts, and of a sound complexion, I would have all children, in such cases, committed to discreet strangers. And 'tis the only way (as by marriage they are engrafted to other families) to alter the breed, or, if any thing be amiss in the mother, (as Ludovicus Mercatus contends, *Tom.* 2. *lib. de morb. hæred.*) to prevent diseases and future maladies, to correct and qualifie the childs ill-disposed temperature, which he had from his parents. This is an excellent remedy, if good choice be made of such a nurse.

q Beda, *c.* 27. *l.* 1. Eccles. hist. r Ne insitivo lactis alimento degeneret corpus, et animus corrumpatur. s Lib. 3. de civ. conserv. t Stephanus. u To. 2. Nutrices non quasvis, sed maxime probas, deligamus. v Nutrix non sit lasciva aut temulenta. Hier. w Prohibendum ne stolida lactet. x Pers. y Nutrices interdum matribus sunt meliores.

Subsect. II.—*Education, a Cause of Melancholy.*

Education, of these accidental causes of melancholy, may justly challenge the next place; for, if a man escape a bad nurse, he may be undone by evil bringing up. [a] Jason Pratensis puts this of education for a principal cause: bad parents, step-mothers, tutors, masters, teachers, too rigorous, too severe, too remiss or indulgent on the other side, are often fountains and furtherers of this disease. Parents, and such as have the tuition and oversight of children, offend many times in that they are too stern, alway threatning, chiding, brawling, whipping, or striking; by means of which, their poor children are so disheartened and cowed, that they never after have any courage, a merry hour in their lives, or take pleasure in any thing. There is a great moderation to be had in such things, as matters of so great moment to the making or marring of a child. Some fright their children with beggars, bugbears, and hobgoblins, if they cry, or be otherways unruly: but they are much to blame in it, many times, saith Lavater (*de spectris, part.* 1. *cap.* 5): *ex metu in morbos graves incidunt, et noctu dormientes clamant;* for fear they fall into many diseases, and cry out in their sleep, and are much the worse for it all their lives: these things ought not at all, or to be sparingly done, and upon just occasion. Tyrannical, impatient, hairbrain'd school-masters, *aridi magistri*, so [a] Fabius terms them, *Ajaces flagelliferi*, are, in this kind, as bad as hangmen and executioners: they make many children endure a martyrdom all the while they are at school: with bad diet, if they boord in their houses, too much severity and ill usage, they quite pervert their temperature of body and mind—still chiding, rayling, frowning, lashing, tasking, keeping, that they are *fracti animis*, moped many times, weary of their lives, [b] *nimiâ severitate deficiunt et desperant*, and think no slavery in the world (as once I did myself) like to that of a grammar scholar. *Præceptorum ineptiis discruciantur ingenia puerorum*, saith Erasmus: they tremble at his voice, looks, coming in. St. Austin, in the first book of his *confess.* and 4. *ca.* calls this schooling *meticulosam necessitatem*, and elsewhere a martyrdom, and confesseth of himself, how cruelly he was tortured in mind for learning Greek; *nulla verba noveram; et sævis terroribus et pœnis, ut nôssem, instabatur mihi vehementer:* I knew nothing; and with cruel terrours and punishments I was daily compel'd. [c] Beza complains in like case of a rigorous schoolmaster in Paris, that made him, by his continual thunder and threats, once in a mind to drown himself, had he not met by the way with an uncle of his that vindicated him from that misery for the time, by taking him to his house. Trincavellius (*lib.* 1. *consil.* 16) had a patient nineteen years of age, extremely melancholy, *ob nimium studium Tarvitii et præceptoris minas*, by reason of overmuch study, and his [d] tutors threats. Many masters are hard hearted, and bitter to their servants, and by that means do so deject, with terrible speeches and hard usage so crucifie them, that they become desperate, and can never be recalled.

Others again, in that opposite extream, do as great harm by their too much remissness; they give them no bringing up; no calling to busie themselves about, or to live in, teach them no trade, or set them in any good course; by means of which, their servants, children, scholars, are carried away with that stream of drunkenness, idleness, gaming and many such irregular courses, that in the end they rue it, curse their parents, and mischief themselves. Too much indulgence causeth the like, [e] *inepta patris lenitas et facilitas prava*, when as, Micio like, with too much liberty and too great

[a] Lib. de morbis capitis, cap. de manid. Haud postrema causa supputatur educatio, inter has mentis abalienationis causas.—Injusta noverca. [a] Lib. 2. cap. 4. [b] Idem. Et, quod maxime nocet, dum in tenera ita timent, nihil conantur. [c] Præfat. ad Testam. [d] Pius mentis pedagogico supercilio abstulit, quam unquam præceptis suis sapientiæ instillavit. [e] Ter. Adel. 3. 4.

allowance, they feed their childrens humours, let them revel, wench, riot, swagger, and do what they will themselves, and then punish them with a noise of musicians.

[f]Obsonet, potet, oleat unguenta de meo,
Amat? dabitur a me argentum, dum erit commodum.
Fores effregit? restituentur: discidit
Vestem? resarcietur.——Faciat quod lubet,
Sumat, consumat, perdat: decretum est pati.

But, as Demea told him, *tu illum corrumpi sinis*, your lenity will be his undoing; *prævidere videor jam diem illum, quum hic egens profugiet aliquo militatum*; I foresee his ruine. So parents often err: many fond mothers, especially, dote so much upon their children, like [g]Æsops ape, till in the end they crush them to death. *Corporum nutrices, animarum novercæ*, pampering up their bodies to the undoing of their souls, they will not let them be [h]corrected or controlled, but still soothed up in every thing they do, that in conclusion, *they bring sorrow, shame, heaviness, to their parents*, (*Ecclus. cap.* 30. 8. 9.) *become wanton, stubborn, wilful, and disobedient; rude, untaught, head-strong, incorrigible, and graceless. They love them so foolishly*, (saith [i]Cardan) *that they rather seem to hate them, bringing them not up to vertue, but injury, not to learning, but to riot, not to sober life and conversation, but to all pleasure and licentious behaviour.* Who is he of so little experience that knows not this of Fabius to be true? [j]*Education is another nature, altering the mind and will, and I would to God* (saith he) *we our selves did not spoile our childrens manners, by our overmuch cockering and nice education, and weaken the strength of their bodies and minds. That causeth custom, custom nature*, &c. For these causes, Plutarch (in his book *de lib. educ.*) and Hierom, (*epist. lib.* 1. *epist.* 17. to *Læta de institut. filiæ*) gives a most especial charge to all parents, and many good cautions about bringing up of children, that they be not committed to undiscreet, passionate, Bedlam tutors, light, giddy-headed, or covetous persons, and spare for no cost, that they may be well nurtured and taught; it being a matter of so great consequence. For such parents as do otherwise, Plutarch esteems like them [k]*that are more careful of their shooes than of their feet*, that rate their wealth above their children. And he, (saith [l]Cardan) *that leaves his son to a covetous schoolmaster to be informed, or to a close abby to fast and learn wisdom together, doth no other, than that he be a learned fool, or a sickly wise man.*

Subsect. III.—*Terrours and Affrights, Causes of Melancholy.*

Tully (in the fourth of his Tusculans) distinguisheth these terrours which arise from the apprehension of some terrible object heard or seen, from other fehrs; and so doth Patritius (*lib.* 5. *tit.* 4. *de regis institut.*) Of all fears, they are most pernicious and violent, and so suddenly alter the whole temperature of the body, move the soul and spirits, strike such a deep impression, that the parties can never be recovered, causing more grievous and fiercer melancholy, (as Felix Plater, *c.* 3. *de mentis alienat.* [m]speaks out of his experience) than any inward cause whatsoever; *and imprints it self so forcibly in the spirits, brain, humours, that, if all the mass of blood were*

[f]Ter. Adel. act. 1. sc. 2. [g]Camerarius, em. 77. cent. 2. hath elegantly expressed it in an embleme: perdit amando, &c. [h]Prov. 13. 24. He that spareth the rod hates his son. [i]Lib. 2. de consol. Tam stulte pueros diligimus, ut odisse potius videamur: illos non ad virtutem sed ad injuriam, non ad eruditionem sed ad luxum, non ad vitam sed voluptatem educantes. [j]Lib. 1. c. 3. Educatio altera natura; alterat animos et voluntatem: atque utinam (inquit) liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus, quum infantiam statim deliciis solvimus; mollior ista educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes, et mentis et corporis, frangit: fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura. [k]Perinde agit ac siquis de calceo sit solicitus, pedem nihil curet. Juven. Nil patri minus est quam filius. [l]Lib. 3. de sapient. Qui avaris pædagogis pueros alendos dant, vel clausos in cœnobiis jejunare simul et sapere, nihil aliud agunt, nisi ut sint vel non sine stultitiâ eruditi, vel non integrâ vitâ sapientes. [m]Terror et metus, maxime ex timproviso accidentes, ita animum commovent, ut spiritus nunquam recuperent: gravioremque melancholiam terror facit, quam quæ ab internâ caussâ fit. Impressio tam fortis in spiritibus humoribusque cerebri, ut, extractâ totâ sanguineâ massâ, ægre exprimatur; et hæc horrenda species melancholiæ frequenter oblata mihi, omnes exercens, *viros, juvenes, senes.*

let out of the body, it could hardly be extracted. This horrible kind of melancholy (for so he terms it) *had been often brought before him, and troubles and affrights commonly men and women, young and old, of all sorts.* [n] Hercules de Saxoniâ calls this kind of melancholy (*ab agitatione spirituum*) by a peculiar name; it comes from the agitation, motion, contraction, dilatation of spirits, not from any distemperature of humours, and produceth strong effects. This terrour is most usually caused (as [o] Plutarch will have) *from some imminent danger, when a terrible object is at hand*, heard, seen, or conceived, [p] *truly appearing, or in a* [q]*dream:* and many times, the more sudden the accident, it is the more violent.

[r] Stat terror animis, et cor attonitum salit, Pavidumque trepidis palpitat venis jecur. | Their soul's affright, their heart amased quakes, The trembling liver pants ith' veins, and akes.

Artemidorus the grammarian lost his wits by the unexpected sight of a crocodile (*Laurentius, 7. de melan.*) [s] The massacre at Lions, in 1572, in the reign of Charles the ninth, was so terrible and fearful, that many ran mad, some died, great-bellied women were brought to bed before their time, generally all affrighted and agast. Many lose their wits [t] *by the sudden sight of some spectrum or devil, a thing very common in all ages,* (saith Lavater, *part.* 1. *cap.* 9.) as Orestes did at the sight of the Furies, which appeared to him in black (as [u] Pausanias records). The Greeks call them *μορμολύκεια*, which so terrifie their souls. Or if they be but affrighted by some counterfeit devils in jest,

(———[v] ut pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt———

as children in the dark conceive hobgoblins, and are sore afraid) they are the worse for it all their lives: some, by sudden fires, earthquakes, inundations, or any such dismal objects. Themison the physician fell into an hydrophobia by seeing one sick of that disease (Dioscorides *l.* 6. *c.* 33): or by the sight of a monster, a carcase, they are disquieted many months following, and cannot endure the room where a coarse hath been, for a world would not be alone with a dead man, or lye in that bed many years after, in which a man hath died. At [w] Basil, a many little children, in the spring time, went to gather flowers in a meadow at the towns end, where a malefactor hung in gibbets: at gazing at it, one by chance flung a stone, and made it stir; by which accident the children affrighted ran away: one, slower than the rest, looking back, and seeing the stirred carcase wag towards her, cried out it came after, and was so terribly affrighted, that for many dayes she could not rest, eat, or sleep; she could not be pacified, but melancholy died. [x] In the same town, another child, beyond the Rhine, saw a grave opened, and, upon the sight of a carcase, was so troubled in mind, that she could not be comforted, but a little after departed, and was buried by it (Platerus, *observat. l.* 1). A gentlewoman of the same city saw a fat hog cut up, when the intrals was opened, and a noysome savour offended her nose, she much misliked, and would not longer abide: a physician, in presence, told her, as that hog, so was she, full of filthy excrements, and aggravated the matter by some other loathsome instances, in so much, this nice gentlewoman apprehended it so deeply, that she fell forthwith a vomiting, was so mightily distempered in mind and body, that, with all his art and

[n] Tract. de melan. cap. 7. et 8. Non ab intemperie, sed agitatione, dilatatione, contractione, motu spirituum. [o] Lib. de fort. et virtut. Alex. Præsertim ineunte periculo, ubi res prope adsunt terribiles. [p] Fit a visione horrendâ, revera apparente, vel per insomnia. Platerus. [q] A painters wife in Basil, 1600, somniavit filium bello mortuum: inde melancholica consolari noluit. [r] Senec. Herc. Œt. [s] Quarta pars comment. de statu religionis in Galliâ sub Carolo ix. 1579. [t] Ex occursu dæmonum aliqui furore corripiuntur, ut experientiâ notum est. [u] Lib. 8. in Arcad. [v] Lucret. [w] Puellæ extra urbem in prato concurrentes, &c. mœsta et melancholica domum rediit; per dies aliquot vexata, dum mortua est. Plater. [x] Altera trans-Rhenana, ingressa sepulcrum recens apertum, vidit cadaver, et domum subito reversa putavit eam vocare: post paucos dies obiit, proximo sepulcro collocata. Altera, patibulum sero præteriens, metuebat ne urbe exclusa illic pernoctaret; unde melancholica facta, per multos annos laboravit. Platerus.

perswasions, for some months after, he could not restore her to her self again; she could not forget it, or remove the object out of her sight (*Idem*). Many cannot endure to see a wound opened, but they are offended; a man executed, or labour of any fearful disease, as possession, apoplexies, one bewitched: [y] or, if they read by chance of some terrible thing, the symptomes alone of such a disease, or that which they dislike, they are instantly troubled in mind, agast, ready to apply it to themselves; they are as much disquieted, as if they had seen it, or were so affected themselves. *Hecatas sibi videntur somniare;* they dream and continually think of it. As lamentable effects are caused by such terrible objects heard, read or seen: *auditus maximos motus in corpore facit*, as [z] Plutarch holds; no sense makes greater alteration of body and mind: sudden speech sometimes, unexpected news, be they good or bad, *prævisa minus oratio*, will move as much (*animum obruere, et de sede suâ dejicere*, as a [a] philosopher observes) will take away our sleep, and appetite, disturb and quite overturn us. Let them bear witness, that have heard those tragical alarums, out-cryes, hideous noises, which are many times suddenly heard in the dead of the night by-irruption of enemies and accidental fires, &c. those [b] panick fears, which often drive men out of their wits, bereave them of sense, understanding, and all, some for a time, some for their whole lives; they never recover it. The [c] Midianites were so affrighted by Gideons souldiers, they breaking but every one a pitcher; and [d] Hannibals army, by such a panick fear, was discomfited at the walls of Rome. Augusta Livia, hearing a few tragical verses recited out of Virgil, (*Tu Marcellus eris, &c.*) fell down dead in a swoon. Edinus, king of Denmark, by a sudden sound which he heard, [e] *was turned into fury, with all his men* (*Cranzius, l. 5. Dan. hist. et Alexander ab Alexandro, l. 3. c. 5.*) Amatus Lusitanus had a patient, that, by reason of bad tidings, became *epilepticus* (*cen. 2. cura* 90). Cardan (*subtil. l.* 18) saw one that lost his wits by mistaking of an echo. If one sense alone can cause such violent commotions of the mind, what may we think, when hearing, sight, and those other senses, are all troubled at once, as by some earthquakes, thunder, lightning, tempests, &c.? At Bologne in Italy, *anno* 1504, there was such a fearful earthquake about eleven o'clock in the night, (as [f] Beroaldus, in his book *de terræ motu*, hath commended to posterity) that all the city trembled, the people thought the world was at an end, *actum de mortalibus;* such a fearful noise it made, such a detestable smell, the inhabitants were infinitely affrighted, and some ran mad. *Audi rem atrocem, et annalibus memorandam* (mine author adds): hear a strange story, and worthy to be chronicled: I had a servant at the time, called Fulco Argelanus, a bold and proper man, so grievously terrified with it, [g] that he was at first melancholy, after doted, at last mad, and made away with himself. At [h] Fuscinum in Japona, *there was such an earthquake and darkness on a sudden, that many men were offended with headach, many overwhelmed with sorrow and melancholy. At Meacum, whole streets and goodly palaces were overturned at the same time; and there was such an hideous noise withal, like thunder, and filthy smell, that their hair stared for fear, and their hearts quaked; men and beasts were incredibly terrified. In Sacai, another city, the same earthquake was so terrible unto them, that many were bereft of their senses;*

[y] Subitus occursus, inopinata lectio. [z] Lib. de auditione. [a] Theod. Prodromus, lib. 7. Amorum.
[b] Effuso cernens fugientes agmine turmas, Quis mea nunc inflat cornua? Faunus ait. Alciat. embl. 122.
[c] Jud. 6. 19. [d] Plutarchus, vitâ ejus. [e] In furorem cum sociis versus. [f] Subitaneus terræ motus.
[g] Cœpit inde desipere cum dispendio sanitatis, inde adeo dementans, ut sibi ipsi mortem inferret. [h] Historica relatio de rebus Japonicis, tract. 2. de legat. regis Chinensis, a Ludovico Frois Jesuitâ, A. 1596. Fuscini derepente tanta aëris caligo et terræ motus, ut multi capite dolerent, plurimis cor mœrore et melancholiâ obrueretur. Tantum fremitum edebat, ut tonitru fragorem imitari videretur, tantamque, &c. In *urbe* Sacai tam horrificus fuit, ut homines vix sui compotes essent, a sensibus abalienati, mœrore oppressi *tam horrendo spectaculo*, &c.

and others, by that horrible spectacle, so much amazed, that they knew not what they did. Blasius, a Christian, the reporter of the news, was so affrighted for his part, that, though it were two moneths after, he was scarce his own man, neither could he drive the remembrance of it out of his mind. Many times, some years following they will tremble afresh at the [i] remembrance or conceit of such a terrible object; even all their lives long, if mention be made of it. Cornelius Agrippa relates (out of Gulielmus Parisiensis) a story of one, that, after a distasteful purge which a physician had prescribed unto him, was so much moved, [j] *that, at the very sight of physick, he would be distempered:* though he never so much as smelled to it, the box of physick long after would give him a purge; nay the very remembrance of it did effect it; [k] *like travellers and seamen,* (saith Plutarch) *that, when they have been sanded, or dashed on a rock, for ever after fear not that mischance only, but all such dangers whatsoever.*

SUBSECT. IV.—*Scoffs, Calumnies, bitter Jests, how they cause Melancholy.*

IT is an old saying, [l] *a blow with a word strikes deeper than a blow with a sword:* and many men are as much gauled with a calumny, [m] a scurril and bitter jest, a libel, a pasquil, satyre, apologe, epigram, stage-playes, or the like, as with any misfortune whatsoever. Princes and potentates, that are otherwise happy, and have all at command, secure and free, *quibus potentia sceleris impunitatem fecit,* are grievously vexed with these pasquelline libells and satyrs: they fear a railing [n] Aretine, more than an enemy in the field: which made most princes of his time (as some relate) *allow him a liberal pension, that he should not tax them in his satyrs.* The gods had their Momus, Homer his Zoïlus, Achilles his Thersites, Philip his Demades: the Cæsars themselves in Rome were commonly taunted. There was never wanting a Petronius, a Lucian, in those times; nor will be a Rabelais, an Euphormio, a Boccalinus, in ours. Adrian the sixth, pope, [o] was so highly offended and grievously vexed with pasquillers at Rome, he gave command that statue should be demolished and burned, the ashes flung into the river Tiber, and had done it forthwith, had not Ludovicus Suessanus, a facete companion, disswaded him to the contrary, by telling him, that Pasquils ashes would turn to frogs in the bottom of the river, and croak worse and lowder than before. *Genus irritabile vatum;* and therefore [p] Socrates (in Plato) adviseth all his friends, *that respect their credits, to stand in awe of poets, for they are terrible fellows, can praise or dispraise, as they see cause. Hinc, quam sit calamus sævior ense, patet.* The prophet David complains (Psal. 123. 4) *that his soul was full of the mocking of the wealthy, and of the despitefulness of the proud;* and (Psal. 55. 4) *for the voice of the wicked, &c. and their hate, his heart trembled within him, and the terrors of death came upon him: fear and horrible fear, &c.* (Psal. 69. 20) *Rebuke hath broken my heart; and I am full of heaviness.* Who hath not like cause to complain, and is not so troubled, that shall fall into the mouths of such men? for many are of so [q] petulant a spleen, and have that figure *sarcasmus* so often in their mouths, so bitter, so foolish, (as [r] Balthazar Castilio notes of them) that *they cannot speak, but they must bite;* they had rather lose a friend than a jest; and

[i] Quum subit illius tristissima noctis imago. [j] Qui solo aspectu medicinæ movebatur ad purgandum. [k] Sicut viatores, si ad saxum impegerint, aut nautæ, memores sui casûs, non ista modo quæ offendunt, sed et similia, horrent perpetuo et tremunt. [l] Leviter volant, graviter vulnerant. Bernardus. [m] Ensis sauciat corpus, mentem sermo. [n] Sciatis eum esse qui a nemine fere ævi sui magnate non illustre stipendium habuit, ne mores ipsorum satyris suis notaret. Gasp. Barthius, præfat. parnodid. [o] Jovius, in vitâ ejus. Gravissime tulit famosis libellis nomen suum ad Pasquilli statuam fuisse laceratum; decrevitque ideo statuam demoliri, &c. [p] Plato, lib. 13. de legibus. Qui existimationem curant, poëtas vereantur, quia magnam vim habent ad laudandum et vituperandum. [q] Petulanti splene cachinno. [r] Curial. lib. 2. Ea quorumdam est inscitia, ut, quoties loqui, toties mordere licere sibi putent.

what company soever they come in, they will be scoffing, insulting over their inferiours, especially over such as any way depend upon them, humouring, misusing, or putting gulleries on some or other, till they have made, by their humouring or gulling, [s]*ex stulto insanum*, a mope or a noddy, and all to make themselves merry:

> [t] dummodo risum
> Excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcit amico:

friends, neuters, enemies, all are as one; to make a fool a madman, is their sport; and they have no greater felicity than to scoff and deride others; they must sacrifice to the god of laughter (with them in [u] Apuleius) once a day, or else they shall be melancholy themselves: they care not how they grinde and misuse others, so they exhilarate their own persons. Their wits indeed serve them to that sole purpose, to make sport, to break a scurrile jest; which is *levissimus ingenii fructus*, the froth of wit (as [v] Tully holds); and for this they are often applauded. In all other discourse, dry, barren, stramineous, dull and heavy, here lyes their genius; in this they alone excell, please themselves and others. Leo Decimus, that scoffing pope, (as Jovius hath registered in the fourth book of his life) took an extraordinary delight in humouring of silly fellows, and to put gulleries upon them; [w] *by commending some, perswading others* to this or that, he made *ex stolidis stultissimos et maxime ridiculos, ex stultis insanos*—soft fellows, stark noddies; and such as were foolish, quite mad—before he left them. One memorable example he recites there, of Tarascomus of Parma, a musician, that was so humored by Leo Decimus, and Bibiena, his second in this business, that he thought himself to be a man of most excellent skill, (who was indeed a ninny): they [x] *made him set foolish songs, and invent new ridiculous precepts, which they did highly commend*, as to tye his arm that played on the lute, to make him strike a sweeter stroke, [y] *and to pull down the Arras hangings, because the voice would be clearer, by reason of the reverberation of the wall.* In the like manner they perswaded one Baraballius of Caieta, that he was as good a poet as Petrarch; would have him to be made a laureat poet, and invite all his friends to his instalment; and had so possessed the poor man with a conceit of his excellent poetry, that when some of his more discreet friends told him of his folly, he was very angry with them, and said [z] *they envied his honour and prosperity.* It was strange (saith Jovius) to see an old man of sixty years, a venerable and grave old man, so gulled. But what cannot such scoffers do, especially if they find a soft creature, on whom they may work? Nay, to say truth, who is so wise, or so discreet, that may not be humoured in this kind, especially if some excellent wits shall set upon him? He that mads others, if he were so humoured, would be as mad himself, as much grieved and tormented; he might cry with him in the comedy, *Proh Jupiter! tu homo me adigis ad insaniam:* for all is in these things as they are taken: if he be a silly soul, and do not perceive it, 'tis well; he may happily make others sport, and be no whit troubled himself: but if he be apprehensive of his folly, and take it to heart, then it torments him worse than any lash. A bitter jest, a slander, a calumny, pierceth deeper than any loss, danger, bodily pain, or injury whatsoever; *leviter enim volat*, (as Bernard, of an arrow) *sed graviter vulnerat;* especially, if it shall proceed from a virulent tongue, it cuts (saith David) *like a two-edged sword. They shoot bitter words as arrows* (Psal. 64. 3.); *and they smote with their tongues* (Jer. 18, 18), and that so hard, that they leave an incurable wound behind them. Many men are un-

[s] Ter Eunuch. [t] Hor. Ser. l. 2. Sat. 4. [u] Lib. 2. [v] De orat. [w] Laudando, et mira iis persuadendo. [x] Et vanâ inflatus opinione, incredibilia ac ridenda quædam musices præcepta commentaretur, &c. [y] *Ut voces*, nudis parietibus illisæ, suavius ac acutius resilirent. [z] Immortalitati et gloriæ suæ prorsus invidentes.

done by this means, moped, and so dejected, that they are never to be recovered; and, of all other men living, those which are actually melancholy, or inclined to it, are most sensible, (as being suspicious, cholerick, apt to mistake) and impatient of an injury in that kind; they aggravate, and so meditate continually of it, that it is a perpetual corrosive, not to be removed, till time wear it out. Although they, peradventure, that so scoff, do it alone in mirth and merriment, and hold it *optimum alienâ frui insaniâ*, an excellent thing to enjoy another man's madness; yet they must know that it is a mortal sin (as [a]Thomas holds), and as the prophet [b]David denounceth) they *that use it shall never dwell in Gods tabernacle.*

Such scurrile jests, flouts, and sarcasms, therefore, ought not at all to be used, especially to our betters, to those that are in misery, or any way distressed: for, to such, *ærumnarum incrementa sunt*, they multiply grief; and (as [c]he perceived) *in multis pudor, in multis iracundia, &c.* many are ashamed, many vexed, angred; and there is no greater cause or furtherer of melancholy. Martin Cromerus, in the sixth book of his history, hath a pretty story to this purpose, of Vladislaus the Second, king of Poland, and Peter Dunnius, earl of Shrine; they had been hunting late, and were enforced to lodge in a poor cottage. When they went to bed, Vladislaus told the earl in jest, that his wife lay softer with the abbot of Shrine: he, not able to contain, replyed, *Et tua cum Dabesso*, and yours with Dabessus, a gallant young gentleman in the court, whom Christina the queen loved. *Tetigit id dictum principis animum;* these words of his so galled the prince, that he was long after *tristis et cogitabundus*, very sad and melancholy for many moneths: but they were the earls utter undoing; for when Christina heard of it, she persecuted him to death. Sophia the empress, Justinian's wife, broke a bitter jest upon Narses the eunuch, (a famous captain, then disquieted for an overthrow which he had lately had) that he was fitter for a distaff, and to keep women company, than to wield a sword, or to be general of an army: but it cost her dear; for he so far distasted it, that he went forthwith to the adverse part, much troubled in his thoughts, caused the Lumbards to rebell, and thence procured many miseries to the commonwealth. Tiberius the emperour withheld a legacy from the people of Rome, which his predecessor Augustus had lately given, and perceiving a fellow sound a dead coarse in the ear, would needs know wherefore he did so: the fellow replyed, that he wished the departed soul to signifie to Augustus, the commons of Rome were yet unpaid; for this bitter jest the emperour caused him forthwith to be slain, and carry the news himself. For this reason, all those that otherwise approve of jests in some cases, and facete companions, (as who doth not?) let them laugh and be merry, *rumpantur et ilia Codro;* 'tis laudable and fit; those yet will by no means admit them in their companies, that are any wayes inclined to this malady; *non jocandum cum iis qui miseri sunt et ærumnosi:* no jesting with a discontented person. 'Tis Castilios caveat, [d]Jo. Pontanus, and [e]Galateus, and every good mans:

> Play with me, but hurt me not:
> Jest with me, but shame me not.

Comitas is a vertue betwixt *rusticity* and *scurrility*, two extreams, as *affability* is betwixt *flattery* and *contention:* it must not exceed; but be still accompanied with that [f]ἀβλάβεια or innocency, *quæ nemini nocet, omnem injuriæ oblationem abhorrens*, hurts no man, abhors all offer of injury. Though a man be liable to such a jest or obloquy, have been overseen, or committed a foul fact, yet it is no good manners or humanity, to upbraid, to hit him in the teeth with his offence, or to scoff at such a one; 'tis an old

[a]2. 2dæ quæst. 75. Irrisio mortale peccatum. [b]Psal. 15. 3. [c]Balthasar Castillo, lib. 2. de aulico.
[d]De sermone, lib. 4. cap. 3. [e]Fol. 55. Galateus. [f]Tully, Tusc. quæst.

axiom, *turpis in reum omnis exprobratio.* I speak not of such as generally tax vice, Barclay, Gentilis, Erasmus, Agrippa, Fishcartus, &c. the Varronists and Lucians of our time, satyrists, epigrammatists, comœdians, apologists, &c. but such as personate, rail, scoff, calumniate, perstringe by name, or in presence offend:

[f]Ludit qui stolidâ procacitate,
Non est Sestius ille, sed caballus;

'tis horse-play this; and those jests (as he [h]saith) *are no better than injuries, biting jests, mordentes et aculeati;* they are poysoned jests, leave a sting behind them, and ought not to be used.

[i]Set not thy foot to make the blind to fall,
Nor wilfully offend thy weaker brother:
Nor wound the dead with thy tongues bitter gall;
Neither rejoice thou in the fall of other.

If these rules could be kept, we should have much more ease and quietness than we have, less melancholy: whereas, on the contrary, we study to misuse each other, how to sting and gaul, like two fighting boars, bending all our force and wit, friends, fortunes, to crucifie [j]one anothers souls; by means of which, there is little content and charity, much virulency, hatred, malice, and disquietness among us.

Subsect. V.—*Loss of Liberty, Servitude, Imprisonment, how they cause Melancholy.*

To this catalogue of causes, I may well annex loss of liberty, servitude, or imprisonment, which to some persons is as great a torture as any of the rest. Though they have all things convenient, sumptuous houses to their use, fair walks and gardens, delicious bowers, galleries, good fare and dyet, and all things correspondent, yet they are not content, because they are confined, may not come and go at their pleasure, have and do what they will; but live [k]*alienâ quadrâ*, at another mans table and command. As it is [l]in meats, so is it in all other things, places, societies, sports; let them be never so pleasant, commodious, wholesom, so good; yet *omnium rerum est satietas*, there is a lothing satiety of all things (the children of Israel were tired with *manna*): it is irksome to them so to live, as to a bird in a cage, or a dog in his kennel; they are weary of it. They are happy, it is true, and have all things (to another mans judgement) that heart can wish, or that they themselves can desire, *bona si sua nôrint:* yet they lothe it, and are tired with the present. *Est natura hominum novitatis avida;* mens nature is still desirous of news, variety, delights; and our wandering affections are so irregular in this kind, that they must change, though it be to the worst. Bachelors must be married, and married men would be bachelors; they do not love their own wives, though otherwise fair, wise, vertuous, and well qualified, because they are theirs: our present estate is still the worst; we cannot endure one course of life long (*et quod modo voverat, odit*), one calling long (*esse in honore juvat, mox displicet*), one place long, [m]*Romæ Tibur amo, ventosus, Tibure Romam:* that which we earnestly sought, we now contemn. *Hos quosdam agit ad mortem* ([n]saith Seneca) *quod proposita sæpe mutando in eadem revolvuntur, et non relinquunt novitati locum. Fastidio cœpit esse vita, et ipse mundus; et subit illud rapidissimarum deliciarum, Quousque eadem?* this alone kills many a man, that they are tyed to the same still; as a horse in a mill, a dog in a wheel, they run round, without alteration or news; their life groweth odious, the world loathsome, and that which crosseth their furious delights, *What? still the same?* Marcus Aurelius and Solomon, that had experience of all worldly delights and pleasure, confessed as much of themselves; what

[f]Mart. lib. 1. epig. 35. [h]Tales joci ab injuriis non possint discerni. Galateus, fo. 55. [i]Pybrac. in his Quatrains, 37. [j]Ego hujus miserâ fatuitate et dementiâ conflictor. Tull. ad Attic. lib. 11. [k]*Miserum est* alienâ vivere quadrâ. Juv. [l]Crambæ bis coctæ.—Vitæ me redde priori. [m]Hor. [n]*De tranquil. animæ.*

they most desired, was tedious at last, and that their lust could never be satisfied; all was vanity and affliction of mind.

Now, if it be death it self, another hell, to be glutted with one kind of sport, dieted with one dish, tyed to one place, though they have all things otherwise as they can desire, and are in heaven to another mans opinion—what misery and discontent shall they have, that live in slavery, or in prison itself? *Quod tristius morte, in servitute vivendum*, as Hermolaüs told Alexander in [o]Curtius; worse than death is bondage: [p]*hoc animo scito omnes fortes, ut mortem servituti anteponant;* all brave men at arms (Tully holds) are so affected. [q]*Equidem ego is sum, qui servitutem extremum omnium malorum esse arbitror:* I am he (saith Boterus) that account servitude the extremity of misery. And what calamity do they endure, that live with those hard task-masters, in gold-mines (like those thirty thousand [r]Indian slaves at Potosa in Peru, tin-mines, lead-mines, stone-quarries, cole-pits, like so many mouldwarps under ground, condemned to the gallies, to perpetual drudgery, hunger, thirst, and stripes, without all hope of delivery? How are those women in Turkie affected, that most part of the year come not abroad; those Italian and Spanish dames, that are mewed up like hawks, and lockt up by their jealous husbands? how tedious is it to them that live in stoves and caves half a year together? as in Island, Muscovy, or under the [s]pole it self, where they have six moneths perpetual night. Nay, what misery and discontent do they endure, that are in prison? They want all those six non-natural things at once, good air, good dyet, exercise, company, sleep, rest, ease, &c. that are bound in chains all day long, suffer hunger, and (as [t]Lucian describes it) *must abide that filthy stink, and rattling of chains, howlings, pitiful out-cryes, that prisoners usually make: these things are not only troublesome, but intolerable.* They lye nastily among toads and frogs in a dark dungeon, in their own dung, in pain of body, in pain of soul, as Joseph did (Psal. 105. 18, *They hurt his feet in the stocks; the iron entred his soul*): they live solitarily, alone, sequestred from all company but heart-eating melancholy: and, for want of meat, must eat that bread of affliction, prey upon themselves. Well might [u]Arculanus put long imprisonment for a cause, especially to such as, having lived jovially in all sensuality and lust, upon a sudden are estranged and debarred from all manner of pleasures; as were Hunniades, Edward and Richard the Second, Valerian the emperour, Bajazet the Turk. If it be irksome to miss our ordinary companions and repast for once a day, or an hour, what shall it be to lose them for ever? If it be so great a delight to live at liberty, and to enjoy that variety of objects the world affords, what misery and discontent must it needs bring to him, that shall be now cast headlong into that Spanish inquisition, to fall from heaven to hell, to be cubbed up upon a sudden? how shall he be perplexed? what shall become of him? [v]Robert, duke of Normandy, being imprisoned by his youngest brother Henry the First, *ab illo die inconsolabili dolore in carcere contabuit* (saith Matthew Paris), from that day forward pined away with grief. [w]Jugurth, that generous captain, *brought to Rome in triumph, and after imprisoned, through anguish of his soul, and melancholy, dyed.* [x]Roger, bishop of Salisbury, the second man from king Stephen, (he that built that famous castle of [y]Devises in Wiltshire) was so tortured in prison with hunger, and all those calamities accompanying such men, [z]*ut vivere noluerit,*

[o]Lib. 8. [p]Tullius Lepido, Fam. 10. 27. [q]Boterus, l. 1. polit. cap. 4. [r]Laet. descrip. Americæ. [s]If there be any inhabitants. [t]In Toxari. Interdiu quidem collum vinctum est, et manus constrictæ; noctu vero totum corpus vincitur: ad has miserias accedit corporis fœtor, strepitus ejulantium, somni brevitas: hæc omnia plane molesta et intolerabilia. [u]In 9 Rhasis. [v]William the Conquerors eldest son. [w]Sallust. Romam triumpho ductus, tandemque in carcerem conjectus, animi dolore perlit. [x]Camden, in Wiltsh. Miserum senem ita fame et calamitatibus in carcere fregit, inter mortis metum et vitæ tormenta, &c. [y]Vles hodie. [z]Seneca.

mori nescierit, he would not live, and could not dye, betwixt fear of death and torments of life. Francis, king of France, was taken prisoner by Charles the Fifth, *ad mortem fere melancholicus*, saith Guicciardine, melancholy almost to death, and that in an instant. But this is as clear as the sun, and needs no further illustration.

Subsect. VI.—*Poverty and Want, Causes of Melancholy.*

Poverty and want are so violent oppugners, so unwelcome guests, so much abhorred of all men, that I may not omit to speak of them apart. Poverty, although (if considered aright, to a wise, understanding, truly regenerate, and contented man) it be *donum Dei*, a blessed estate, the way to heaven, ([a]Chrysostome calls it), Gods gift, the mother of modesty, and much to be preferred before riches (as shall be shewed in his [b]place), yet, as it is esteemed in the worlds censure, it is a most odious calling, vile and base, a severe torture, *summum scelus*, a most intolerable burthen. We [c]shun it all, *cane pejus et angue*: we abhor the name of it, ([d]*Paupertas fugitur: totoque arcessitur orbe*——) as being the fountain of all other miseries, cares, woes, labours and grievances whatsoever. To avoid which, we will take any pains; (——*extremos currit mercator ad Indos*) we will leave no haven, no coast, no creek of the world, unsearched, though it be to the hazard of our lives; we will dive to the bottom of the sea, and to the bowels of the earth, [e]five, six, seven, eight, nine hundred fathom deep, through all the five zones, and both extreams of heat and cold: we will turn parasites and slaves, prostitute our selves, swear and lye, damn our bodies and souls, forsake God, abjure religion, steal, rob, murder, rather than endure this unsufferable yoke of poverty, which doth so tyrannize, crucifie, and generally depress us.

For, look into the world, and you shall see men, most part, esteemed according to their means, and happy as they are rich: [f]*ubique tanti quisque, quantum habuit, fuit.* If he be likely to thrive, and in the way of preferment, who but he? In the vulgar opinion, if a man be wealthy, no matter how he gets it, of what parentage, how qualified, how vertuously endowed, or villanously inclined; let him be a bawd, a gripe, an usurer, a villain, a pagan, a barbarian, a wretch, [g]Lucians tyrant *on whom you may look with less security, than on the sun*—so that he be rich (and liberal withall) he shall be honoured, admired, adored, reverenced, and highly [h]magnified. *The rich is had in reputation, because of his goods* (*Ecclus.* 10. 31): he shall be befriended; *for riches gather many friends* (*Prov.* 19. 4):—*multos numerabit amicos*; all [i]happiness ebbs and flows with his money. He shall be accounted a gracious lord, a Mæcenas, a benefactor, a wise, discreet, a proper, a valiant, a fortunate man, of a generous spirit, *pullus Jovis, et gallinæ filius albæ*, a hopeful, a good man, a vertuous honest man. *Quando ego te Junonium puerum, et matris partum vere aureum*, as [j]Tully said of Octavianus, while he was adopted Cæsar, and an [k]heir apparent of so great a monarchy; he was a golden child. All [l]honour, offices, applause, grand titles, and turgent epithets, are put upon him; *omnes omnia bona dicere*; all mens eyes are upon him, "God bless his good worship! his honour!" [m]every man speaks well of him; every

[a]Com. ad Hebræos. [b]Part. 2. sect. 3. memb. 3. [c]Quem, ut difficilem morbum, pueris tradere formidamus. Plut. [d]Lucan. l. 1. [e]As in the silver mines in Friburgh in Germany. Fines Morison. [f]Euripides. [g]Tom. 4. dial. Minore periculo solem quam hunc defixis oculis licet intueri. [h]Omnis enim res, Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque, pulchris Divitiis parent. Hor. Ser. l. 2. Sat. 3. Clarus erit, fortis, justus, sapiens etiam rex, Et quidquid volet. Hor. [i]Et genus, et formam, regina Pecunia donat. Money adds spirits, courage, &c. [j]Epist. ult. ad Atticum. [k]Our young master, a fine towardly gentleman, (God bless him!) and hopeful. Why? he is heir apparent to the right worshipful, to the right honourable, &c. [l]O nummi, nummi! vobis hunc præstat honorem. [m]Exinde sapere *eum omnes dicimus*, ac quisque fortunam habet. Plaut. Pseud.

man presents him, seeks and sues to him for his love, favour, and protection, to serve him, belong unto him; every man riseth to him, as to Themistocles in the Olympicks; if he speak, (as of Herod) *vox Dei, non hominis!* the voice of God, not of man! All the graces, Veneres, pleasures, elegances attend him: [n]golden fortune accompanies and lodgeth with him, and (as to those Roman emperours) is placed in his chamber.

> ——————[o] Securâ naviget aurâ,
> Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio:

he may sail as he will himself, and temper his estate at his pleasure: jovial days, splendor and magnificence, sweet musick, dainty fare, the good things and fat of the land, fine clothes, rich attires, soft beds, down pillows, are at his command; all the world labours for him; thousands of artificers are his slaves, to drudge for him, run, ride, and post for him: [p]divines (for *Pythia philippizat*) lawyers, physicians, philosophers, scholars, are his, wholly devote to his service. Every man seeks his acquaintance, his kindred, to match with him: [q]though he be an aufe, a ninny, a monster, a goos-cap, *uxorem ducat Danaen*, when and whom he will; *hunc optant generum rex et regina*—he is an excellent [r]match for my son, my daughter, my niece, &c. *Quidquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiet;* let him go whither he will, trumpets sound, bells ring, &c. all happiness attends him; every man is willing to entertain him; he sups in [s]Apollo wheresoever he comes; what preparation is made for his [t]entertainment! fish and fowl, spices and perfumes, all that sea and land affords. What cookery, masking, mirth, to exhilarate his person!

> [u] Da Trebio; pone ad Trebium; vis, frater, ab illis
> Hibus?——————

What dish will your good worship eat of?

> ——————[x] dulcia poma,
> Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
> Ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives.
>
> Sweet apples, and whate'er thy fields afford,
> Before the God be serv'd, let serve thy Lord.

What sport will your honour have? hawking, hunting, fishing, fowling, bulls, bears, cards, dice, cocks, players, tumblers, fidlers, jesters, &c. they are at your good worships command. Fair houses, gardens, orchards, tarrasses, galleries, cabinets, pleasant walks, delightsome places, they are at hand; [w]*in aureis lac, vinum in argenteis, adolescentulæ ad nutum speciosæ*, wine, wenches, &c. a Turkie paradise, an heaven upon earth. Though he be a silly soft fellow, and scarce have common sense, yet if he be born to fortunes, (as I have said) [x]*jure hæreditario sapere jubetur*, he must have honour and office in his course; [y]*nemo nisi dives, honore dignus* (Ambros. *offic.* 21); none so worthy as himself: he shall have it; *atque esto quidquid Servius aut Labeo.* Get money enough, and command [z]kingdoms, provinces, armies, hearts, hand, and affections; thou shalt have popes, patriarks, to be thy chaplains and parasites; thou shalt have (Tamberlain-like) kings to draw thy coach, queens to be thy landresses, emperours thy foot-stools, build more towns and cities than great Alexander, Babel towers, pyramids, and Mausolean tombs, &c. command heaven and earth, and tell the world it is thy vassal; *auro emitur diadema, argento cœlum panditur, denarius philosophum conducit, nummus jus cogit, obolus literatum pascit, metallum sanitatem conciliat, æs amicos conglutinat.* And therefore, not without good cause, John Medices, that rich Florentine, when he lay upon

[n] Aurea Fortuna principum cubiculis reponi solita. Julius Capitolinus, vitâ Antonini. [o] Petronius. [p] Theologi opulentis adhærent, jurisperiti pecuniosis, literati nummosis, liberalibus artifices. [q] Multi illum juvenes, multæ petiere puellæ. [r] Dummodo sit dives, barbarus ille placet. [s] Plut. in Lucullo. A rich chamber so called. [t] Panis pane melior. [u] Juv. Sat. 5. [x] Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 2. [w] Bohemus, de Turcis; et Bredenbach. [x] Euphormio. [y] Qui pecuniam habent, elati sunt animis, lofty spirits, brave men at arms; all rich men are generous, couragious, &c. [z] Nummus sit. Pro me nubat Cornubia Romæ.

his death-bed, calling his sons Cosmus and Laurence before him, amongst other sober sayings, repeated this, *Animo quieto digredior, quod vos sanos et divites post me relinquam;* it doth me good to think yet, though I be dying, that I shall leave you, my children, *sound and rich:* for wealth sways all. It is not with us, as among those Lacedæmonian senators of Lycurgus in Plutarch—*he preferred that deserved best, was most vertuous and worthy of the place;* [a] *not swiftness, or strength, or wealth, or friends, carryed it in those dayes;* but *inter optimos optimus, inter temperantes temperantissimus,* the most temperate and best. We have no *aristocracies* but in contemplation, all *oligarchies,* wherein a few rich men domineer, do what they list, and are privileged by their greatness. [b] They may freely trespass, and do as they please; no man dare accuse them, no not so much as mutter against them; there is no notice taken of it; they may securely do it, live after their own laws, and, for their money, get pardons, indulgences, redeem their souls from purgatory and hell it self,——*clausum possidet arca Jovem.* Let them be Epicures, or atheists, libertines, Machiavelians, (as often they are) [c] *Et quamvis perjurus erit, sine gente, cruentus,* they may go to heaven through the eye of a needle; if they will themselves, they may be canonized for saints, they shall be [d] honourably interred in Mausolean tombs, commended by poets, registered in histories, have temples and statutes erected to their names——*e manibus illis nascentur violæ.* If he be bountiful in his life, and liberal at his death, he shall have one to swear (as he did by Claudius the emperour in Tacitus) he saw his soul go to heaven, and be miserably lamented at his funeral. *Ambubaiarum collegia, &c.* Trimalchionis Topanta, in Petronius, *rectâ in cœlum abiit,* went right to heaven; (a base quean; [e] *thou wouldst have scorned once in thy misery to have a penny from her*) and why? *modio nummos metiit,* she measured her money by the bushel. These prerogatives do not usually belong to rich men, but to such as are most part seeming rich; let him have but a good [f] outside, he carries it, and shall be adored for a God, as [g] Cyrus was amongst the Persians, *ob splendidum apparatum,* for his gay tyres. Now most men are esteemed according to their cloaths: in our gullish times, whom you peradventure in modesty would give place to, as being deceived by his habit, and presuming him some great worshipful man, believe it, if you shall examine his estate, he will likely be proved a serving man of no great note, my ladies taylor, his lordships barber, or some such gull, a Fastidius Brisk, Sir Petronell Flash, a meer out-side. Only this respect is given him, that wheresoever he comes, he may call for what he will, and take place by reason of his outward habit.

But, on the contrary, if he be poor, (*Prov.* 15. 15) *all his dayes are miserable;* he is under hatches, dejected, rejected, and forsaken, poor in purse, poor in spirit: [h] *prout res nobis fluit, ita et animus se habet:* [i] money gives life and soul. Though he be honest, wise, learned, well deserving, noble by birth, and of excellent good parts; yet, in that he is poor, unlikely to rise, come to honour, office, or good means, he is contemned, neglected; *frustra sapit, inter literas esurit, amicus molestus.* [k] *If he speak, what babler is this?* (Ecclus.) his nobility without wealth is [l] *projectâ vilior algâ,* and he not esteemed. *Nos viles pulli, nati infelicibus ovis:* if once poor, we are metamorphosed in an instant, base slaves, villains, and vile drudges; [m] for to be poor, is to be a knave, a fool, a wretch, a wicked,

[a] Non fuit apud mortales ullum excellentius certamen; non inter celeres celerrimo, non inter robustos robustissimo, &c. [b] Quidquid libet licet. [c] Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 2. [d] Cum moritur dives, concurrent undique cives; Pauperis ad funus vix est ex millibus unus. [e] Et modo qui fuit? ignoscat mihi genius tuus! noluisses de manu ejus nummos accipere. [f] He that wears silk, sattin, velvet, and gold lace, must needs be a gentleman. [g] Est sanguis atque spiritus pecunia mortalibus. [h] Euripides. [i] Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. 8. [k] In tenui rara est facundia panno. Juv. [l] Hor. [m] Egere est offendere; et *indigere scelestum esse.* Sat. Menip.

an odious fellow, a common eye-sore: say poor, and say all: they are born to labour, to misery, to carry burdens like juments, *pistum stercus comedere*, with Ulysses companions, and (as Chremylus objected in Aristophanes) [n] *salem lingere*, lick salt, to empty jakes, fay channels, [o] carry out dirt and dunghils, sweep chimnies, rub horse-heels, &c. I say nothing of Turks galley-slaves, which are bought [p] and sold like juments, or those African negroes, or poor [q] Indian drudges, *qui indies hinc inde deferendis oneribus occumbunt; nam quod apud nos boves et asini vehunt, trahunt, &c. id omne misellis Indis, &c.* they are ugly to behold, and, though earst spruce, now rusty and squalid, because poor; [r] *immundas fortunas æquum est squalorem sequi;* it is ordinarily so. [s] *Others eat to live, but they live to drudge;* [t] *servilis et misera gens nihil recusare audet;* a servile generation, that dare refuse no task.

> [u] Heus tu, Dore,
> Cape hoc flabellum, ventulum hui facito, dum lavamus.

sirrah, blow wind upon us while we wash: and bid your fellow get him up betimes in the morning; be it fair or foul, he shall run fifty miles a foot to morrow, to carry me a letter to my mistress; *Sosia ad pistrinam;* Sosia shall tarry at home, and grind mault all day long; Tristan thresh. Thus are they commanded, being indeed, some of them, as so many foot-stools for rich men to tread on, blocks for them to get on horse back, or as [v] *walls for them to piss on.* They are commonly such people, rude, silly, superstitious ideots, nasty, unclean, lowsie, poor, dejected, slavishly humble; and as [w] Leo Afer observes of the commonalty of Africk, *naturâ viliores sunt, nec apud suos duces majore in pretio quam si canes essent:* base by nature, and no more esteemed than dogs, [x] *miseram, laboriosam, calamitosam vitam agunt, et inopem, infelicem; rudiores asinis, ut e brutis plane natos dicas:* no learning, no knowledge, no civility, scarce common sense, nought but barbarism amongst them; *belluino more vivunt, neque calceos gestant, neque vestes;* like rogues and vagabonds, they go bare-footed and bare-legged, the soals of their feet being as hard as horse hoofs, (as [y] Radzivilius observed at Damiata in Egypt) leading a laborious, miserable, wretched, unhappy life, [z] *like beasts and juments, if not worse* (for a [a] Spaniard in Iucatan sold three Indian boyes for a cheese, and an hundred negro slaves for an horse): their discourse is scurrility, their *summum bonum* a pot of ale. There is not any slavery which these villains will not undergo: *inter illos plerique latrinas evacuant; alii culinariam curant; alii stabularios agunt, urinatores; et id genus similia exercent, &c.* like those people that dwell in the [b] Alps, chimney-sweepers, jakes-farmers, dirt-daubers, vagrant rogues, they labour hard some, and yet cannot get clothes to put on, or bread to eat: for what can filthy poverty give else, but [c] beggery, fulsom nastiness, squalor, contempt, drudgery, labour, ugliness, hunger and thirst, *pediculorum et pulicum numerum* (as [d] he well followed it in Aristophanes) fleas and lice? *pro pallio vestem laceram, et pro pulvinari lapidem bene magnum ad caput,* rags for his rayment, and a stone for his pillow, *pro cathedrâ, ruptæ caput urnæ,* he sits in a broken pitcher, or on a block, for a chair, *et malvæ ramos pro panibus comedit,* he drinks water, and lives on wort

[n] Plaut. act. 4. [o] Nullum tam barbarum, tam vile munus est, quod non lubentissime obire velit gens vilissima. [p] Lausius, orat. in Hispaniam. [q] Laet. descrip. Americæ. [r] Plautus. [s] Leo Afer, ca. ult. l. 1. Edunt, non ut bene vivant, sed ut fortiter laborent. Heinsius. [t] Munster de rusticis Germaniæ, Cosmog. cap. 27. lib. 3. [u] Ter. Eunuch. [v] Pauper paries factus, quem canículæ commingant. [w] Lib. 1. cap. ult. [x] Deos omnes illis infensos diceres; tam pannosi, fame fracti, tot assidue malis afficiuntur, tamquam pecora quibus splendor rationis emortuus. [y] Peregrin. Hieros. [z] Nihil omnino meliorem vitam degunt, quam feræ in silvis, jumenta in terris. Leo. Afer. [a] Bartholomæus a Casa. [b] Ortelius in Helvetiâ. Qui habitant in Cæsiâ valle ut plurimum latomi in Oscellâ valle cultrorum fabri, fumarii in Vigetiâ, sordidum genus hominum, quod repurgandis caminis victum parat. [c] I write not this, any wayes to upbraid, or scoffe at, or misuse poor men, but rather to condole and pity them, by expressing, &c. [d] Chremylus, act. 4. Plut.

leaves, pulse, like a hogg, or scraps like a dog: *ut nunc nobis vita afficitur, quis non putabit insaniam esse, infelicitatemque?* (as Chremylus concludes his speech) as we poor men live now adayes, who will not take our life to be [e] infelicity, misery, and madness?

If they be of little better condition than those base villains, hunger-starved beggars, wandring rogues, those ordinary slaves, and day-labouring drudges, yet they are commonly so preyed upon by [f] poling officers for breaking laws, by their tyrannizing landlords, so flead and fleeced by perpetual [g] exactions, that though they do drudge, fare hard, and starve their Genius, they [h] cannot live in some countries; but what they have is instantly taken from them; the very care they take to live, to be drudges, to maintain their poor families, their trouble and anxiety, *takes away their sleep* (*Sirac.* 31. 1); it makes them weary of their lives: when they have taken all pains, done their utmost and honest endeavours, if they be cast behind by sickness, or overtaken with years, no man pities them; hard-hearted and merciless, uncharitable as they are, they leave them so distressed, to beg, steal, murmur, and [i] rebel, or else starve. The feeling and fear of this misery compelled those old Romans, whom Menenius Agrippa pacified, to resist their governours—outlaws, and rebels in most places, to take up seditious armes; and in all ages hath caused uproars, murmurings, seditions, rebellions, thefts, murders, jarrs and contentions in every commonwealth, grudging, repining, complaining, discontent in each private family, because they want means to live according to their callings, bring up their children; it breaks their hearts, they cannot do as they would. No greater misery than for a lord to have a knights living, a gentleman a yeomans, not to be able to live as his birth and place requires. Poverty and want are generally corrosive to all kinds of men, especially to such as have been in good and flourishing estate, are suddenly distressed, [j] nobly born, liberally brought up, and, by some disaster, and casualty, miserably dejected. For the rest, as they have base fortunes, so they have base minds correspondent—like beetles, *e stercore orti, e stercore victus, in stercore delicium*—as they were obscurely born and bred, so they delight and live in obscenity; they are not so thoroughly touched with it. *Angustas animas angusto in pectore versant.* Yea (that which is no small cause of their torments) if once they come to be in distress, they are forsaken of their fellows, most part neglected, and left unto themselves; [k] as poor Terence in Rome was by Scipio, Lælius, and Furius, his great and noble friends,

——Nihil Publius	Tres per idem tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime.
Scipio profuit, nil el Lælius, nil Furius,	Horum ille operâ ne domum quidem habuit conductitiam.

'Tis generally so: *Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris;* he is left cold and comfortless; *Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes;* all flee from him, as from a rotten wall, now ready to fall on their heads, Prov. 19. 4. *Poverty separates them from their* [l] *neighbours:*

[m] Dum fortuna favet, vultum servatis, amici:	Whilst fortune favour'd, friends, you smil'd on me:
Cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fugâ.	But, when she fled, a friend I could not see.

Which is worse yet, if he be poor, [n] every man contemns him, insults over him, oppresseth him, scoffs at, aggravates his misery.

[o] Quum cœpit quassata domus subsidere, partes	When once the tottering house begins to shrink,
In proclinatas omne recumbit onus.	Thither comes all the weight by an instinct.

[a] Paupertas durum onus miseris mortalibus. [f] Vexat censura columbas. [g] *Deux ace* non possunt, et *six cinque* solvere nolunt: Omnibus est notum *quatre tre* solvere totum. [h] Scandia, Africa, Lituania, [i] Montaigne, in his Essayes, speaks of certain Indians in France, that being asked how they liked the countrey, wondered how a few rich men could keep so many poor men in subjection, that they did not cut their throats. [j] Augustus animas animoso in pectore versans. [k] Donatus, vit. ejus. [l] Prov. 19. 7. *Though he be instant, yet they will not.* [m] Petronius. [n] Non est, qui doleat vicem: ut Petrus Christum, *jurant se hominem non novisse.* [o] Ovid. in Trist.

Nay, they are odious to their own brethren, and dearest friends: (Prov. 19. 7) *his brethren hate him, if he be poor:* [o]*omnes vicini oderunt, his neighbours hate him* (Prov. 14. 20): [p]*omnes me noti ac ignoti deserunt*, (as he complained in the comedy) friends and strangers, all forsake me. Which is most grievous, poverty makes men ridiculous:

Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit:

they must endure [q]jests, taunts, flouts, blows of their betters, and take all in good part to get a meals meat:

[r]Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
Quidvis et facere et pati.

He must turn parasite, jester, fool, (*cum desipientibus desipere*, saith [s]Euripides) slave, villain, drudge, to get a poor living, apply himself to each man's humours, to win and please, &c. and be buffeted, when he hath all done (as Ulysses was by Melanthius [t]in Homer,) be reviled, baffled, insulted over, for [u]*potentiorum stultitia perferenda est*, and may not so much as mutter against it. He must turn rogue and villain; for, as the saying is, *necessitas cogit ad turpia*; poverty alone makes men thieves, rebels, murderers, traitours, assassinates, (*because of poverty, we have sinned, Ecclus.* 27. 1) swear and forswear, bear false witness, lye, dissemble, anything, as I say, to advantage themselves, and to relieve their necessities: [v]*culpæ scelerisque magistra est:* when a man is driven to his shifts, what will he not do?

——si miserum fortuna Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget:

he will betray his father, prince, and countrey, turn Turk, forsake religion, abjure God and all: *nulla tam horrenda proditio, quam illi lucri caussâ* (saith [w]Leo Afer) *perpetrare nolint.* [x]Plato therefore calls poverty *thievish, sacrilegious, filthy, wicked, and mischievous*; and well he might; for it makes many an upright man otherwise (had he not been in want) to take bribes, to be corrupt, to do against his conscience, to sell his tongue, heart, hand, &c. to be churlish, hard, unmerciful, uncivil, to use indirect means to help his present estate. It makes princes to exact upon their subjects, great men tyrannize, landlords oppress, justice mercenary, lawyers vultures, physicians harpyes, friends importunate, tradesmen lyars, honest men thieves, devout assassinates, great men to prostitute their wives, daughters, and themselves, middle sort to repine, commons to mutiny, all to grudge, murmur, and complain. A great temptation to all mischief, it compels some miserable wretches to counterfeit several diseases, to dismember, to make themselves blind, lame, to have a more plausible cause to beg, and lose their limbs to recover their present wants. Jodocus Damhoderius, a lawyer of Bruges, (*praxi rerum criminal, c.* 112) hath some notable examples of such counterfeit cranks; and every village almost will yield abundant testimonies amongst us; we have dummerers, Abraham men, &c. And (that which is the extent of misery, it enforceth them, through anguish and wearisomness, of their lives, to make away themselves: they had rather be hanged, drowned, &c. than to live without means.

[y]In mare cetiferum, ne te premat aspera egestas,
Desili, et a celsis corrue, Cyrne, jugis.

Much better 'tis to break thy neck, | Than suffer irksome poverty:—
Or drown thyself i'th' sea, | Go make thy self away.

A Sybarite of old (as I find it registered in [z]Athenæus), supping *in Phiditiis* in Sparta, and observing their hard fare, said it was no marvel if the Lace-

[o]Horat. [p]Ter. Eunuchus, act. 2. [q]Quid quod materiam præbat caussamque jocandi, Si toga sordida sit? Juv. Sat. 2. [r]Hor. [s]In Phœnis. [t]Odyss. 17. [u]Idem. [v]Mantuan. [w]De Africâ, lib. 1. cap. ult. [x]4. de legibus. Furacissima paupertas, sacrilega, turpis, flagitiosa, omnium malorum opifex. [y]Theognis. [z]Dipnosophist. lib. 12. Millies potius morituram (si quis sibi mente constaret) quam tam vilis et ærumnosi victûs communionem habere.

dæmonians were valiant men; *for his part, he would rather run upon a swords point (and so would any man in his wits), than live with such base diet, or lead so wretched a life.* [a]In Japonia, 'tis a common thing to stifle their children if they be poor, or to make an abort; which Aristotle commends. In that civil commonwealth of China, [b]the mother strangles her child, if she be not able to bring it up, and had rather lose than sell it, or have it endure such misery as poor men do. Arnobius (*lib. 7. adversus gentes*), [c]Lactantius (*lib. 5. cap. 9*), objects as much to those ancient Greeks and Romans: *they did expose their children to wild beasts, strangle, or knock out their brains against a stone*, in such cases. If we may give credit to [d]Munster, amongst us Christians, in Lituania they voluntarily mancipate and sell themselves, their wives, and children, to rich men, to avoid hunger and beggery: [e]many make away themselves in this extremity. Apicius, the Roman, when he cast up his accounts, and found but 100,000 crowns left, murdered himself, for fear he should be famished to death. P. Forestus, in his medicinal observations, hath a memorable example of two brothers of Lovain, that, being destitute of means, became both melancholy, and, in a discontented humour, massacred themselves; another of a merchant, learned, wise otherwise and discreet, but, out of a deep apprehension he had of a loss at seas, would not be perswaded but (as [f]Ventidius, in the poet) he should die a begger. In a word, thus much I may conclude of poor men, that, though they have good [g]parts, they cannot shew or make use of them; [h]*ab inopiâ ad virtutem obsepta est via;* 'tis hard for a poor man to [i]rise;

> Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
> Res angusta domi:

the wisdom of the poor is despised, and his words are not heard (Eccles. 6. 19); his works are rejected, contemned for the baseness and obscurity of the author; though laudable and good in themselves, they will not likely take

> [j]Nulla placere diu, neque vivere, carmina possunt,
> Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.

Poor men cannot please: their actions, counsels, consultations, projects, are vilified in the worlds esteem: *amittunt consilium in re*, which Gnatho long since observed. *Sapiens crepidas sibi nunquam, nec soleas, fecit;* a wise man never cobbled shoes; as he said of old; but how doth he prove it! I am sure we find it otherwise in our dayes; [k]*pruinosis horret facundia pannis.* Homer himself must beg, if he want means, and (as, by report, sometimes he did) [l]*go from door to door, and sing ballads, with a company of boyes about him.* This common misery of theirs must needs distract, make them discontent and melancholy, as ordinarily they are, wayward, pievish, like a weary traveller, (for [m]*Fames et mora bilem in nares conciunt*) still murmuring and repining. *Ob inopiam morosi sunt, quibus est male*, as Plutarch quotes out of Euripides, and that comical poet well seconds—

> [n]Omnes, quibus res sunt minus secundæ, nescio quomodo
> Suspiciosi, ad contumeliam omnia accipiunt magis;
> Propter suam impotentiam se credunt negligi:

if they be in adversity, they are more suspicious and apt to mistake; they think themselves scorned by reason of their misery; and therefore many generous spirits, in such cases, withdraw themselves from all company, as that comedian [o]Terence is said to have done: when he perceived himself to

[a]Gasper Vilela Jesuita, epist. Japon. lib. [b]Mat. Riccius, expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 3. [c]Vos Romani procreatos filios feris et canibus exponitis, nunc strangulatis, vel in saxum eliditis, &c. [d]Cosmog. 4. lib. cap. 22. Vendunt liberos victu carentes, tamquam pecora, interdum et seipsos, ut apud divites saturentur cibis. [e]Vel bonorum desperatione vel malorum perpessione fracti et fatigati, plures violentas manus sibi inferunt. [f]Hor. [g]Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces;
Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus. [h]Terent. [i]Juvenal. Sat. 3. [j]Hor. Sat. 3. lib. 1. [k]Petronius. [l]Herodotus, vitâ ejus. Scaliger, in poët. Potentiorum ædes ostiatim adiens, aliquid accipiebat, canens carmina sua, concomitante eum puerorum choro. [m]Plautus, Amph. [n]Ter. *Act. 4. Scen. 3. Adelph.* Hegio. [o]Donat. vitâ ejus.

be forsaken and poor, he voluntarily banished himself to Stymphalus, a base town in Arcadia, and there miserably dyed:

——ad summam inopiam redactus:
Itaque e conspectu omnium abiit, Græciæ in terram ultimam.

Neither is it without cause; for we see men commonly respected according to their means, (p *an dives sit, omnes quærunt; nemo, an bonus*) and vilified if they be in bad clothes. q Philopœmen the orator was set to cut wood, because he was so homely attired. r Terentius was placed at the lower end of Cæcilius table, because of his homely outside. s Dante, that famous Italian poet, by reason his clothes were but mean, could not be admitted to sit down at a feast. Gnatho scorned his old familiar friend, because of his apparel; t *hominem video pannis annisque obsitum; hîc ego illum contempsi præ me.* King Perseus, overcome, sent a letter to u Paullus Æmilius the Roman general, "*Perseus P. Consuli S.*" but he scorned him any answer, *tacite exprobrans fortunam suam* (saith mine author), upbraiding him with a present fortune. v Carolus Pugnax, that great duke of Burgundy, made H. Holland, late Duke of Exeter, exil'd, run after his horse like a lackey, and would take no notice of him: w'tis the common fashion of the world: so that such men as are poor may justly be discontent, melancholy, and complain of their present misery: and all may pray with x Solomon, *Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor poverty; feed me with food convenient for me.*

Subsect. VII.—*An heap of other Accidents causing Melancholy, Death of Friends, Losses, &c.*

In this labyrinth of accidental causes, the farther I wander, the more intricate I find the passage; *multæ ambages;* and new causes, as so many by-paths, offer themselves to be discussed. To search out all, were an Herculean work, and fitter for Theseus: I will follow mine intended thred, and point only at some few of the chiefest.

Death of Friends.] Amongst which, loss and death of friends may challenge a first place. *Multi tristantur* (as y Vives well observes) *post delicias, convivia, dies festos;* many are melancholy after a feast, holy-day, merry-meeting, or some pleasing sport, if they be solitary by chance, left alone to themselves, without employment, sport, or want their ordinary companions; some, at the departure of friends only whom they shall shortly see again, weep and howl, and look after them as a cow lows after her calf, or a child takes on, that goes to school after holidayes. *Ut me levârat tuus adventus, sic discessus afflixit,* (which z Tully writ to Atticus) thy coming was not so welcome to me as thy departure was harsh. Montanus (*consil.* 132) makes mention of a countrey-woman, that, parting with her friends and native place, became grievously melancholy for many years; and Trallianus, of another, so caused for the absence of her husband; which is an ordinary passion amongst our good wives; if their husband tarry out a day longer than his appointed time, or break his hour, they take on presently with sighs and tears; "he is either robbed or dead; some mischance or other has surely befaln him:" they cannot eat, drink, sleep, or be quiet in mind, till they see him again. If parting of friends, absence alone, can work such violent effects, what shall death do, when they must eternally be separated, never in this world to meet again? This is so grievous a torment for the time, that it takes away their appetite, desire of life, extinguishes all delights, it causeth deep sighs and groans, tears, exclamations,

p Euripides. q Plutarch. vitâ ejus. r Vit. Ter. s Gomesius, lib. 3. c. 21. de sale. t Ter. Eunuch. Act. 2. Scen. 2. u Liv. dec. 9. l. 2. v Comineus. w He that hath 5*l.* per annum coming in more than others, scorns him that hath less, and is a better man. x Prov. 30. 8. y De animâ, cap. de mœrore. z Lib. 12. epist.

(O dulce germen matris! o sanguis meus!
Eheu; tepentes, &c.————o flos tener!)

howling, roaring, many bitter pangs,

[a](Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
Tecta fremunt)

and by frequent meditation extends so far sometimes, [b] *they think they see their dead friends continually in their eyes, obversantes imagines*, as Conciliator confesseth he saw his mothers ghost presenting herself still before him. *Quod nimis miseri volunt, hoc facile credunt;* still, still, still, that good father, that good son, that good wife, that dear friend, runs in their minds: *totus animus hac unâ cogitatione defixus est*, all the year long, as [c] Pliny complains to Romanus, *methinks I see Virginius, I hear Virginius, I talk with Virginius, &c.*

[d]Te sine, væ misero mihi, lilia nigra videntur,
Pallentesque rosæ, nec dulce rubens hyacinthus;
Nullos nec myrtus, nec laurus, spirat, odores.

They that are most staid and patient, are so furiously carryed headlong by the passion of sorrow in this case, that brave discreet women otherwise, oftentimes forget themselves, and weep like children many moneths together, *as* [e] *if that they to water would*, and will not be comforted. They are gone! they are gone! *Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo!* what shall I do?

Quis dabit in lacrymas fontem mihi? quis satis altos
Accendet gemitus, et acerbo verba dolori?
Exhaurit pietas oculus, et hiantia frangit
Pectora, nec plenos avido sinit edere questus
Magna adeo jactura premit, &c.

Fountains of tears who gives? who lends me groans,
Deep sighs, sufficient to express my moans?
Mine eyes are dry, my breast in pieces torn;
My loss so great, I cannot enough mourn.

So Stroza filius, that elegant Italian poet, in his Epicedium, bewails his fathers death; he could moderate his passions in other matters (as he confesseth), but not in this; he yields wholly to sorrow,

Nunc, fateor, do terga malis; mens illa fatiscit,
Indomitus quondam vigor et constantia mentis.

How doth [f] Quintilian complain for the loss of his son, to despair almost! Cardan laments his only child, in his book *de libris propriis*, and elsewhere, in many other of his tracts, [g] St. Ambrose his brothers death! (*an ego possum non cogitare de te, aut sine lacrymis cogitare? O amari dies! o flebiles noctes!*) *&c.* Gregory Nazianzen, that noble Pulcheria! (*O decorem, &c. flos recens, pullulans, &c.*) Alexander, a man of a most invincible courage, after Hephæstions death (as Curtius relates), *triduum jacuit ad moriendum obstinatus*, lay three dayes together upon the ground, obstinate to dye with him, and would neither eat, drink, nor sleep. The woman that communed with Esdras (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 10), when her son fell down dead, *fled into the field, and would not return into the city, but there resolve to remain, neither to eat nor drink, but mourn and fast until she dyed. Rachel wept for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not* (Matt. 2. 18). So did Adrian the emperour bewail his Antinoüs; Hercules, Hylas; Orpheus, Eurydice; David, Absolon (O my dear son Absolon); Austin, his mother Monica; Niobe, her children, insomuch, that the [h] poets feigned her to be turned into a stone, as being stupified through the extremity of grief. [i] *Ægeus, signo lugubri filii consternatus, in mare se præcipitem dedit*, impatient of sorrow for his sons death, drowned himself. Our late physicians are full of such examples. Montanus (*consil.* 242) [j] had a patient troubled with this infirmity, by reason of her husbands death, many years together: Trincavellius (*l.* 1. *c.* 14) hath such another, almost in despair, after his

[a] Virg. 4. Æn. [b] Patres mortuos coram astantes, et filios, &c. Marcellus Donatus. [c] Epist. 1. 2. Virginium video, audio; defunctum cogito, alloquor. [d] Calphurnius Græcus. [e] Chaucer. [f] Præfat. lib. 6. [g] Lib. de obitu Satyri fratris. [h] Ovid. Met. [i] Plut. vitâ ejus. [j] Nobilis matrona melancholica ob mortem mariti.

[k] mothers departure, *ut se ferme præcipitem daret*, and ready through distraction to make away himself; and (in his fifteenth counsel) tells a story of one fifty years of age, *that grew desperate upon his mothers death;* and, cured by Phalopius, fell many years after into a relapse, by the sudden death of a daughter which he had, and could never after be recovered. The fury of this passion is so violent sometimes, that it daunts whole kingdoms and cities. Vespasians death was pittifully lamented all over the Roman empire; *totus orbis lugebat*, saith Aurelius Victor. Alexander commanded the battlements of houses to be pulled down, mules and horses to have their manes shorn off, and many common souldiers to be slain, to accompany his dear Hephæstions death; which is now practised amongst the Tartars: when [l] a great Cham dyeth, ten or twelve thousand must be slain, men and horses, all they meet; and, among those [m] pagan Indians, their wives and servants voluntarily dye with them. Leo Decimus was so much bewailed in Rome after his departure, that (as Jovius gives out) [n] *communis salus, publica hilaritas*, the common safety, all good fellowship, peace, mirth, and plenty, died with him; *tamquam eodem sepulcro cum Leone condita lugebantur;* for it was a golden age whilst he lived; [o] but, after his decease, an iron season succeeded, *barbara vis, et fœda vastitas, et dira malorum omnium incommoda*, wars, plagues, vastity, discontent. When Augustus Cæsar dyed, saith Paterculus, *orbis ruinam timueramus*, we were all afraid, as if heaven had fallen upon our heads. [p] Budæus records, how that, at *Lewis the twelfth his death, tam subita mutatio, ut qui prius digito cœlum attingere videbantur, nunc humi derepente serpere, sideratos esse diceres*, they that were erst in heaven, upon a sudden, as if they had been planet strucken, lay grovelling on the ground;

> [q] Concussis cecidere, animis, ceu frondibus ingens
> Sylva dolet lapsis———

they look't like cropt trees.

[r] At Nancy in Lorain, when Claudia Valesia, Henry the second French kings sister, and the dukes wife, deceased, the temples for forty dayes were all shut up, no prayers nor masses, but in that room where she was; the senators all seen in black; *and for a twelve moneths space throughout the city, they were forbid to dance.*

> ———[s] Non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
> Frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla nec amnem
> Libavit quadrupes, nec graminis attigit herbam.

How we were affected here in England for our Titus, *deliciæ humani generis*, Prince Henries immature death, as if all our dearest friends lives had exhaled with his! [t] Scanderbegs death was not so much lamented in Epirus. In a word, as [u] he saith of Edward the First at the news of Edward of Caernarvan his sons birth, *immortaliter gavisus*, he was immortally glad, may we say on the contrary of friends deaths, *immortaliter gementes*, we are, divers of us, as so many turtles, eternally dejected with it.

There is another sorrow, which ariseth from the loss of temporal goods and fortunes, which equally afflicteth, and may go hand in hand with the precedent. Loss of time, loss of honour, office, of good name, of labour, frustrate hopes will much torment; but, in my judgement, there is no torment like unto it, or that sooner procureth this malady and mischief: [v] *Ploratur lacrymis amissa pecunia veris:* it wrings true tears from our

[k] Ex matris obitu in desperationem incidit. [l] Mathias a Michou. Boteat. Amphitheat. [m] Lo. Vertoman. M. Polus Venetus, lib. 1. c. 54. Perimunt eos quos in viâ obvios habent, dicentes, Ite, et domino nostro regi servite in aliâ vitâ. Nec tam in homines insaniunt, sed in equos, &c. [n] Vit. ejus. [o] Lib. 4. vitæ ejus. Auream ætatem condiderat ad humani generis salutem, quum nos statim ab optimi principis excessu vere ferream pateremur, famem, pestem, &c. [p] Lib. 5. de asse. [q] Maph. [r] Ortelius, Itinerario. Ob annum integrum a cantu, tripudiis, et saltationibus, tota civitas abstinere jubetur. [s] Virg. [t] See Barletius, de vitâ et ob. Scanderbeg. lib. 13. hist. [u] Matth. Paris. [v] Juvenal.

eyes, many sighs, much sorrow from our hearts, and often causeth habitual melancholy it self. Guianerius (*tract* 15. 5.) repeats this for an especial cause: [w] *loss of friends, and loss of goods, make many men melancholy (as I have often seen), by continual meditation of such things.* The same causes Arnoldus Villanovanus inculcates (*Breviar. l* 1. *c.* 18), *ex rerum amissione, damno,, amicorum morte, &c.* Want alone will make a man mad; to be *sans argent*, will cause a deep and grievous melancholy. Many persons are affected like [x] Irishmen in this behalf, who, if they have a good scimiter, had rather have a blow on their arm, than their weapon hurt; they will sooner lose their life, than their goods; and the grief that cometh hence, continueth long (saith [y] Plater), *and, out of many dispositions, procureth an habit.* [z] Montanus and Frisemelica cured a young man of twenty two years of age, that so became melancholy *ob amissam pecuniam*, for a summ of money which he had unhappily lost. Sckenkius hath such another story of one melancholy, because he overshot himself, and spent his stock in unnecessary building. [a] Roger, that rich bishop of Salisbury, *exutus opibus et castris a rege Stephano*, spoiled of his goods by king Stephen, *vi doloris absorptus, atque in amentiam versus, indecentia fecit*, through grief ran mad, spake and did he knew not what. Nothing so familiar, as for men, in such cases, through anguish of mind, to make away themselves. A poor fellow went to hang himself (which Ausonius hath elegantly expressed in a neat [b] epigram), but, finding by chance a pot of money, flung away the rope, and went merrily home; but he that hid the gold, when he missed it, hanged himself with that rope which the other man had left, in a discontented humour.

> At qui condiderat, postquam non reperit aurum,
> Aptavit collo, quem reperit, laqueum.

Such feral accidents can want and penury produce. Be it by suretiship, shipwrack, fire, spoil and pillage of souldiers, or what loss soever, it boots not; it will work the like effect, the same desolation in provinces and cities, as well as private persons. The Romans were miserably dejected after the battel of Cannæ, the men amazed for fear, the stupid women tore their hair and cryed;—the Hungarians, when their king Ladislaus, and bravest souldiers, were slain by the Turks: *luctus publicus, &c.*—the Venetians, when their forces were overcome by the French king Lewis, the French and Spanish kings, pope, emperour, all conspired against them, at Cambray, the French herald denounced open war in the senate, *Lauredane, Venetorum dux, &c.* and they had lost Padua, Brixia, Verona, Forum Julii, their territories in the continent, and had now nothing left but the city of Venice itself, *et urbi quoque ipsi* (saith [c] Bembus) *timendum putarent*, and the loss of that was likewise to be feared; *tantus repente dolor omnes tenuit, ut nunquam alias, &c.* they were pittifully plunged, never before in such lamentable distress. Anno 1527, when Rome was sacked by Burbonius, the common souldiers made such spoil, that the [d] churches were turned to stables, old monuments and books made horse-litter, or burned like straw; reliques, costly pictures defaced; altars demolished, rich hangings, carpets, &c. trampled in the dirt; [e] their wives and loveliest daughters constuprated by every base cullion (as Sejanus daughter was by the hangman in publick) before their fathers and husbands faces; noblemens children, and of the wealthiest citizens, reserved for princes beds, were prostitute to every com-

[w] Multi, qui res amatas perdiderant, ut filios, opes, non sperantes recuperare, propter assiduam talium considerationem melancholici fiunt, ut ipse vidi. [x] Stanihurstus, Hib. Hist. [y] Cap. 3. Melancholia semper venit ob jacturam pecuniæ, victoriæ repulsam, mortem liberorum, quibus longo post tempore animus torquetur; et a dispositione fit habitus. [z] Consil. 26. [a] Nubrigensis. [b] Epig. 22. [c] Lib. 8. Venet. hist. [d] Templa ornamentis nudata, spoliata, in stabula equorum et asinorum versa, &c. Infulæ humi conculcatæ pedibus, &c. [e] In oculis maritorum dilectissimæ conjuges ab Hispanorum lixis constupratæ sunt. Filiæ magnatum thoris destinatæ, &c.

mon souldier, and kept for concubines; senators and cardinals themselves drag'd along the streets, and put to exquisite torments, to confess where their money was hid; the rest, murdered on heaps, lay stinking in the streets; infants brains dashed out before their mothers eyes. A lamentable sight it was to see so goodly a city so suddenly defaced, rich citizens sent a begging to Venice, Naples, Ancona, &c. that erst lived in all manner of delights. [f] *Those proud palaces, that even now vaunted their tops up to heaven, were dejected as low as hell in an instant.* Whom will not such misery make discontent? Terence the poet drowned himself (some say) for the loss of his comedies, which suffered shipwrack. When a poor man hath made many hungry meals, got together a small summ, which he loseth in an instant—a scholar spent many an hours study to no purpose, his labours lost, &c.—how should it otherwise be? I may conclude, with Gregory, *temporalium amor quantum afficit, cum hæret possessio, tantum, quum subtrahitur, urit dolor;* riches do not so much exhilarate us with their possession, as they torment us with their loss.

Fear from ominous accidents, destinies foretold.] Next to sorrow still I may annex such accidents as procure fear; for, besides those terrors which I have [g] before touched, and many other fears (which are infinite), there is a superstitious fear, (one of the three great causes of fear in Aristotle) commonly caused by prodigies and dismal accidents, which much trouble many of us, (*Nescio quid animus mihi præsagit mali*), as, if a hare cross the way at our going forth, or a mouse gnaw our clothes: if they bleed three drops at the nose, the salt falls towards them, a black spot appear in their nails, &c. with many such, which Delrio (*Tom. 2. l. 3. sect. 4*), Austin Niphus (in his book *de Auguriis*), Polydore Virg. (*l. 3. de Prodigiis*) Sarisburiensis (*Polycrat. l. 1. c. 13*), discuss at large. They are so much affected, that, with the very strength of imagination, fear, and the devils craft, [h] *they pull those misfortunes they suspect upon their own heads, and that which they fear, shall come upon them,* as Solomon foretelleth (Prov. 10. 24), and Isay denounceth (66. 4), which if [i] *they could neglect and contemn, would not come to pass. Eorum vires nostrâ resident opinione, ut morbi gravitas ægrotantium cogitatione,* they are intended and remitted, as our opinion is fixed, more or less. *N. N. dat pœnas,* saith [j] Crato of such a one; *utinam non attraheret:* he is punished, and is the cause of it [k] himself. [l] *Dum fata fugimus, fata stulti incurrimus;* the thing that I feared, saith Job, is fallen upon me.

As much we may say of them that are troubled with their fortunes, or ill destinies fore-seen: *multos anyit præscientia malorum;* the fore-knowledge of what shall come to pass, crucifies many men, fore-told by astrologers, or wizards, *iratum ob cœlum,* be it ill accident, or death it self; which often falls out by Gods permission, *quia dæmonem timent* (saith Chrysostom), *Deus ideo permittit accidere.* Severus, Adrian, Domitian, can testifie as much, of whose fear and suspicion, Sueton, Herodian, and the rest of those writers, tell strange stories in this behalf. [m] Montanus (*consil. 31*) hath one example of a young man, exceeding melancholy upon this occasion. Such fears have still tormented mortal men in all ages, by reason of those lying oracles, and jugling priests. [n] There was a fountain in Greece, near Ceres temple in Achaia, where the event of such diseases

[f] Ita fastu ante unum mensem turgida civitas, et cacuminibus cœlum pulsare visa, ad inferos usque paucis diebus dejecta. [g] Sect. 2. Mem. 4. Subs. 3. [h] Accersunt sibi malum. [i] Si non observemus, nihil valent. Polydor. [j] Consil. 26. l. 2. [k] Harm watch, harm catch. [l] Geor. Bucha. [m] Juvenis, sollicitus de futuris frustra, factus melancholicus. [n] Pausanias in Achaïc. lib. 7. Ubi omnium eventus dignoscuntur. Speculum tenui suspensum funiculo demittunt: et ad Cyaneas petras, ad Lyciæ fontes, &c.

was to be known: *a glass let down by a thred, &c.* Amongst those Cyanean rocks at the springs of Lycia, was the oracle of Thrixeus Apollo, *where all fortunes were fore-told, sickness, health, or what they would besides:* so common people have been alwayes deluded with future events. At this day, *metus futurorum maxime torquet Sinas*, this foolish fear mightily crucifies them in China: as [o]Matthew Riccius the Jesuit informeth us, in his Commentaries of those countreys, of all nations they are most superstitious, and much tormented in this kind, attributing so much to their divinators, *ut metus fidem faciat*, that fear it self and conceit cause it to [p]fall out: if he foretell sickness such a day, that very time they will be sick (*vi metûs afflicti in ægritudinem cadunt*), and many times dye as it is fore-told. A true saying, *timor mortis morte pejor*, the fear of death is worse than death it self; and the memory of that sad hour, to some fortunate and rich men, *is as bitter as gaul* (Ecclus. 41. 1). *Inquietam nobis vitam facit mortis metus:* a worse plague cannot happen to a man, than to be so troubled in his mind; 'tis *triste divortium*, an heavy separation, to leave their goods, with so much labour got, pleasures of the world, which they have so deliciously enjoyed, friends and companions whom they so dearly love, all at once. Axiochus the philosopher was bold and couragious all his life, and gave good precepts *de contemnendâ morte*, and against the vanity of the world, to others; but, being now ready to dye himself, he was mightily dejected; *hac luce privabor? his orbabor bonis?* he lamented like a child, &c. And though Socrates himself was there to comfort him, *ubi pristina virtutum jactatio, O Axioche?* yet he was very timorous and impatient of death, much troubled in his mind: *imbellis pavor et impatientia, &c. O Clotho!* Megapetus the tyrant in Lucian exclaims, now ready to depart, *let me live a while longer.* [q]*I will give thee a thousand talents of gold, and two boles besides, which I took from Cleocritus, worth an hundred talents apiece. Woe's me!* [r]saith another, *what goodly manors shall I leave! what fertile fields! what a fine house! what pretty children! how many servants! Who shall gather my grapes, my corn? Must I now dye, so well setled? leave all, so richly and well provided? Wo's me! what shall I do?* [s]*Animula vagula, blandula, quæ nunc abibis in loca?*

To these tortures of fear and sorrow, may well be annexed curiosity, that irksome, that tyrannizing care, *nimia solicitudo*, [t]*superfluous industry about unprofitable things, and their qualities*, as Thomas defines it; an itching humour or kind of longing to see that which is not to be seen, to do that which ought not to be done; to know that [u]secret, which should not be known, to eat of the forbidden fruit. We commonly molest and tire our selves about things unfit and unnecessary, as Martha troubled her self to little purpose. Be it in religion, humanity, magick, philosophy, policy, any action or study, 'tis a needless trouble, a meer torment. For what else is school-divinity? how many doth it puzzle! what fruitless questions about the Trinity, resurrection, election, predestination, reprobation, hell fire, &c. how many shall be saved, damned? What else is all superstition, but an endless observation of idle ceremonies, traditions? What is most of our philosophy, but a labyrinth of opinions, idle questions, propositions, metaphysical terms? Socrates therefore held all philosophers cavillers and mad men; *circa subtilia cavillatores pro insanis habuit, palam eos arguens*, saith [v]Eusebius, because they commonly sought after such

[o] Expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 3. [p] Timendo præoccupat, quod vitat, ultro, provocatque quod fugit, gaudetque mœrens, et lubens miser fuit. Heinsius, Austriac. [q] Tom. 4. dial. 8. Cataplo. Auri puri mille talenta me hodie tibi daturum promitto, &c. [r] Ibidem. Hei mihi! quæ relinquenda prædia! quam fertiles agri! &c. [s] Adrian. [t] Industria superflua circa res inutiles. [u] Flavæ secreta Minervæ ut viderat Aglaurus. Ov. Met. 2. [v] Contra Philos. cap. 61.

things *quæ nec percipi a nobis neque comprehendi possent;* or, put case they did understand, yet they were altogether unprofitable: for what matter is it for us to know how high the Pleiades are, how far distant Perseus and Cassiopea from us, how deep the sea, &c.? we are neither wiser, as he follows it, nor modester, nor better, nor richer, nor stronger, for the knowledge of it: *quod supra nos nihil ad nos.* I may say the same of those genethliacal studies, what is astrology, but vain elections, predictions? all magick, but a troublesome error, a pernicious foppery? physick, but intricate rules and prescriptions? philology, but vain criticisms? logick, needless sophisms? metaphysicks themselves, but intricate subtilties, and fruitless abstractions? alcumy, but a bundle of errors? To what end are such great tomes? why do we spend so many years in their studies? Much better to know nothing at all, as those barbarous Indians are wholly ignorant, than, as some of us, to be so sore vexed about unprofitable toyes; *stultus labor est ineptiarum;* to build an house without pins, make a rope of sand; to what end? *cui bono?* He studies on; but, as the boy told St. Austin, when I have laved the sea dry, thou shalt understand the mysterie of the Trinity. He makes observations, keeps times and seasons; (and as [w] Conradus the emperor would not touch his new bride, till an astrologer had told him a masculine hour) but with what success? He travels into Europe, Africk, Asia, searcheth every creek, sea, city, mountain, gulf; to what end? See one promontory (said Socrates of old), one mountain, one sea, one river; and see all. An alchymist spends his fortunes to find out the philosophers stone forsooth, cure all diseases, make men long-lived, victorious, fortunate, invisible, and beggars himself, misled by those seducing impostors (which he shall never attain) to make gold: an antiquary consumes his treasure and time to scrape up a company of old coyns, statues, rolls, edicts, manuscripts, &c. he must know what was done of old in Athens, Rome, what lodging, dyet, houses, they had, and have all the present news at first, though never so remote, before all others, what projects, counsels, consultations, &c. *quid Juno in aurem insusurret Jovi,* what's now decreed in France, what in Italy: who was he, whence comes he, which way, whither goes he, &c. Aristotle must find out the motion of Euripus; Pliny must needs see Vesuvius; but how sped they? One loseth goods, another his life. Pyrrhus will conquer Africk first, and then Asia: he will be a sole monarch, a second immortal, a third rich, a fourth commands. [x] *Turbine magno spes solicitæ in urbibus errant;* we run, ride, take indefatigable pains, all up early, down late, striving to get that which we had better be without: Ardelions, busiebodies, as we are, it were much fitter for us to be quiet, sit still, and take our ease. His sole study is for words, that they be, —— *Lepide* λεξεις *compostæ, ut tesserulæ omnes,* not a syllable misplaced, to set out a stramineous subject: as thine is about apparel, to follow the fashion, to be terse and polite; 'tis thy sole business; both with like profit. His only delight is building; he spends himself to get curious pictures, intricate models and plots; another is wholly ceremonious about titles, degrees, inscriptions; a third is over-solicitous about his diet; he must have such and such exquisite sauces, meat so dressed, so far fetched, *peregrini aëris volucres,* so cooked, &c. something to provoke thirst, something anon to quench his thirst. Thus he redeems his appetite with extrordinary charge to his purse, is seldome pleased with any meal, whilst a trivial stomach useth all with delight, and is never offended. Another must have roses in winter, *alieni temporis flores,* snow-water in

[w] Mat. Paris. [x] Seneca.

summer, fruits before they can be or are usually ripe, artificial gardens and fish-ponds on the tops of houses, all things opposite to the vulgar sort, intricate and rare, or else they are nothing worth. So busie, nice, curious wits, make that unsupportable in all vocations, trades, actions, employments, which to duller apprehensions is not offensive, earnestly seeking that, which others as scornfully neglect. Thus, through our foolish curiosity, do we macerate our selves, tire our souls, and run headlong, through our indiscretion, perverse will, and want of government, into many needless cares and troubles, vain expences, tedious journeys, painful hours; and, when all is done, *quorsum hæc? cui bono?* to what end?

[y] Nescire velle quæ Magister maximus
Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est.

Unfortunate marriage.] Amongst these passions and irksome accidents, unfortunate marriage may be ranked; a condition of life appointed by God himself in Paradise, an honourable and happy estate, and as great a felicity as can befall a man in this world, [z] if the parties can agree as they ought, and live as [a] Seneca lived with his Paullina: but if they be unequally matched, or at discord, a greater misery cannot be expected, to have a scold, a slut, an harlot, a fool, a fury or a fiend; there can be no such plague. (Eccles. 26. 14) *He that hath her, is as if he held a scorpion;* (and 26. 25) *a wicked wife makes a sorry countenance, an heavy heart; and he had rather dwell with a lyon, than keep house with such a wife.* Her [b] properties Jovianus Pontanus hath described at large (*Ant. dial. Tom.* 2) under the name of Euphorbia. Or if they be not equal in years, the like mischief happens. Cæcilius (in Agellus, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 23) complains much of an old wife: *dum ejus morti inhio, egomet mortuus vivo inter vivos;* whilst I gape after her death, I live a dead man amongst the living; or, if they dislike upon any occasion,

[c] Judge you that are unfortunately wed,
What 'tis to come into a loathed bed.

The same inconvenience befalls women.

[d] At vos, o duri, miseram lugete, parentes,
Si ferro aut laqueo lævâ hac me exsolvere sorte
Sustineo:———
Hard hearted parents, both lament my fate,
If self I kill or hang, to ease my state.

[e] A young gentlewoman in Basil was married (said Felix Plater, *observat. l.* 1) to an ancient man against her will, whom she could not affect: she was continually melancholy, and pined away for grief: and, though her husband did all he could possibly to give her content, in a discontented humour at length she hanged her self. Many other stories he relates in this kind. Thus men are plagued with women, they again with men, when they are of divers humours and conditions; he a spendthrift, she sparing; one honest, the other dishonest, &c. Parents many times disquiet their children, and they their parents. [f] *A foolish son is an heaviness to his mother. Injusta noverca:* a stepmother often vexeth a whole family, is matter of repentance, exercise of patience, fuel of dissention, which made Catos son expostulate with his father, why he should offer to marry his client Solinius daughter, a young wench—*cujus caussâ novercam induceret*? what offence had he done, that he should marry again?

Unkind, unnatural friends, evil neighbours, bad servants, debts, and debates, &c.—'twas Chilons sentence, *comes æris alieni et litis est miseria*, misery and usury do commonly go together; suretiship is the bane of many families; *sponde, præsto noxa est: he shall be sore vexed that is surety for*

[y] Jos. Scaliger, in Gnomis. [z] A vertuous woman is the crown of her husband. Prov. 12. 4. but she, &c. [a] Lib. 17. epist. 105. [b] Titionatur, candelabratur, &c. [c] Daniel in Rosamund. [d] Chalinorus, lib. 9. de repub. Angl. [e] Elegans virgo invita cuidam e nostratibus nupsit, &c. [f] *Prov.*

a stranger (Prov. 11. 15), *and he that hateth suretiship is sure.* Contention, brawling, law-suits, falling out of neighbours and friends (*discordia demens, Virg. Æn.* 6), are equal to the first, grieve many a man, and vex his soul. *Nihil sane miserabilius eorum mentibus* (as [g]Boter holds): *nothing so miserable as such men, full of cares, griefs, anxieties, as if they were stabbed with a sharp sword: fear, suspicion, desperation, sorrow, are their ordinary companions.* Our Welchmen are noted, by some of their [h]own writers, to consume one another in this kind; but, whosoever they are that use it, these are their common symptomes, especially if they be convict or overcome, [i]cast in a suit. Arius, put out of a bishoprick by Eustathius, turned heretick, and live after discontented all his life. [j]Every repulse is of like nature; *heu! quantâ de spe decidi!* Disgrace, infamy, detraction, will almost effect as much, and that a long time after. Hipponax, a satyrical poet, so vilified and lashed two painters in his iambicks, *ut ambo laqueo se suffocarent* ([k]Pliny saith), both hanged themselves. All oppositions, dangers, perplexities, discontents, [l]to live in any suspence, are of the same rank: *potes hoc sub casu ducere sumnos?* who can be secure in such cases? Ill bestowed benefits, ingratitude, unthankful friends, much disquiet and molest some. Unkind speeches trouble as many: uncivil carriage or dogged answers, weak women above the rest, if they proceed from their surly husbands, are as bitter as gaul, and not to be digested. A glass-mans wife in Basil became melancholy, because her husband said he would marry again if she dyed. *No cut, to unkindness*, as the saying is: a frown and hard speech, ill respect, a brow-beating, or bad look, especially to courtiers, or such as attend upon great persons, is present death. *Ingenium vultu statque caditque suo;* they ebb and flow with their masters favours. Some persons are at their wits ends, if by chance they overshoot themselves in their ordinary speeches or actions, which may after turn to their disadvantage or disgrace, or have any secret disclosed, Ronseus (*epist. miscel.* 3) reports of a gentlewoman twenty five years old, that, falling foul with one of her gossips, was upbraided with a secret infirmity (no matter what), in publick, and so much grieved with it, that she did thereupon *solitudines quærere, omnes ab se ablegare, ac tandem in gravissimam incidens melancholiam, contabescere*—forsake all company, quite moped, and in a melancholy humour pine away. Others are much tortured to see themselves rejected, contemned, scorned, disabled, diffamed, detracted, undervalued, or [m]*left behind their fellows.* Lucian brings in Ætamocles a philosopher in his *Lapith. convivio*, much discontented that he was not invited amongst the rest, expostulating the matter, in a long epistle, with Aristænetus their host. Prætextatus, a robed gentleman in Plutarch, would not sit down at a feast, because he might not sit highest, but went his wayes all in a chafe. We see the common quarrellings that are ordinary with us, for taking of the wall, precedency, and the like, which though toyes in themselves, and things of no moment, yet they cause many distempers, much heart-burning amongst us. Nothing pierceth deeper than a contempt or disgrace; [n]especially if they be generous spirits, scarce any thing affects them more than to be despised or vilified. Croto (*consil.* 16. l. 2) exemplifies it, and common experience confirms it. Of the same nature is oppression; (*Ecclus.* 77) *surely oppression makes a man mad:* loss of

[g] De increm. urb. lib. 3. c. 3. Tamquam diro mucrone confossi: his nulla requies, nulla delectatio; sollicitudine, gemitu, furore, desperatione, timore, tamquam ad perpetuam ærumnam infeliciter rapti. [h] Humfredus Lluyd, epist. ad Abrahamum Ortelium. M. Vaughan, in his Golden Fleece. Litibus et controversiis usque ad omnium bonorum consumptionem contendunt. [i]Spretæque injuria formæ. [j]Quæque repulsa gravis. [k] Lib. 36. c. 5. Nihil æque amarum, quam diu pendere: æquiore quidam animo ferunt præcidi spem suam, quam trahi. Seneca, cap. 4. lib. 2. de Ben.—Virg.—Plater. observat. l, 1. [l] Turpe relinqui est. Hor. [n] Scimus enim generosas naturas, nullâ re citius moveri, aut gravius affici, quam contemtu ac despicientiâ.

liberty, which made Brutus venture his life, Cato kill himself, and [o] Tully complain, *omnem hilaritatem in perpetuum amisi*, mine heart's broken, I shall never look up, or be merry again; [p] *hæc jactura intolerabilis*; to some parties 'tis a most intolerable loss. Banishment, a great misery, as Tyrtæus describes it in an epigram of his,

> Nam miserum est, patriâ amissâ, Laribusque, vagari
> Mendicum, et timidâ voce rogare cibos.
> Omnibus invisus, quocumque accesserit, exsul
> Semper erit; semper spretus egensque jacet, &c.

> A miserable thing 'tis so to wander,
> And like a beggar for to whine at door.
> Contemn'd of all the world an exile is,
> Hated, rejected, needy still, and poor.

Polynices, in his conference with Iocasta, in [q] Euripides, reckons up five miseries of a banished man, the least of which alone were enough to deject some pusillanimous creatures. Oftentimes a too great feeling of our own infirmities or imperfections of body or mind will rivel us up; as, if we be long sick,

> (O beata sanitas! te præsente, amœnum
> Ver floret gratiis; absque te nemo beatus:

O blessed health! *thou art above all gold and treasure, Ecclus.* 30. 15, the poor mans riches, the rich mans bliss: without thee, there can be no happiness) or visited with some loathsome disease, offensive to others, or troublesome to our selves, as a stinking breath, deformity of our limbs, crookedness, loss of an eye, leg, hand, paleness, leanness, redness, baldness, loss or want of hair, &c. *hic ubi fluere cœpit, diros ictus cordi infert* (said [r] Synesius, he himself troubled not a little *ob comæ defectum*), the loss of hair alone strikes a cruel stroke to the heart. Acco, an old woman, seeing by chance her face in a true glass (for she used false flattering glasses, belike, at other times, as most gentlewomen do) *animi dolore in insaniam delapsa est* (Cœlius Rhodoginus, *l.* 17. *c.* 2) ran mad. [s] Broteas, the son of Vulcan, because he was ridiculous for his imperfections, flung himself into the fire. Laïs of Corinth, now grown old, gave up her glass to Venus; for she could not abide to look upon it. [t] *Qualis sum, nolo; qualis eram, nequeo.* Generally, to fair nice pieces, old age and foul linnen are two odious things, a torment of torments; they may not abide the thought of it.

> ——————— [u] ô Deorum
> Siquis hæc audis, utinam inter errem
> Nuda leones!
> Antequam turpis macies decentes
> Occupet malas, teneræque succus
> Defluat prædæ, speciosa quæro
> Pascere tigres.

To be foul, ugly, and deformed! much better to be buried alive. Some are fair, but barren; and that gauls them. Hannah *wept sore, did not eat, and was troubled in spirit, and all for her barrenness* (1 Sam. 1), and (Gen. 30) Rachel said *in the anguish of her soul, give me a child, or I shall dye:* another hath too many: one was never married, and that's his hell; another is, and that's his plague. Some are troubled in that they are obscure; others by being traduced, slandered, abused, disgraced, vilified, or any way injured: *minime miror eos* (as he said) *qui insanire occipiunt ex injuriâ;* I marvel not at all if offences make men mad. Seventeen particular causes of anger and offence Aristotle reckons them up which, for brevities sake, I must omit. No tydings troubles one; ill reports, rumors, bad tydings, or news, hard hap, ill success, cast in a sute, vain hopes, or hope deferred, another; expectation, *adeo omnibus in rebus molesta semper est expectatio* (as [v] Polybius observes): one is too eminent, another too base born; and that alone tortures him as much as the rest: one is out of action, company, imployment; another overcome and tormented with

[o] Ad Atticum epis. lib. 12. [p] Epist. ad Brutum. [q] In Phœniss. [r] In laudem calvit. [s] Ovid. [t] *E Cret.* [u] Hor. 3. Car. Ode 27. [v] Hist. l. 6.

worldly cares and onerous business. But what [a] tongue can suffice to speak of all?

Many men catch this malady by eating certain meats, herbs, roots, or unawares, as henbane, aconitum, cicuta, mandrakes, &c. A company of young men at Argentoratum in Swit. came into a tavern: where after they had freely taken their liquor, whether it were the wine itself or something mixt with it, 'tis not yet known, [b] but soon after they began to be so troubled in their brains, and their phantasie so erred, that they thought they were in a ship at sea, and now ready to be cast away by reason of a tempest. Wherefore, to avoid shipwreck and present drowning, they flung all the goods in the house out at the windows into the street, as into the sea, as they supposed. Thus they continued mad a pretty season: and, being brought before the magistrate, to give an account of this their fact, they told him (not yet recovered of their madness) that what was done they did for fear of death, and to avoid eminent danger. The spectators were all amazed at this their simplicity, and gazed on them sad, while one of the antientest of the company, in a grave tone, excused himself to the magistrate upon his knees. *O viri Tritones, ego in imo jacui*; I beseech your deities, &c. for I was in the bottom of the ship all the while: another besought them, as so many sea gods, to be good unto them; and, if ever he and his fellows come to land again, [a] he would build an altar to their service. The magistrate could not sufficiently laugh at this their madness, bid them sleep it out, and so went his waves. Many such accidents frequently happen upon these unknown occasions. Some are so caused by philters, wandring in the sun, biting of a mad dog, a blow on the head, stinging with that kind of spider called tarantula—an ordinary thing (if we may believe Skenck. *l.* 6. *de Venenis*) in Calabria and Apulia in Italy (Cardan. *subtil. l.* 9. Scaliger, *exercitat.* 135). Their symptomes are merrily described by Jovianus Pontanus (*Ant. dial.*: how they dance altogether, and are cured by musick. [b] Cardan speaks of certain stones, if they be carried about one, which will cause melancholy and madness; he calls them unhappy, as an [c] *adamant, selenites, &c. which dry up the body, increase cares, diminish sleep.* Ctesias (in Persicis) makes mention of a well in those parts, of which if any man drink, [d] *he is mad for four and twenty hours.* Some lose their wits by terrible objects (as elsewhere I have more [e] copiously dilated), and life itself many times, as Hippolytus affrighted by Neptunes sea-horses, Athamas by Junos Furies; but these relations are common in all writers.

[f] Hic alias poteram et plures subnectere causas: Sed jumenta vocant, et Sol inclinat. Eundum est.	Many such causes, much more could I say, But that for provender my cattle stay. The sun declines, and I must needs away.

These causes, if they be considered, and come alone, I do easily yield, can do little of themselves, seldome, or apart (an old oak is not felled at a blow), though many times they are all sufficient every one: yet, if they concur, as often they do, *vis unita fortior: Et quæ non obsunt singula, multa nocent;* they may batter a strong constitution; as [g] Austin said, *many grains and small sands sink a ship, many small drops make a flood, &c.* Often reiterated, many dispositions produce an habit.

[a] Non, mihi si centum linguæ sint, oraque centum, Omnia *casusarum* percurrere nomina possim. [b] Cœlius, l. 17. c. 2. [c] Ita mente exagitati sunt, ut in triremi se constitutos putarent, mariquæ vagabundo tempestate jactatos: proinde naufragium veriti, egestis undique rebus, vasa omnia in viam e fenestris, ceu in mare, præcipitârunt: postridie, &c. [a] Aram vobis servatoribus Diis erigemus. [b] Lib. de gemmis. [c] Quæ gestatæ infelicem et tristem reddunt, curas augent, corpus siccant, somnum minuunt. [d] Ad unum diem mente alienatus. [e] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Subsect. 3. [f] Juven. Sat. 3. [g] Intus beatis minutæ multæ necant. Numquid minutissima sunt grana arenæ? sed si arena amplius in navem mittatur, mergit illam. Quam minutæ guttæ pluviæ! et tamen implent flumina, domus ejiciunt: timenda ergo ruina multitudinis, si non magnitudinis.

MEMB. V.

SUBSECT. I.—*Continent, inward, antecedent, next causes, and how the Body works on the Mind.*

As a purly hunter, I have hitherto beaten about the circuit of the forrest of this microcosm, and followed only those outward and adventitious causes. I will now break into the inner rooms, and rip up the antecedent immediate causes which are there to be found. For, as the distraction of the mind, amongst other outward causes, and perturbation, alters the temperature of the body, so the distraction and distemper of the body will cause a distemperature of the soul; and 'tis hard to decide which of these two do more harm than the other. Plato, Cyprian, and some others (as I have formerly said), lay the greatest fault upon the soul, excusing the body; others again, accusing the body, excuse the soul as a principal agent. Their reasons are, because [h] *the manners do follow the temperature of the body*, as Galen proves in his book on that subject, Prosper Calenius, *de Atrâ Bile*, Jason Pratensis, *c. de Mania*, Lemnius, *l.* 4. c. 16, and many others. And that which Gualter hath commented (*hom.* 10. *in epist. Johannis*) is most true; concupiscence and original sin, inclinations, and bad humours, are [i] radical in every one of us, causing these perturbations, affections, and several distempers, offering many times violence unto the soul. *Every man is tempted by his own concupiscence* (James 1. 14); *the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, and rebelleth against the spirit*, as our [j] apostle teacheth us: that methinks the soul hath the better plea against the body, which so forcibly inclines us that we cannot resist;

> Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum,
> Sufficimus.

How the body, being material, worketh upon the immaterial soul, by mediation of humours and spirits which participate of both, and ill disposed organs, Cornelius Agrippa hath discoursed, *lib.* 1. *de occult. Philos. cap.* 63, 64, 65, Levinus Lemnius, *lib.* 1. *de occult. nat. mir. cap.* 12 *et* 16. *et* 21, *institut. ad opt. vit.* Perkins, *lib.* 1. *Cases of Cons. cap.* 12. T. Bright, *c.* 10, 11, 12. *in his Treatise of Melancholy.* For, as [k] anger, fear, sorrow, obtrectation, emulation, &c. *si mentis intimos recessus occupârint* (saith [l] Lemnius), *corpori quoque infesta sunt, et illi teterrimos morbos inferunt.* cause grievous diseases in the body, so bodily diseases affect the soul by consent. Now the chiefest causes proceed from the [m] heart, humours, spirits: as they are purer or impurer, so is the mind, and equally suffers, as a lute out of tune; if one string or one organ be distempered, all the rest miscarry:

> [n] Corpus, onustum
> Hesternis vitiis, animum quoque prægravat unâ.

The body is *domicilium animæ*, her house, abode, and stay: and, as a torch gives a better light, a sweeter smell, according to the matter it is made of, so doth our soul perform all her actions better or worse, as her organs are disposed; or as wine savours of the cask wherein it is kept, the soul receives a tincture from the body, through which it works. We see this in old men, children, Europeans, Asians, hot and cold climes. Sanguin are merry, melancholy sad, phlegmatic dull, by reason of abundance of those humours; and they cannot resist such passions which are inflicted by them; for, in this infirmity of humane nature (as Melancthon declares), the understanding is so tied to and captivated by his inferiour senses, that, without their help,

[h] Mores sequuntur temperaturam corporis. [i] Scintillæ latent in corporibus. [j] Gal. 5. [k] Sicut ex animi affectionibus corpus languescit, sic ex corporis vitiis et morborum plerisque cruciatibus animum videmus hebetari. Galenus. [l] Lib 1. c. 16. [m] Corporis itidem morbi animam per consensum, a lege consortii, afficiunt; et, quanquam objecta multos motus turbulentos in homine concitent, præcipua tamen *causa in corde*, et humoribus, spiritibusque, consistit, &c. [n] Hor.

he cannot exercise his functions; and the will, being weakened, hath but a small power to restrain those outward parts, but suffers herself to be overruled by them; that I must needs conclude with Lemnius, *spiritus et humores maximum nocumentum obtinent*, spirits and humours do most harm in [o]troubling the soul. How should a man choose but be choleric and angry, that hath his body so clogged with abundance of gross humours? or melancholy, that is so inwardly disposed? That thence comes then this malady, madness, apoplexies, lethargies, &c. it may not be denied.

Now this body of ours is, most part, distempered by some precedent diseases, which molest his inward organs and instruments, and so, *per consequens*, cause melancholy, according to the consent of the most approved physicians. [p]*This humour* (as Avicenna, *l.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *c.* 18. Arnoldus, *breviar. l.* 1. *c.* 18. Jacchinus, *comment. in* 9. Rhasis. *c.* 15. Montaltus, *c.* 10. Nicholas Piso, *c. de Melan, &c.* suppose) *is begotten by the distemperature of some inward part, innate, or left after some inflammation, or else included in the blood after an* [q]*ague, or some other malignant disease.* This opinion of theirs concurs with that of Galen, *l.* 3. *c.* 6. *de locis affect.* Guianerius gives an instance in one so caused by a quartan ague; and Montanus (*consil.* 32), in a young man of twenty-eight years of age, so distempered after a quartan, which had molested him for five years together. Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2. *de Maniâ*) relates of a Dutch baron, grievously tormented with melancholy after a long [r] ague. Galen (*l. de atrâ bile, c.* 4) puts the plague a cause; Botaldus (in his book *de lue vener. c.* 2) the French pox for a cause: others, phrensie, epilepsie, apoplexie, because those diseases do often degenerate into this. Of suppression of hæmrods, hæmorrhagia, or bleeding at nose, menstruous retentions (although they deserve a larger explication, as being the sole cause of a proper kind of melancholy, in more ancient maids, nuns, and widows, handled apart by Rodericus a Castro, and Mercatus, as I have elsewhere signified), or any other evacuation stopped, I have already spoken. Only this I will add, that this melancholy which shall be caused by such infirmities, deserves to be pittied of all men, and to be respected with a more tender compassion (according to Laurentius), as coming from a more inevitable cause.

Subsect II.—*Distemperature of particular Parts, Causes.*

There is almost no part of the body, which, being distempered, doth not cause this malady, as the brain and his parts, heart, liver, spleen, stomach, matrix or womb, pylorus, myrache, mesentery, hypochondries, mesaraïck veins; and in a word (saith [s]Arculanus), *there is no part which causeth not melancholy, either because it is adust, or doth not expel the superfluity of the nutriment.* (Savanarola *Pract. major rubric.* 11. *Tract.* 6. *cap.* 1.) is of the same opinion, that melancholy is ingendered in each particular part; and [t] Crato (*in consil.* 17. *lib.* 2). Gordonius, who is *instar omnium* (*lib. med. partic.* 2. *cap.* 19), confirms as much, putting the [u] *matter of melancholy sometimes in the stomach, liver, heart, brain, spleen, myrach, hypochondries, when as the melancholy humour residest here, or the liver is not well cleansed from melancholy blood.*

The brain is a familiar and frequent cause, too hot, or too cold, [v] *through adust blood so caused* (as Mercurialis will have it) *within or without the head;*

[o] Humores pravi mentem obnubilant. [p] Hic humor vel a partis intemperie generatur, vel relinquitur post inflammationes, vel crassior in venis conclusus vel torpidus malignam qualitatem contrahit. [q] Sæpe constat in febre hominem melancholicum vel post febrem reddi, aut alium morbum. Calida intemperies innata, vel a febre contracta. [r] Raro quis diuturno morbo laborat, qui non sit melancholicus. Mercurialis, de affect. capitis, lib. 1. c. 10. de Melanc. [s] Ad nonum lib. Rhasis ad Almansor. c. 16. Universaliter a quâcunque parte potest fieri melancholicus; vel quia aduritur, vel quia non expellit superfluitatem excrementi. [t] A liene jecinore, utero, et aliis partibus, oritur. [u] Materia melancholiæ aliquando in corde, in stomacho, hepate, hypochondriis, myrache, splene, cum ibi remanet humor melancholicus. [v] Ex sanguine adusto, intra vel extra caput.

the brain itself being distempered. Those are most apt to this disease, [w] *that have a hot heart and moist brain ;* which Montaltus (*cap.* 11. *de Melanch.*) approves out of Halyabbas, Rhasis, and Avicenna. Mercurialis (*consil.* 11) assigns the coldness of the brain a cause ; and Sallustius Salvianus (*med. lect.* 2. *c.* 1) [x] will have it *arise from a cold and dry distemperature of the brain.* Piso, Benedictus, Victorius Faventinus, will have it proceed from a [y] *hot distemperature of the brain ;* and [z] Montaltus (*cap.* 10) from the brains heat, scorching the blood. The brain is still distempered by himself, or by consent ; by himself or his proper affection (as Faventinus calls it) [a] *or by vapours which arise from the other parts, and fume up into the head, altering the animal faculties.*

Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2. *de Manid*) thinks it may be caused from a [b] *distemperature of the heart, sometimes hot, sometimes cold.* A hot liver and a cold stomach are put for usual causes of melancholy. Mercurialis (*consil.* 11, *et consil.* 6. *consil.* 86) assigns a hot liver and cold stomach for ordinary causes. [c] Monavius (in an epistle of his to Crato, in Scoltzius) is of opinion that hypochondriacal melancholy may arise from a cold liver. The question is there discussed. Most agree that a hot liver is in fault. [d] *The liver is the shop of humours, and especially causeth melancholy by his hot and dry distemperature.* [e] *The stomach and mesaraïck veins do often concurr, by reason of their obstructions ; and thence their heat cannot be avoided ; and many times the matter is so adust and inflamed in those parts, that it degenerates into hypochondriacal melancholy.* Guianerius (*c.* 2. *Tract.* 15) holds the mesaraick veins to be a sufficient [f] cause alone. The spleen concurs to this malady (by all their consents), and suppression of hæmrods : *dum non expurgat, altera causa lien,* saith Montaltus : if it be [g] *too cold and dry, and do not purge the other parts as it ought* (*consil.* 23.) Montanus puts the [h] *spleen stopped* for a great cause. [i] Christophorus a Vega reports, of his knowledge, that he hath known melancholy caused from putrified blood in those seed veins and womb : [j] Arculanus, *from that menstruous blood turned into melancholy, and seed too long detained* (as I have already declared) *by putrefaction or adustion.*

The *mesenterium*, or midriffe, *diaphragma*, is a cause (which the [k] Greeks called Φρένας), because by his inflammation the mind is much troubled with convulsions and dotage. All these, most part, offend by inflammation, corrupting humours and spirits, in this non-natural melancholy ; for from these are ingendred fuliginous and black spirits. And for that reason, [l] Montaltus (*cap.* 10. *de causis melan.*) will have *the efficient cause of melancholy to be hot and dry, not a cold and dry distemperature, as some hold, from the heat of the brain, rosting the blood, immoderate heat of the liver and bowels, and inflammation of the pylorus ; and so much the rather, because that* (as Galen holds) *all spices inflame the blood, solitariness, waking, agues, study, meditation, all which heat ; and therefore he concludes that this distemperature causing adventitious melancholy, is not cold and dry, but hot and dry.* But of this I have sufficiently treated in the matter of melancholy, and hold that this may be true in non-natural

[w] Qui calidum cor habent, cerebrum humidum, facile melancholici. [x] Sequitur melancholia malam intemperiem frigidam et siccam ipsius cerebri. [y] Sæpe fit ex calidiore cerebro, aut corpore colligente melancholiam. Piso. [z] Vel per propriam affectionem, vel per consensum, cum vapores exhalant in cerebrum. Montalt. cap. 14. [a] Aut ibi gignitur melancholicus fumus, aut aliunde vehitur, alterando animales facultates. [b] Ab intemperie cordis, modo calidiore, modo frigidiore. [c] Epist. 239. Scoltzii. [d] Officina humorum hepar concurrit, &c. [e] Ventriculus et venæ mesaraïcæ concurrunt, quod hæ partes obstructæ sunt, &c. [f] Per se sanguinem adurentes. [g] Lien frigidus et siccus, c. 13. [h] Splen obstructus. [i] De arte med. lib. 3. cap. 24. [j] A sanguinis putredine in vasis seminariis et utero, et quandoque a spermate diu retento, vel sanguine menstruo in melancholiam verso per putrefactionem, vel adustionem. [k] Magirus. [l] Ergo efficiens caussa melancholiæ est calida et sicca intemperies, non frigida et sicca, quod multi opinati sunt ; oritur enim a calore cerebri assante sanguinem, &c. tum quod *aromata sanguinem* incendunt, solitudo, vigiliæ, febris præcedens, meditatio, studium ; et hæc omnia calefaciunt : ergo ratum sit.

melancholy which produceth madness, but not in that natural, which is more cold, and, being immoderate, produceth a gentle dotage; [m] which opinion Geraldus de Solo maintains in his comment upon Rhasis.

Subsect. III.—*Causes of Head Melancholy.*

After a tedious discourse of the general causes of melancholy, I am now returned at last to treat in brief of the three particular species, and such causes as properly appertain unto them. Although these causes promiscuously concur to each and every particular kind, and commonly produce their effects in that part which is most weak, ill disposed, and least able to resist, and so cause all three species, yet many of them are proper to some one kind, and seldom found in the rest: as, for example, head melancholy is commonly caused by a cold or hot distemperature of the brain, according to Laurentius (*cap. 5. de melan.*) but, as [n] Hercules de Saxoniâ contends, from that agitation or distemperature of the animal spirits alone. Sallust. Salvianus, before mentioned (*lib. 2. cap. 3. de re med.*) will have it proceed from cold: but that I take of natural melancholy, such as fools, and dote; for (as Galen writes, *lib. 4. de puls. 8.* and Avicenna) [o] *a cold and moist brain is an inseparable companion of folly.* But this adventitious melancholy, which is here meant, is caused of an hot and dry distemperature, as [p] Damascen the Arabian (*lib. 3. cap. 22*) thinks, and most writers. Altomarus and Piso call it [q] *an innate burning untemperateness, turning blood and choler into melancholy.* Both these opinions may stand good, as Bruel maintains, and Capivaccius, *si cerebrum sit calidius,* [r] *if the brain be hot, the animal spirits will be hot, and thence comes madness: if cold, folly.* David Crusius (*Theat. morb. Hermet. lib. 2. cap. 6. de atrâ bile*) grants melancholy to be a disease of an inflamed brain, and cold notwithstanding of itself: *calida per accidens frigida per se,* hot by accident only. I am of Capivaccius mind, for my part. Now this humour, according to Salvianus, is sometimes in the substance of the brain, sometimes contained in the membranes and tunicles that cover the brain, sometimes in the passages of the ventricles of the brain, or veins of those ventricles. It follows many times [s] *phrensie, long diseases, agues, long abode in hot places, or under the sun, a blow on the head,* as Rhasis informeth us: Piso adds solitariness, waking, inflammations of the head, proceeding most part [t] from much use of spices, hot wines, hot meats, (all which Montanus reckons up, *consil. 22.* for a melancholy Jew; and Heurnius repeats, *cap. 12. de Manid*), hot bathes, garlick, onions (saith Guianerius), bad aire, corrupt, much [u] waking, &c. retention of seed, or abundance, stopping of *hæmorrhagia,* the midriffe misaffected; and (according to Trallianus, *l. 1. 16*) immoderate cares, troubles, griefs, discontents, study, meditation, and, in a word, the abuse of all those six non-natural things. Hercules de Saxoniâ (*cap. 16. lib. 1*) will have it caused from a [v] cautery, or boyl dried up, or any issue. Amatus Lusitanus (*cent. 2. cura 67*) gives instance in a fellow that had a boyl in his arm, and, [w] *after that was healed, ran mad; and, when the wound was open, he was cured again.* Trincavellius (*consil 13. lib. 1*) hath an example of a melancholy man so caused by overmuch continuance in the sun, frequent use of venery, and immoderate exercise; and (in his *consil. 49. lib. 3*) from an [x] headpiece overheated, which caused head-melancholy. Prosper Calenus brings in Car-

[m] Lib. 1. cap. 13. de Melanch. [n] Lib. 3. Tract. postum. de melan. [o] A fatuitate inseparabilis cerebri frigiditas. [p] Ab interno calore assatur. [q] Intemperies innata exurens, flavam bilem ac sanguinem in melancholiam convertens. [r] Si cerebrum sit calidius, fiet spiritus animalis calidior, et delirium maniacum; si frigidior, fiet fatuitas. [s] Melancholia capitis accedit post phrenesim aut longam moram sub sole, aut percussionem in capite. cap. 13. lib. 1. [t] Qui bibunt vina potentia, et sæpe sunt sub sole. [u] Cura validæ, largioris vini et aromatum usus. [v] A cauterio et ulcere exsiccato. [w] Ab ulcere curato incidit in insaniam; aperto vulnere, curatur. [x] A galeâ nimis calefactâ.

dinal Cæsius for a pattern of such as are so melancholy by long study: but examples are infinite.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Causes of Hypochondriacal, or windy Melancholy.*

IN repeating of these causes, I must *cramben bis coctam apponere*, say that again which I have formerly said, in applying them to their proper species. Hypochondriacal or flatuous melancholy is that which the Arabians call myrachial, and is, in my judgement, the most grievous and frequent, though Bruel and Laurentius make it least dangerous, and not so hard to be known or cured. His causes are inward or outward:—inward from divers parts or organs, as midriffe, spleen, stomach, liver, pylorus, womb, diaphragma, mesaraïck veins, stopping of issues, &c. Montaltus, (*cap.* 15. out of Galen) recites [z]*heat and obstruction of those mesaraïck veins, as an immediate cause, by which means the passage of the chylus to the liver is detained, stopped, or corrupted, and turned into rumbling and wind.* Montanus (*consil.* 233) hath an evident demonstration, Trincavellius another (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 12), and Platur a third, (*observat. lib.* 1) for a doctour of the law visited with this infirmity, from the said obstruction and heat of those mesaraïck veins, and bowels; *quoniam inter ventriculum et jecur venæ effervescunt*, the veins are inflamed about the liver and stomach. Sometimes those other parts are together misaffected, and concur to the production of this malady—a hot liver or cold stomach or cold belly. Look for instances in Hollerius, Victor, Trincavellius, *consil.* 35. *l.* 3. Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2. *fol.* 132. Solenander, *consil.* 9. *pro cive Lugdunensi*, Montanus, *consil.* 229. for the Earl of Monfort in Germany, 1549, and Frisimelica in the 233 consultation of the said Montanus. J. Cæsar Claudinus gives instance of a cold stomach and overhot liver, almost in every consultation, *con.* 89, for a certain count, and *con.* 106, for a Polonian baron: by reason of heat, the blood is inflamed, and gross vapours sent to the heart and brain. Mercurialis subscribes to them, (*cons.* 89) [a]*the stomach being misaffected*, which he calls the king of the belly, because, if he be distempered, all the rest suffer with him, as being deprived of their nutriment, or fed with bad nourishment; by means of which, come crudities, obstructions, wind, grumbling, griping, &c. Hercules de Saxoniâ, besides heat, will have the weakness of the liver and his obstruction a cause, *facultatem debilem jecinoris*, which he calls [b]the mineral of melancholy. Laurentius assigns this reason, because the liver overhot draws the meat undigested out of the stomach, and burneth the humours. Montanus (*cons.* 244) proves that sometimes a cold liver may be a cause. Laurentius (c. 12), Trincavellius (*lib.* 12. *consil.*) and Gualter Bruel, seem to lay the greatest fault upon the spleen, that doth not his duty in purging the liver as he ought, being too great, or too little, in drawing too much blood sometimes to it, and not expelling it, as P. Cnemiandrus in a [c]consultation of his noted: *tumorem lienis*, he names it, and the fountain of melancholy. Diocles supposed the ground of this kind of melancholy to proceed from the inflammation of the pylorus, which is the neather mouth of the ventricle. Others assign the mesenterium or midriffe distempered by heat, the womb misaffected, stopping of hæmrods, with many such: all which Laurentius (*cap.* 12) reduceth to three, mesentery, liver, and spleen; from whence he denominates hepatick, splenetick, and mesaraïck melancholy. Outward causes are bad diet, care, griefs, discontents, and, in a word, all those six non-natural things, as Montanus found by his experience (*consil.* 244). Solenander (*consil.* 9. for a citizen of Lyons in France) gives his reader to understand, that he knew this mis-

[z] Exuritur sanguis, et venæ obstruuntur, quibus obstructis prohibetur transitus chyli ad jecur, corrumpitur, et in rugitus et flatus vertitur. [a] Stomacho læso, robur corporis imminuitur; et reliqua membra *alimento orbata, &c.* [b] Cap. 12. [c] Hildesheim.

chief procured by a medicine of cantharides, which an unskilful physician ministered his patient to drink, *ad venerem excitandam.* But most commonly fear, grief, and some sudden commotion or perturbation of the mind, begin it, in such bodies especially as are ill disposed. Melancthon (*tract.* 14. *cap.* 2. *de animâ*) will have it as common to men, as the mother to women, upon some grievous trouble, dislike, passion, or discontent: for, as Camerarius records in his life, Melancthon himself was much troubled with it, and therefore could speak out of experience. Montanus (*consil.* 22. *pro delirante Judæo*) confirms it: [d] grievous symptomes of the mind brought him to it. Randolotius relates of himself, that, being one day very intent to write out a physicians notes, molested by an occasion, he fell into a hypochondriacal fit, to avoid which he drank the decoction of wormwood, and was freed. [e] Melancthon (*being the disease is so troublesome and frequent*) *holds it a most necessary and profitable study, for every man to know the accidents of it, and a dangerous thing to be ignorant,* and would therefore have all men, some sort, to understand the causes, symptomes, and cures of it.

Subsect. V.—*Causes of Melancholy from the whole Body.*

As before, the cause of this kind of melancholy is inward or outward:—inward, [f] *when the liver is apt to ingender such a humour, or the spleen weak by nature, and not able to discharge his office.* A melancholy temperature, retention of hæmrods, monthly issues, bleeding at nose, long diseases, agues, and all those six non-natural things, increase it; but especially [g] bad dyet (as Piso thinks), pulse, salt meat, shell-fish, cheese, black wine, &c. Mercurialis (out of Averroës and Avicenna) condemns all herbs; Galen (*lib.* 3. *de loc. affect. cap.* 7) especially cabbage:—so likewise fear, sorrow, discontents, &c. but of these before. And thus in brief you have had the general and particular causes of melancholy.

Now go and brag of thy present happiness, whosoever thou art; brag of thy temperature, of thy good parts; insult, triumph, and boast: thou seest in what a brittle state thou art, how soon thou mayst be dejected, how many several ways, by bad diet, bad ayre, a small loss, a little sorrow or discontent, an ague, &c. how many sudden accidents may procure thy ruin, what a small tenure of happiness thou hast in this life, how weak and silly a creature thou art. *Humble thyself therefore under the mighty hand of God* (1 Pet. 5. 6) know thy self, acknowledge thy present misery, and make right use of it. *Qui stat, videat ne cadat.* Thou dost now flourish, and hast *bona animi, corporis et fortunæ*, goods of body, mind, and fortune: *nescis quid serus secum vesper ferat*, thou knowest not what storms and tempests the late evening may bring with it. Be not secure then; *be sober and watch;* [h] *fortunam reverenter habe*, if fortunate and rich; if sick and poor, moderate thy self. I have said.

Sect. III. Memb. I.

Subsect. I.—*Symptomes, or signs of Melancholy in the Body.*

Parrhasius, a painter of Athens, amongst those Olynthian captives Philip of Macedon brought home to sell, [i] bought one very old man; and, when he had him at Athens, put him to extreme torture and torment, the better, by his example, to express the pains and passions of his Prometheus, whom he was then about to paint. I need not be so barbarous, inhumane, curious, or cruel, for this purpose to torture any poor melancholy man:

[d] Habuit sæva animi symptomata, quæ impediunt concoctionem, &c. [e] Usitatissimus morbus cum sit, utile est hujus visceris accidentia considerare: nec leve periculum hujus caussas morbi ignorantibus. [f] Jecur aptum ad generandum talem humorem, splen naturâ imbecillior. Piso, Altomarus, Gulanerius. [g] Melancholiam, quæ fit a redundantiâ humoris in toto corpore, victus imprimis generat, qui eum humorem parit. [h] Ausonius. [i] Seneca, cont. lib. 10. cent. 5.

their symptomes are plain, obvious, and familiar: there needs no such accurate observation or far fetcht object; they delineate themselves; they voluntary bewray themselves; they are too frequent in all places; I meet them still as I go: they cannot conceal it; their grievances are too well known; I need not seek far to describe them.

Symptomes therefore are either [j] universal or particular, (saith Gordonius, *lib. med. cap.* 19. *part.* 2.) to persons, to species. *Some signs are secret, some manifest; some in the body, some in the mind; and diversly vary, according to the inward or outward causes* (Capivaccius), or from stars (according to Jovianus Pontanus, *de reb. cœlest. lib.* 10. *cap.* 13) and cœlestial influences, or from the humours diversly mixed (Ficinus, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. *de sanit. tuendâ*). As they are hot, cold, natural, unnatural, intended, or remitted, so will Aëtius have *melancholica deliria multiformia*, diversity of melancholy signs. Laurentius ascribes them to their several temperatures, delights, natures, inclinations, continuance of time, as they are simple or mixed with other diseases; as the causes are divers, so must the signs be almost infinite, (Altomarus, *cap.* 7. *art. med.*) and as wine produceth divers effects, or that herb tortocolla (in [k] Laurentius), *which makes some laugh, some weep, some sleep, some dance, some sing, some howle, some drink, &c.* so doth this our melancholy humour work several signs in several parties.

But to confine them, these general symptomes may be reduced to those of the body or the mind. Those usual signs, appearing in the bodies of such as are melancholy, be these, cold and dry, or they are hot and dry, as the humour is more or less adust. From [l] these first qualities arise many other second, as that of [m] colour, black, swarthy, pale, ruddy, &c. some are *impense rubri*, (as Montaltus, *cap.* 16. observes out of Galen, *lib.* 3. *de locis affectis*) very red and high coloured. Hippocrates, in his book [n] *de insaniâ et melan.* reckons up these signs, that they are [o] *lean, withered, hollow-eyed, look old, wrinkled, harsh, much troubled with wind, and a griping in their bellies, or belly-ache, belch often, dry bellies and hard, dejected looks, flaggy beards, singing of the ears, vertigo, light-headed, little or no sleep, and that interrupt, terrible fearful dreams:* [p] *Anna soror, quæ me suspensam insomnia terrent?* The same symptomes are repeated by Melanelius (in his book of melancholy collected out of Galen, Ruffus, Aëtius), by Rhasis, Gordonius, and all the juniors—[q] *continual, sharp, and stinking belchings, as if their meat in their stomach were putrified, or that they had eaten fish, dry bellies, absurd and interrupt dreams, and many fantastical visions about their eyes, vertiginous, apt to tremble, and prone to venery.* [r] Some add palpitation of the heart, cold sweat, as usual symptomes, and a leaping in many parts of the body, *saltum in multis corporis partibus*, a kind of itching (saith Laurentius) on the superficies of the skin, like a flea-biting sometimes. [s] Montaltus (c. 21.) puts fixed eyes and much twinkling of their eyes for a sign; and so doth Avicenna, *oculos habentes palpitantes, trauli, vehementer rubicundi, &c.* (*lib.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *c.* 18.) They stut most part, which he took out of Hippocrates' Aphorisms. [t] Rhasis makes *head-ach and a binding heaviness*

[j] Quædam universalia, particularia quædam; manifesta quædam in corpore, quædam in cogitatione et animo; quædam a stellis, quædam ab humoribus, quæ, ut vinum corpus varie disponit, &c. Diversa phantasmata pro varietate caussæ externæ, internæ. [k] Lib. 1. de risu. fol. 17. Ad ejus esum alii sudant: alii vomunt, flent, cibunt, saltant; alii rident, tremunt, dormiunt, &c. [l] T. Bright, cap. 20. [m] Nigrescit hic humor aliquando supercalefactus, aliquando superfrigefactus. Melanel. e Gal. [n] Interprete F. Calvo. [o] Oculi his excavantur, venti gignuntur circum præcordia, et acidi ructus, sicci fere ventres, vertigo, tinnitus aurium, somni pusilli, somnia terribilia et interrupta. [p] Virg. Æn. [q] Assiduæ cæque acidæ ructationes, quæ cibum virulentum pisculentumque nidorem (etsi nil tale ingestum sit) referant, ob cruditatem. Ventres hisce aridi, somnus plerumque parcus et interruptus, somnia absurdissima, turbulenta, corporis tremor, capitis gravedo, strepitus circa aures, et visiones aute oculos, ad venerem prodigi. [r] Altomarus, Bruel, Piso, Montaltus. [s] Frequentes habent oculorum nictationes; aliqui tamen fixis oculis plerumque sunt. [t] Cent. lib. 1. tract. 9. Signa hujus morbi sunt plurimus saltus, sonitus aurium, capitis gravedo, lingua *titubat, oculi* excavantur, &c.

for a principal token, *much leaping of wind about the skin, as well as stutting or tripping in speech, &c. hollow eyes, gross veins, and broad lips.* To some too, if they be far gone, mimical gestures are too familiar, laughing, grinning, fleering, murmuring, talking to themselves, with strange mouths and faces, inarticulate voices, exclamations, &c. And, although they be commonly lean, hirsute, unchearful in countenance, withered, and not so pleasant to behold, by reason of those continual fears, griefs, and vexations, dull, heavy, lazy, restless, unapt to go about any business; yet their memories are most part good, they have happy wits, and excellent apprehensions. Their hot and dry brains make them they cannot sleep; *ingentes habent et crebras vigilias* (Aretæus), mighty and often watchings, sometimes waking for a moneth, a year together. [u] Hercules de Saxoniâ faithfully averreth, that he hath heard his mother swear, she slept not for seven months together. Trincavellius (*Tom.* 2. *cons.* 16.) speaks of one that waked fifty days; and Skenkius hath examples of two years; and all without offence. In natural actions, their appetite is greater than their concoction: *multa appetunt, pauca digerunt* (as Rhasis hath it); they covet to eat, but cannot digest. And, although they [v] *do eat much, yet they are lean, ill liking* (saith Aretæus), *withered and hard, much troubled with costiveness,* crudities, oppilations, spitting, belching, &c. Their pulse is rare and slow, except it be of the [x] *carotides,* which is very strong; but that varies according to their intended passions or perturbations, as Struthius hath proved at large (*Spigmaticæ artis l.* 4. *c.* 13). To say truth, in such chronick diseases the pulse is not much to be respected, there being so much superstition in it, as [y] Crato notes, and so many differences in Galen, that he dares say they may not be observed, or understood of any man.

Their urine is most part pale, and low coloured; *urina pauca, acris, biliosa* (Aretæus), not much in quantity. But this, in my judgment, is all out as uncertain as the other, varying so often according to several persons, habits, and other occasions not to be respected in chronick diseases. [z] *Their melancholy excrements, in some very much, in others little, as the spleen plays his part;* and thence proceeds wind, palpitation of the heart, short breath, plenty of humidity in the stomach, heaviness of heart and heartake, and intolerable stupidity and dulness of spirits; their excrements or stool hard, black to some, and little. If the heart, brain, liver, spleen, be mis-affected, as usually they are, many inconveniences proceed from them, many diseases accompany, as incubus, [a] apoplexy, epilepsie, vertigo, those frequent wakings and terrible dreams, [b] intempestive laughing, weeping, sighing, sobbing, bashfulness, blushing, trembling, sweating, swooning, &c. [c] All their senses are troubled: they think they see, hear, smell, and touch that which they do not, as shall be proved in the following discourse.

Subsect. II.—*Symptomes or Signes in the Mind.*

Fear.] Arculanus (*in* 9 *Rhasis ad Almansor. cap.* 16) will have these symptomes to be infinite, as indeed they are, varying according to the parties; *for scarce is there one of a thousand that dotes alike* ([d] Laurentius, c. 16). Some few of greater note I will point at; and, amongst the rest, fear and sorrow, which as they are frequent causes, so if they persevere long, according to Hippocrates [e] and Galens Aphorismes, they are most assured signes, inseparable companions, and characters of melancholy; of present melan-

[u] In Pantheon, cap. de Melancholiâ. [v] Alvus arida nihil dejiciens; cibi capaces, nihilo minus tamen extenuati sunt. [x] Nic Piso. Inflatio carotidum, &c. [y] Andreas Dudith Rahamo, ep. lib. 3. Crat. epist. Multa in pulsibus superstitio; ausim etiam dicere, tot differentias, quæ describuntur a Galeno, neque intelligi a quoquam nec observari posse. [z] T. Bright, cap. 20. [a] Post 40. ætat. annum, saith Jacchinus, in 15. 9. Rhasis. Idem Mercurialis, consil. 86. Trincavellius, tom. 2 cons. 1. [b] Gordonius. Modo rident, modo flent, silent, &c. [c] Fernelius, consil. 43. et 45. Montanus, consil. 230. Galen. de locis affectis, lib. 3. cap. 6. [d] Aphorism. et lib. de Melan. [e] Lib. 2. cap. 6. de locis affect. Timor et mœstitia, si diutius perseverent, &c.

choly, and habituated, said Montaltus (*c.* 11), and common to them all, as the said Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, and all neotericks, hold. But, as hounds many times run away with a false cry, never perceiving themselves to be at a fault, so do they: for Diocles of old, (whom Galen confutes) and, amongst the juniors, [f] Hercules de Saxoniâ with Lod. Mercatus, (*cap.* 17. *l.* 1. *de melan.*) take just exceptions at this aphorism of Hippocrates; 'tis not always true, or so generally to be understood: fear and sorrow are no common symptomes to all melancholy: *upon more serious consideration, I find some* (saith he) *that are not so at all. Some indeed are sad, and not fearful; some fearful, and not sad; some neither fearful nor sad; some both.* Four kinds he excepts, fanatical persons, such as were Cassandra, Manto, Nicostrata, Mopsus, Proteus, the Sibylls, whom [g] Aristotle confesseth to have been deeply melancholy. Baptista Porta seconds him (*Physiog. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8): they were *atrâ bile perciti.* Dæmoniacal persons, and such as speak strange languages, are of this rank; some poets; such as laugh alwayes, and think themselves kings, cardinals, &c. sanguine they are, pleasantly disposed most part, and so continue. [h] Baptista Porta confines fear and sorrow to them that are cold; but lovers, Sibylls, enthusiasts, he wholly excludes. So that I think I may truly conclude, they are not alwayes sad and fearful, but usually so, and that [i] *without a cause: timent de non timendis* (Gordonius), *quæque momenti non sunt: although not all alike,* (saith Altomarus) [j] *yet all likely fear,* [k] *some with an extraordinary and a mighty fear* (Aretæus). [l] *Many fear death, and yet, in a contrary humour, make away themselves* (Galen, *lib.* 3. *de loc. affect. cap.* 7). Some are afraid that heaven will fall on their heads; some, they are damned, or shall be. [m] *They are troubled with scruples of conscience, distrusting Gods mercies, think they shall go certainly to hell, the devil will have them, and make great lamentation* (Jason Pratensis). Fear of devils, death, that they shall be so sick of some such disease, ready to tremble at every object, they shall die themselves forthwith, or that some of their dear friends or near allies are certainly dead; imminent danger, loss, disgrace still torment others, &c. that they are all glass, and therefore will suffer no man to come near them; that they are all cork, as light as feathers; others as heavy as lead; some are afraid their heads will fall off their shoulders; that they have frogs in their bellies, &c. [n] Montanus (*consil.* 23) speaks of one *that durst not walk alone from home, for fear he should swoon, or die.* A second [o] *fears every man he meets will rob him, quarrel with him, or kill him.* A third dares not venture to walk alone, for fear he should meet the devil, a thief, be sick; fears all old women as witches; and every black dog or cat he sees, he suspecteth to be a devil; every person comes near him is malificiated; every creature, all intend to hurt him, seek his ruine: another dares not go over a bridge, come near a pool, rock, steep hill, lye in a chamber where cross beams are, for fear he be tempted to hang, drown, or precipitate himself. If he be in a silent auditory, as at a sermon, he is afraid he shall speak aloud, at unawares, something undecent, unfit to be said. If he be locked in a close room, he is afraid of being stifled for want of air, and still carries bisket, aquativæ, or some strong waters about him, for fear of *deliquiums*, or being sick; or,

[f] Tract. postumo de Melan. edit. Venetiis 1620, per Bolxuttam bibliop. Mihi diligentius hanc rem considerantì, patet quosdam esse, qui non laborant mœrore et timore. [g] Prob. lib. 3. [h] Physiog. lib. 1. c. 8. Quibus multa frigida bilis atra, stolidi et timidi; at qui calidi, ingeniosi, amasii, divinosi, spiritu instigati, &c. [i] Omnes exercent metus et tristitia, et sine caussâ. [j] Omnes timent, licet non omnibus idem timendi modus. Aëtius, Tetrab. lib. 2. sect. c. 9. [k] Ingenti pavore trepidant. [l] Multi mortem timent, et tamen sibi ipsis mortem consciscunt: alii cœli ruinam timent. [m] Affligit eos plena scrupulis conscientia; *divinæ misericordiæ* diffidentes, Orco se destinant, fœdâ lamentatione deplorantes. [n] Non ausus egredi *domo, ne deficeret.* [o] Multi dæmones timent, latrones, insidias. Av

if he be in a throng, middle of a church, multitude, where he may not well get out, though he sit at ease, he is so misaffected. He will freely promise, undertake any business beforehand; but, when it comes to be performed, he dares not adventure, but fears an infinite number of dangers, disasters, &c. Some are [p]*afraid to be burned, or that the* [q]*ground will sink under them, or* [r]*swallow them quick, or that the king will call them in question for some fact they never did* (*Rhasis, cont.*) *and that they shall surely be executed.* The terror of such a death troubles them; and they fear as much, and are equally tormented in mind, [s]*as they that have committed a murder; and are pensive without a cause, as if they were now presently to be put to death.* (Plater, *cap.* 3. *de mentis alienat.*) They are afraid of some loss, danger, that they shall surely lose their lives, goods, and all they have; but why, they know not. Trincavellius (*consil.* 13. *lib.* 1) had a patient that would needs make away himself, for fear of being hanged, and could not be perswaded, for three years together, but that he had killed a man. Plater (*observat. lib.* 1) hath two other examples of such as feared to be executed without a cause. If they come in a place where a robbery, theft, or any such offence, hath been done, they presently fear they are suspected, and many times betray themselves without a cause. Lewis the eleventh, the French king, suspected every man a traitour that came about him, durst trust no officer. *Alii formidolosi omnium, alii quorundam* (Fracastorius, *lib.* 2. *de Intellect.*) [t]*some fear all alike, some certain men,* and cannot endure their companies, are sick in them, or if they be from home. Some suspect [u]treason still; others *are afraid of their* [v]*dearest and nearest friends* (Melanelius e Galeno, Ruffo, Aëtio), and dare not be alone in the dark, for fear of hobgoblins and devils: he suspects every thing he hears or sees to be a devil, or enchanted, and imagineth a thousand chimeras and visions, which to his thinking he certainly sees, bugbears, talks with black men, ghosts, goblins, &c. [w]*Omnes se terrent auræ, sonus excitat omnis.* Another, through bashfulness, suspicion, and timorousness, will not be seen abroad, [x]*loves darkness as life, and cannot endure the light,* or to sit in lightsome places; his hat still in his eyes, he will neither see, nor be seen by his good will (Hippocrates, *lib. de insaniâ et melancholiâ*). He dare not come in company, for fear he should be misused, disgraced, overshoot himself in gesture or speeches, or be sick; he thinks every man observes him, aims at him, derides him, owes him malice. Most part, [y]*they are afraid they are bewitched, possessed or poisoned by their enemies;* and sometimes they suspect their nearest friends: *he thinks something speaks or talks within him, or to him; and he belcheth of the poyson.* Christophorus a Vega (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 1) had a patient so troubled, that by no perswasion or physick he could be reclaimed. Some are afraid that they shall have every fearful disease they see others have, hear of, or read, and dare not therefore hear or read of any such subject, no not of melancholy it self, lest, by applying to themselves that which they hear or read, they should aggravate and increase it. If they see one possessed, bewitched, an epileptick paroxysme, a man shaking with the palsie, or giddy headed, reeling or standing in a dangerous place, &c. for many dayes after, it runs in their minds; they are afraid they shall be so too, they are in like danger, as Perk. (*c.* 12. *se.* 2.)

[p] Alii comburi, alii de rege. Rhasis. [q] Ne terrâ absorbeantur. Forestus. [r] Ne terra dehiscat. Gordon. [s] Alii timore mortis tenentur, et malâ gratiâ principum; putant se aliquid commisisse, et ad supplicium requiri. [t] Alius domesticos timet, alius omnes. Aëtius. [u] Alii timent insidias. Aurel. lib. 1. de morb. chron. c. 6. [v] Ille carissimos, hic omnes homines citra discrimen, timet. [w] Virgil. [x] Hic in lucem prodire timet, tenebrasque quærit; contra, ille caliginosa fugit. [y] Quidam larvas et malos spiritus ab inimicis veneficiis et incantationibus sibi putant objectari. Hippocrates. Potionem se veneficam sumpsisse putat; et de hac ructare sibi crebro videtur. Idem Montaltus, cap. 21. Aëtius, lib. 2. et alii. Trallianus, l. 1. cap. 16.

well observes in his *Cases of Cons.* and many times, by violence of imagination, they produce it. They cannot endure to see any terrible object, as a monster, a man executed, a carcase, hear the devil named, or any tragical relation seen, but they quake for fear; *Hecatas somniare sibi videntur* (Lucian); they dream of hobgoblins, and may not get it out of their minds a long time after: they apply (as I have said) all they hear, see, read, to themselves; as [a]Felix Plater notes of some young physicians, that study to cure diseases, catch them themselves, will be sick, and appropriate all symptomes they find related of others, to their own persons. And therefore (*quod iterum moneo, licet nauseam paret lectori; malo decem potius verba, decies repetita licet abundare, quam unum desiderari*) I would advise him, that is actually melancholy, not to read this tract of symptomes, lest he disquiet or make himself for a time worse, and more melancholy then he was before. Generally of them all take this—*de inanibus semper conqueruntur, et timent*, saith Aretæus; they complain of toyes, and fear [a]without a cause, and still think their melancholy to be most grievous; none so bad as they are; though it be nothing in respect, yet never any man sure was so troubled, or in this sort; as really tormented and perplexed, in as great an agony for toyes and trifles (such things as they will after laugh at themselves), as if they were most material and essential matters indeed, worthy to be feared, and will not be satisfied. Pacifie them for one, they are instantly troubled with some other fear; alwayes afraid of something, which they foolishly imagine or conceive to themselves, which never peradventure was, never can be, never likely will be: troubled in mind upon every small occasion, unquiet, still complaining, grieving, vexing, suspecting, grudging, discontent, and cannot be freed so long as melancholy continues. Or if their minds be more quiet for the present, and they free from forraign fears, outward accidents, yet their bodies are out of tune, they suspect some part or other to be amiss; now their head akes, heart, stomach, spleen, &c. is misaffected; they shall surely have this or that disease; still troubled in body, mind, or both, and through wind, corrupt phantasie, some accidental distemper, continually molested. Yet, for all this, (as [b]Jacchinus notes) *in all other things they are wise, staid, discreet, and do nothing unbeseeming their dignity, person, or place, this foolish, ridiculous, and childish fear excepted*, which so much, so continually tortures and crucifies their souls; like a barking dog that alwayes bawls, but seldom bites, this fear ever molesteth, and so long as melancholy lasteth, cannot be avoided.

Sorrow is that other character, and inseparable companion, as individual as saint Cosmus and Damian, *fidus Achates*, as all writers witness, a common symptome, a continual; and still, without any evident cause, [c]*mœrent omnes*, and, *si roges eos reddere caussam, non possunt*; grieving still, but why, they cannot tell: *agelasti, mœsti, cogitabundi*, they look as if they had newly come forth of Trophonius den; and, though they laugh many times, and seem to be extraordinary merry (as they will by fits), yet extream lumpish again in an instant, dull, and heavy, *semel et simul* merry and sad, but most part sad: [d]*Si qua placent, abeunt; inimica tenacius hærent*: sorrow sticks by them still, continually gnawing, as the vulture did [e]Tityus bowels: and they cannot avoid it. No sooner are their eyes open, but, after terrible and troublesome dreams, their heavy hearts begin to sigh: they are still fretting, chafing, sighing, grieving, complaining, finding faults, repining,

[a]Observat. l. 1. Quando iis nil nocet, nisi quod mulieribus melancholicis. [c]—timeo tamen, metusque caussæ nescius caussa est metus. Heinsius, Austriaco. [b]Cap. 15. in 9 Rhasis. In multis vidi: præter rationem semper aliquid timent, in cæteris tamen optime se gerunt. neque aliquid præter dignitatem committunt. [c]Altomarus, cap. 7.—Aretæus. Tristes sunt. [d]Mant. Ecl. 1. [e]Ovid. *Met. 4.*

grudging, weeping, *heautontimorumenoi*, vexing themselves, [f]disquieted in mind, with restless, unquiet thoughts, discontent, either for their own, other mens, or public affairs, such as concern them not, things past, present, or to come: the remembrance of some disgrace, loss, injury, abuse, &c. troubles them now, being idle, afresh, as if it were new done; they are afflicted otherwise for some danger, loss, want, shame, misery, that will certainly come as they suspect and mistrust. *Lugubris Ate* frowns upon them, inasmuch that Aretæus well calls it *angorem animi*, vexation of the mind, a perpetual agony. They can hardly be pleased or eased, though, in other mens opinion, most happy. Go, tarry, run, ride, [g]——————*post equitem sedet atra cura:* they cannot avoid this feral plague, let them come in what company they will; [h]*hæret lateri letalis arundo;* as to a deer that is struck, whether he run, go, rest, with the herd, or alone, this grief remains; irresolution, inconstancy, vanity of mind, their fear, torture, care, jealousie, suspicion, &c. continues, and they cannot be relieved. So [i]he complained in the poet,

Domum revertor mœstus, atque animo fere
Pertarbato atque incerto, præ ægritudine.
Assido: accurrunt servi; soccos detrahunt,
Video alios festinare, lectos sternere,
Cœnam apparare: pro se quisque sedulo
Faciebant, quo illam mihi lenirent miseriam.

He came home sorrowfull, and troubled in his mind; his servants did all they possibly could to please him; one pulled off his socks; another made ready his bed, a third his supper; all did their utmost endeavours to ease his grief, and exhilarate his person; he was profoundly melancholy; he had lost his son; *illud angebat;* that was his *cordolium*, his pain, his agony, which could not be removed. Hence it proceeds many times, that they are weary of their lives; and feral thoughts, to offer violence to their own persons, come into their minds.

Tædium vitæ.] *Tædium vitæ* is a common symptome; *tarda fluunt, ingrataque tempora;* they are soon tired with all things; they will now tarry, now be gone; now in bed they will rise, now up, then go to bed, now pleased, then again displeased; now they like, by and by dislike all, weary of all; *sequitur nunc vivendi, nunc moriendi, cupido*, saith Aurelianus (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 6.), but, most part, [j]*vitam damnant;* discontented, disquieted, perplexed upon very light or no occasion, object; often tempted, I say, to make away themselves: [k]*vivere nolunt, mori nesciunt;* they cannot dye, they will not live: they complain, weep, lament, and think they lead a most miserable life; never was any man so bad, or so before; every poor man they see is more fortunate in respect of them; every beggar that comes to the door is happier than they are; they could be contented to change lives with them; especially if they be alone, idle, and parted from their ordinary company, molested, displeased, or provoked, grief, fear, agony, discontent, wearisomness, laziness, suspicion, or some such passion, forcibly seizeth on them. Yet by and by, when they come in company again, which they like, or be pleased, *suam sententiam rursus damnant, et vitæ solatio delectantur* (as Octavius Horatianus observes, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 5); they condemn their former dislike, and are well pleased to live. And so they continue, till with some fresh discontent they be molested again; and then they are weary of their lives, weary of all; they will dye, and shew rather a necessity to live, than a desire. Claudius, the emperour, (as [l]Sueton describes him) had a spice of this disease; for, when he was tormented with the pain of his stomach, he had a conceit to make away with himself. Jul. Cæsar Claudinus (*consil.* 84) had a Polonian to his patient, so affected, that, through fear [m]and sorrow,

[f] Inquies animus. [g] Hor. 1. 3. Od. 1. [h] Virg. [i] Menæd. Heautont. act. 1. sc. 1. [j] Altomarus. [k] Seneca. [l] Cap. 31. Quo (stomachi dolore) se correptum etiam de consciscendâ morte cogitâsse dixit. [m] Luget, et semper tristatur, solitudinem amat, mortem sibi precatur, vitam propriam odio habet.

with which he was still disquieted, hated his own life, wished for death every moment, and to be freed from his misery. Mercurialis another, and another that was often minded to dispatch himself, and so continued for many years.

Suspicion, Jealousie, Anger sine caussâ. Suspicion and jealousie are general symptomes: they are commonly distrustful, timorous, apt to mistake, and amplifie, *facile irascibiles,* [n] testy, pettish, pievish, and ready to snarl upon every [o] small occasion,, *cum amicissimis,* and without a cause, *datum vel non datum,* it will be *scandalum acceptum.* If they speak in jest, he takes it in good earnest. If they be not saluted, invited, consulted with, called to counsel, &c. or that any respect, small complement, or ceremony, be omitted, they think themselves neglected and contemned; for a time that tortures them. If two talk together, discourse, whisper, jest, or tell a tale in general, he thinks presently they mean him, applyes all to himself, *de se putat omnia dici.* Or if they talk with him, he is ready to misconstrue every word they speak, and interpret it to the worst; he cannot endure any man to look steadily on him, speak to him almost, laugh, jest, or be familiar, or hemm, or point, cough, or spit, or make a noise sometimes, &c. [p] He thinks they laugh or point out him, or do it in disgrace of him, circumvent him, contemn him; every man looks at him, he is pale, red, sweats for fear and anger, lest some body should observe him. He works upon it; and, long after this, this false conceit of an abuse troubles him. Montanus (*consil.* 22) gives instance in a melancholy Jew, that was *iracundior Adriâ,* so waspish and suspicious, *tam facile iratus,* that no man could tell how to carry himself in his company.

Inconstancy.] Inconstant they are in all their actions, vertiginous, restless, unapt to resolve of any business; they will and will not, perswaded to and fro upon every small occasion, or word spoken; and yet, if once they be resolved, obstinate, hard to be reconciled; if they abhor, dislike, or distaste, once setled, though to the better by odds, by no counsel or perswasion to be removed: yet, in most things, wavering, irresolute, unable to deliberate, through fear; *faciunt, et mox facti pœnitet* (Aretæus); *avari, et paullo post prodigi:* now prodigal, and then covetous, they do, and by-and-by repent them of that which they have done; so that both ways they are troubled, whether they do or do not, want or have, hit or miss, disquieted of all hands, soon weary, and still seeking change; restless, I say, fickle, fugitive, they may not abide to tarry in one place long,

> [q] (Romæ rus optans, absentem rusticus urbem
> Tollit ad astra——)

no company long, or to persevere in any action or business;

> [r] (Et similis regum pueris, pappare minutum
> Poscit, et iratus mammæ lallare recusat)

eftsoons pleased, and anon displeased: as a man that's bitten by fleas, or that cannot sleep, turns to and fro in his bed, their restless minds are tossed and vary; they have no patience to read out a book, to play out a game or two, walk a mile, sit an hour, &c. erected and dejected in an instant; animated to undertake, and, upon a word spoken, again discouraged.

Passionate.] Extream passionate, *quidquid volunt, valde volunt:* and what they desire, they do most furiously seek: anxious ever and very solicitous, distrustful and timorous, envious, malicious, profuse one while, sparing another, but most part covetous, muttering, repining, discontent, and still complaining, grudging, pievish, *injurirum tenaces,* prone to revenge, soon troubled, and most violent in their imaginations, not affable in speech, or

[n] Facile in iram incidunt. Aret. [o] Ira sine caussâ; velocitas iræ. Savanarola, pract. major. Velocitas iræ signum. Avicenna, l. 3. Fen. 1. tract. 4. cap. 18. [p] Suspicio, diffidentia, symptomata. Crato, Ep. *Julio* Alexandrino, cons. 185. Scoltzii. [q] Hor. [r] Pers. Sat. 3.

apt to vulgar complement, but surly, dull, sad, austere; *cogitabundi*, still very intent, and as [s]Albertus Durer paints Melancholy, like a sad woman, leaning on her arm, with fixed looks, neglected habit, &c. held therefore by some proud, soft, sottish, or half mad, as the Adderites esteemed of Democritus; and yet of a deep reach, excellent apprehension, judicious, wise, and witty: for I am of that [t]noblemans mind, *melancholy advanceth mens conceits, more than any humour whatsoever*, improves their meditations more than any strong drink or sack. They are of profound judgement in some things, although, in others, *non recte judicant inquieti*, saith Fracastorius, (*lib. 2. de Intell.*) and, as Arculanus (*c. 16. in 9 Rhasis*) terms it, *judicium plerumque perversum, corrupti, cum judicant honesta inhonesta, et amicitiam habent pro inimicitiâ:* they count honesty dishonesty, friends as enemies; they will abuse their best friends, and dare not offend their enemies. Cowards most part, *et ad inferendam injuriam timidissimi*, saith Cardan (*lib. 8. cap. 4. de rerum varietate*): loth to offend; and, if they chance to overshoot themselves in word or deed, or any small business or circumstance be omitted, forgotten, they are miserably tormented, and frame a thousand dangers and inconveniences to themselves, *ex muscâ elephantem*, if once they conceit it: overjoyed with every good humour, tale, or prosperous event, transported beyond themselves; with every small cross again, bad news, misconceived injury, loss, danger, afflicted beyond measure, in great agony, perplexed, dejected, astonished, impatient, utterly undone; fearful, suspicious of all: yet again, many of them, desperate harebrains, rash, careless, fit to be assassinates, as being void of all fear and sorrow, according to [u]Hercules de Saxoniâ, *most audacious, and such as dare walk alone in the night, through deserts and dangerous places, fearing none.*

Amorous.] *They are prone to love*, and [v]easie to be taken: *propensi ad amorem et excandescentiam*, (Montaltus, *cap.* 21.) quickly inamored, and dote upon all, love one dearly, till they see another, and then dote on her, *et hanc, et hanc, et illam, et omnes:* the present moves most, and the last commonly they love best. Yet some again, *anterotes*, cannot endure the sight of a woman, abhor the sex, as that same melancholy [w]duke of Muscovy, that was instantly sick, if he came but in sight of them; and that [x]anchorite, that fell into a cold palsie, when a woman was brought before him.

Humorous.] Humorous they are beyond all measure, sometimes profusely laughing, extraordinary merry, and then again weeping without a cause, (which is familiar with many gentlewomen) groaning, sighing, pensive, sad, almost distracted: *multa absurda fingunt, et a ratione aliena* (saith [y]Frambesarius): they feign many absurdities, vain, void of reason: one supposeth himself to be a dog, cock, bear, horse, glass, butter, &c. He is a giant, a dwarf, as strong as an hundred men, a lord, duke, prince, &c. And, if he be told he hath a stinking breath, a great nose, that he is sick, or inclined to such or such a disease, he believes it eftsoons, and peradventure, by force of imagination, will work it out. Many of them are immovable, and fixed in their conceits; others vary, upon every object heard and seen. If they see a stageplay, they run upon that a week after; if they hear musick, or see dancing, they have nought but bagpipes in their brain: if they see a combat, they are all for arms: [z]if abused, an abuse troubles them long after: if crossed, that cross, &c. Restless in their thoughts and actions, continually meditating,

> ——— velut ægri somnia, vanæ
> Finguntur species;

[s] In his Dutch-work picture. [t] Howard, cap. 7. differ. [u] Tract. de mel. cap. 2. Noctu ambulant per sylvas, et loca periculosa; neminem timent. [v] Facile amant. Altom. [w] Bodine. [x] Jo. Major vitis patrum, fol. 202. Paullus abbas, eremita, tantâ solitudine perseverat, ut nec vestem nec vultum mulieris ferre possit, &c. [y] Consult. lib. 1. 17. Cons. [z] Generally, as they are pleased or displeased, so are their continual cogitations pleasing or displeasing.

more like dreamers than men awake, they feign a company of antick, fantastical conceits; they have most frivolous thoughts, impossible to be effected; and sometimes they think verily they hear and see present before their eyes such phantasms or goblins, they fear, suspect, or conceive, they still talk with, and follow them. In fine, *cogitationes somniantibus similes, id vigilant, quod alii somniant, cogitabundi;* still (says Avicenna,) they wake, as others dream; and such, for the most part, are their imaginations and conceits, [a]absurd, vain, foolish toyes; yet they are [b]most curious and solicitous; continually *et supra modum* (Rhasis, *cont. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9) *præmeditantur de aliquâ re.* As serious in a toy, as if it were a most necessary business, of great moment, importance, and still, still, still thinking of it, *sæviunt in se*, macerating themselves. Though they do talk with you, and seem to be otherwise employed, and, to your thinking, very intent and busie, still that toy runs in their mind, that fear, that suspicion, that abuse, that jealousie, that agony, that vexation, that cross, that castle in the air, that crotchet, that whimsie, that fiction, that pleasant waking dream, whatsoever it is. *Nec interrogant* (saith [c]Fracastorius), *nec interrogati recte respondent;* they do not much heed what you say; their mind is on another matter. Ask what you will: they do not attend, or much intend that business they are about, but forget themselves what they are saying, doing, or should otherwise say or do, whither they are going, distracted with their own melancholy thoughts. One laughs upon a sudden, another smiles to himself, a third frowns, calls, his lips go still, he acts with his hand, as he walks, &c. 'Tis proper to all melancholy men (saith [d]Mercurialis, *con.* 11), *what conceit they have once entertained, to be most intent, violent, and continually about it. Invitis occurrit;* do what they may, they cannot be rid of it; against their wills they must think of it a thousand times over; *perpetuo molestantur, nec oblivisci possunt;* they are continually troubled with it, in company, out of company: at meat, at exercise, at all times and places, [e]*non desinunt ea, quæ minime volunt, cogitare;* if it be offensive especially, they cannot forget it; they may not rest or sleep for it, but, still tormenting themselves, *Sisyphi saxum volvunt sibi ipsis*, as [f]Brunner observes: *perpetua calamitas, et miserabile flagellum.*

Bashfulness.] [g]Crato, [h]Laurentius, and Fernelius, put bashfulness for an ordinary symptome; *subrusticus pudor*, or *vitiosus pudor*, is a thing which much haunts and torments them. If they have been misused, derided, disgraced, chidden, &c. or, by any perturbation of mind, misaffected, it so far troubles them, that they become quite moped many times, and so disheartned, dejected, they dare not come abroad, into strange companies especially, or manage their ordinary affairs; so childish, timorous, and bashful, they can look no man in the face. Some are more disquieted in this kind, some less, longer some, others shorter, by fits, &c. though some, on the other side (according to [i]Fracastorius), be *inverecundi et pertinaces*, impudent and pievish. But, most part, they are very shamefac'd; and that makes them (with Pet. Blesensis, Christopher Urswick, and many such) to refuse honours, offices, and preferments, which sometimes fall into their mouths: they cannot speak, or put forth themselves, as others can; *timor hos, pudor impedit illos:* timorousness and bashfulness hinder their proceedings; they are contented with their present estate, unwilling to undertake any office, and therefore never likely to rise. For that cause, they seldome visit their friends, except some familiars; *pauciloqui*, of few words, and oftentimes wholly silent. [j]Frambesarius, a Frenchman, had two such patients,

[a] Omnes exercent vanæ intensæque animi cogitationes, (N. Piso. Bruel.) et assiduæ. [b] Curiosi de rebus minimis. Aretæus. [c] Lib. 2. de Intell. [d] Hoc melancholicis omnibus proprium, ut, quas semel imaginationes valde receperint, non facile rejiciant, sed hæ etiam vel invitis semper occurrant. [e] Tullius, de sen. [f] Consil. med. pro Hypochondriaco. [g] Consil. 43. [h] Cap. 5. [i] Lib. 2. de Intell. [j] Consil. 15 et 16. lib. 1.

omnino taciturnos: their friends could not get them to speak: Rodericus a Fonseca (*consult. Tom.* 2. 85. *consil.*) gives instance in a young man, of twenty seven years of age, that was frequently silent, bashful, moped, solitary, that would not eat his meat, or sleep, and yet again by fits apt to be angry, &c.

Solitariness.] Most part they are (as Plater notes), *desides, taciturni, ægre impulsi, nec nisi coacti procedunt, &c.* they will scarce be compelled to do that which concerns them, though it be for their good: so diffident, so dull, of small or no complement, unsociable, hard to be acquainted with, especially of strangers: they had rather write their minds, than speak, and above all things love solitariness. *Ob voluptatem, an ob timorem, soli sunt?* Are they so solitary for pleasure (one asks), or pain? for both: yet I rather think, for fear and sorrow, &c.

> [k] Hinc metuunt, cupiuntque, dolent, fugiuntque, nec auras
> Respiciunt, clausi tenebris, et carcere cæco.
> Hence 'tis they grieve and fear, avoiding light,
> And shut themselves in prison dark from sight.

As Bellerophon, in [l] Homer,

> Qui miser in sylvis mœrens errabat opacis,
> Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans—
> That wandred in the woods sad all alone,
> Forsaking mens society, making great moan—

they delight in floods and waters, desert places, to walk alone in orchards, gardens, private walks, back-lanes; averse from company, as Diogenes in his tub, or Timon Misanthropus, [m] they abhor all companions at last, even their nearest acquaintance, and most familiar friends; for they have a conceit (I say), every man observes them, will deride, laugh to scorn, or misuse them; confining themselves therefore wholly to their private houses or chambers, *fugiunt homines sine caussâ* (saith Rhasis) *et odio habent* (*cont. l.* 1. *c.* 9): they will dyet themselves, feed and live alone. It was one of the chiefest reasons, why the citizens of Abdera suspected Democritus to be melancholy and mad, because that (as Hippocrates related in his epistle to Philopœmenes) [n] *he forsook the city, and lived in groves and hollow trees, upon a green bank by a brook side, on confluence of waters, all day long, and all night. Quæ quidem* (saith he) *plurimum atrâ bile vexatis et melancholicis eveniunt; deserta frequentant, hominumque congressum aversantur;* [o] which is an ordinary thing with melancholy men. The Ægyptians therefore, in their *hieroglyphicks*, expressed a melancholy man by a hare sitting in her form, as being a most timorous and solitary creature (Pierius, *Hieroglyph. l.* 12). But this and all precedent symptomes are more or less apparent, as the humour is intended or remitted, hardly perceived in some, or not at all, most manifest in others. Childish in some, terrible in others; to be derided in one, pitied or admired in another; to him by fits, to a second continuate: and, howsoever these symptomes be common and incident to all persons, yet they are the more remarkable, frequent, furious, and violent, in melancholy men. To speak in a word, there is nothing so vain, absurd, ridiculous, extravagant, impossible, incredible, so monstrous a chimæra, so prodigious and strange, [p] such as painters and poets durst not attempt, which they will not really fear, fain, suspect, and imagine unto themselves: and that which [q] Lod. Viv. said in jest of a silly countrey fellow, that kill'd his ass for drinking up the moon, *ut lunam mundo redderet;* you may truly say of them in earnest; they will act, conceive all extremes, contradictions, and that in infinite varieties. *Melancholici plane incredibilia sibi persuadent, ut vix omnibus sæculis duo reperti sint, qui idem imaginati sint*

[k] Virg. Æn. 6. [l] Iliad. 6. [m] Si malum exasperatur, homines odio habent, et solitaria petunt. [n] Democritus solet noctes et dies apud se degere, plerumque autem in speluncis, sub amœnis arborum umbris vel in tenebris, et mollibus herbis, vel ad aquarum crebra et quieta fluenta, &c. [o] Gaudet tenebris, alliturque dolor. Ps. 62. Vigilavi, et factus sum velut nycticorax in domicilio, passer solitarius in templo. [p] Et, quæ vix audet fabula, monstra parit. [q] In cap. 18. l. 10. de civ. Dei. Lunam ab asino epotam videns.

(Erastus, *de Lamiis*), scarce two of two thousand that concur in the same symptomes. The tower of Babel never yielded such confusion of tongues, as this chaos of melancholy doth variety of symptomes. There is in all melancholy *similitudo dissimilis*, like mens faces, a disagreeing likeness still; and as, in a river, we swim in the same place, though not in the same numerical water; as the same instrument affords several lessons, so the same disease yields diversity of symptomes; which howsoever they be diverse, intricate, and hard to be confined, I will adventure yet, in such a vast confusion and generality, to bring them into some order; and so descend to particulars.

Subsect. III.—*Particular Symptomes from the influence of Stars; parts of the body, and humours.*

Some men have peculiar symptomes, according to their temperament and *crisis*, which they had from the stars and those celestial influences, variety of wits and dispositions, as Anthony Zara contends (*Anat. ingen. sect.* 1. *memb.* 11, 12, 13, 14), *plurimum irritant influentiæ cœlestes, unde cientur animi ægritudines, et morbi corporum.* [r] One saith, diverse diseases of the body and mind proceed from their influences, [s] as I have already proved out of Ptolemy, Pontanus, Lemnius, Cardan, and others, as they are principal significators of manners, diseases, mutually irradiated, or lords of the geniture, &c. Ptolemæus, in his Centiloquy, (or Hermes, or whosoever else the author of that tract,) attributes all these symptomes, which are in melancholy men, to celestial influences; which opinion Mercurialis (*de affect. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10) rejects: but, as I say, [t] Jovianus Pontanus and others stifly defend. That some are solitary, dull, heavy, churlish; some again blith, buxom, light and merry, they ascribe wholly to the stars. As, if Saturn be predominant in his nativity, and cause melancholy in his temperature, then [u] he shall be very austere, sullen, churlish, black of colour, profound in his cogitations, full of cares, miseries, and discontents, sad and fearful, alwayes silent, solitary, still delighting in husbandry, in woods, orchards, gardens, rivers, ponds, pools, dark walks and close; *cogitationes sunt velle ædificare, velle arbores plantare, agros colere, &c.* to catch birds, fishes, &c. still contriving and musing of such matters. If Jupiter domineers, they are more ambitious, still meditating of kingdoms, magistracies, offices, honours, or that they are princes, potentates, and how they would carry themselves, &c.—if Mars, they are all for wars, brave combats, monomachies, testy, cholerick, hare-brain'd, rash, furious, and violent in their actions: they will fain themselves victors, commanders, are passionate and satyrical in their speeches, great braggers, ruddy of colour: and though they be poor in shew, vile and base, yet, like Telephus and Peleus in the [w] poet, *Ampullas jactant, et sesquipedalia verba*; their mouths are full of myriades, and tetrarchs at their tongues end: if the Sun, they will be lords, emperours, in conceit at least, and monarchs, give offices, honours, &c.—if Venus, they are still courting of their mistresses, and most apt to love, amorously given; they seem to hear musick, playes, see fine pictures, dancers, merriments, and the like—ever in love, and dote on all they see. Mercurialists are solitary, much in contemplation, subtile poets, philosophers, and musing most part about such matters. If the Moon have a hand, they are all for peregrinations, sea-voyages, much affected with travels, to discourse, and read, meditate of such things; wandering in their thoughts, divers, much delighting in waters, to fish, fowl, &c.

But the most immediate symptomes proceed from the temperature it self, and organical parts, as head, liver, spleen, mesaraïck veins, heart, womb,

[r] *Velc.* 1. 4. c. 5. [s] Sect. 2. Memb. 1. Subs. 4. [t] De reb. cœlest. lib [u] J. de Indagine *Goclenius.* [w] *Hor. de Art. Poet.*

stomach, &c. and most especially from distemperature of spirits (which, as [w]Hercules de Saxoniâ contends, are wholly immaterial), or from the four humours in those seats, whether they be hot or cold, natural, unnatural, innate, or adventitious, intended or remitted, simple or mixt, their diverse mixtures, and several adustions, combinations, which may be as diversely varied, as those [x]four first qualities in [y]Clavius, and produce as many several symptomes and monstrous fictions as wine doth effects, which (as Andreas Bachius observes, *lib.* 3. *de vino, cap.* 20) are infinite. Of greater note be these.

If it be natural melancholy (as Lod. Mercatus, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. *de melan.* T. Bright, c. 16. hath largely described) either of the spleen, or of the veins, faulty by excess of quantity, or thickness of substance, it is a cold and dry humour, as Montanus affirms (*consil.* 26); the parties are sad, timorous, and fearful. Prosper Calenus, in his book, *de atrâ bile*, will have them to be more stupid than ordinary, cold, heavy, dull, solitary, sluggish, *si multam atram bilem et frigidam habent.* Hercules de Saxoniâ (*c.* 19. *l.* 7) [z]*holds these that are naturally melancholy, to be of a leaden colour or black* (and so doth Guianerius, *c.* 3. *tract.* 15), and such as think themselves dead many times, or that they see, talk with, black men, dead men, spirits and goblins frequently, if it be in excess. These symptomes vary according to the mixture of those four humours adust, which is unnatural melancholy. For (as Trallianus hath written, *cap.* 16. *l.* 7) [a]*there is not one cause of this melancholy, nor one humour which begets it, but divers diversely intermixt; from whence proceeds this variety of symptomes;* and those varying again as they are hot or cold. [b]*Cold melancholy* (saith Benedic. Vittorius Faventinus, *prac. mag.*) *is a cause of dotage, and more mild symptomes; if hot or more adust, of more violent passions,* and *furies.* Fracastorius (*l.* 2. *de intellect.*) will have us to consider well of it, [c]*with what kind of melancholy every one is troubled; for it much avails to know it; one is inraged by fervent heat; another is possessed by sad and cold; one is fearful, shamefac't; the other, impudent and bold, as Ajax, Arma rapit, Superosque ferens in prœlia poscit;* quite mad, or tending to madness; *nunc hos, nunc impetit illos,* Bellerophon, on the other side, *solis errat male sanus in agris,* wanders alone in the woods: one despairs, weeps, and is weary of life; another laughs, &c. All which variety is produced from the several degrees of heat and cold, which [d]Hercules de Saxoniâ will have wholly proceed from the distemperature of spirits alone, animal especially, and those immaterial, the next and immediate causes of melancholy, as they are hot, cold, dry, moist; and from their agitation proceeds that diversity of symptomes, which he reckons up, in the [e]thirteenth chapter of his Tract of Melancholy, and that largely through every part. Others will have them come from the divers adustion of the four humours, which, in this unnatural melancholy, by corruption of blood, adust choler or melancholy natural, [f]*by excessive distemper of heat, turned, in comparison of the natural, into a sharp lye by force of adustion, cause, according to the diversity of their matter, diverse and strange symptomes,* which T. Bright reckons up in his following chapter. So doth [g]Arculanus, according to the four principal humours adust, and many others.

For example, if it proceed from flegm (which is seldom and not so frequent as the rest) [h]it stirs up dull symptomes, and a kind of stupidity, or impas-

[w] Tract. 7. de Melan. [x] Humidum, calidum, frigidum, siccum. [y] Com. in l. c. Johannis de Sacrobosco. [z] Si residet melancholia naturalis, tales plumbei coloris aut nigri, stupidi, solitarii. [a] Non una melancholiæ caussa est, nec unus humor vitii parens, sed plures, et alius aliter mutatus; unde non omnes eadem sentiunt symptomata. [b] Humor frigidus delirii caussa, humor calidus furoris. [c] Multum refert quâ quisque melancholiâ teneatur; hunc fervens et accensa agitat; illum tristis et frigens occupat: hi timidi, illi inverecundi, intrepidi, &c. [d] Cap. 7. et 8. Tract. de Mel. [e] Signa melancholiæ ex intemperie et agitatione spirituum sine materiâ. [f] T. Bright, cap. 16. Treat. Mel. [g] Cap. 16 in 9 Rhasis. [h] Bright, c. 16.

sionate hurt: they are sleepy, saith [i]Savanarola, dull, slow, cold, blockish, ass-like, *asininam melancholiam*, [j]Melancthon calls it, *they are much given to weeping, and delight in waters, ponds, pools, rivers, fishing, fowling, &c.* (Arnoldus, *breviar.* 1. *cap.* 18) they are [k]pale of colour, slothful, apt to sleep, heavy; [l]*much troubled with the head-ach*, continual meditation, and muttering to themselves; they dream of waters, [m]that they are in danger of drowning, and fear such things (Rhasis). They are fatter than others that are melancholy, of a muddy complexion, apter to spit, [n]sleep, more troubled with rheum than the rest, and have their eyes still fixed on the ground. Such a patient had Hercules de Saxoniâ, a widow in Venice, that was fat and very sleepy still; Christophorus a Vega, another affected in the same sort. If it be inveterate or violent, the symptomes are more evident, they plainly dote and are ridiculous to others, in all their gestures, actions, speeches: imagining impossibilities, as he in Christophorus a Vega, that thought he was a tun of wine, [o]and that Siennois, that resolved with himself not to piss, for fear he should drown all the town.

If it proceed from blood adust, or there be a mixture of blood in it, [p]*such are commonly ruddy of complexion, and high-coloured*, according to Sallust Salvianus, and Hercules de Saxoniâ; and, as Savanarola, Vittorius Faventinus Empir. farther add, [q]*the veins of their eyes be red, as well as their faces.* They are much inclined to laughter, witty and merry, conceited in discourse, pleasant, if they be not far gone, much given to musick, dancing, and to be in women's company. They meditate wholly on such things, and think [r]*they see or hear playes, dancing, and such like sports* (free from all fear and sorrow, as [s]Hercules de Saxoniâ supposeth) if they be strongly possessed with this kind of melancholy (Arnoldus adds, *Breviar. lib.* 1. *cap.* 18), like him of Argos, in the poet, that sate laughing [t]all day long, as if he had been at a theatre. Such another is mentioned by [u]Aristotle living at Abydos a town of Asia Minor, that would sit after the same fashion, as if he had been upon a stage, and sometimes act himself; now clap his hands, and laugh, as if he had been well pleased with the sight. Wolfius relates a countrey fellow, called Brunsellius, subject to this humour, [v]*that being by chance at a sermon, saw a woman fall off from a form half asleep; at which object most of the company laughed; but he, for his part, was so much moved, that for three whole daies after, he did nothing but laugh; by which means he was much weakened, and worse a long time following.* Such a one was old Sophocles; and Democritus himself had *hilare delirium*, much in this vein. Laurentius (*cap.* 3. *de melan.*) thinks this kind of melancholy which is a little adust with some mixture of blood, to be that which Aristotle meant, when he said melancholy men of all others are most witty, which causeth many times a divine ravishment, and a kind of *enthusiasmus*, which stirreth them up to be excellent philosophers, poets, prophets, &c. Mercurialis (*consil.* 110) gives instance in a young man his patient, sanguine melancholy, [w]*of a great wit, and excellently learned.*

If it arise from choler adust, they are bold and impudent, and of a more hare-brain disposition, apt to quarrel, and think of such things, battels, combats, and their manhood; furious, impatient in discourse, stiff, irrefragable and prodigious in their tenents; and, if they be moved, most violent, outra-

[i] Pract. major. Somnians, piger, frigidus. [j] De animâ cap. de humor. Si a phlegmate, semper in aquis fere sunt, et circa fluvios plorant multum, &c. [k] Pigra nascitur ex colore pallido et albo. Her. de Saxon. [l] Savanarola. [m] Muros cadere in se, aut submergi, timent, cum torpore et segnitie, et fluvios amant tales. Alexand. c. 16. lib. 7. [n] Semper fere dormit somnolenta, c. 16, 1. 7. [o] Laurentius. [p] Cap. 6. de mel. Si a sanguine, venit rubedo oculorum et faciei, plurimus risus. [q] Venæ oculorum sunt rubræ; vide an præcesserit vini et aromatum usus, et frequens balneum. Trallian. lib. 1. 16. an præcesserit mora sub sole. [r] Ridet patiens, si a sanguine; putat se videre choreas, musicam audire, ludos, &c. [s] Cap. 2. Tract. de Melan. [t] Hor. ep. lib. 2. Quidam haud ignobilis Argis, &c. [u] Lib. de reb. mir. [v] Cum, inter concionandum, mulier dormiens e subsellio caderet, et omnes reliqui, qui id viderent, tribus post diebus, &c. [w] Juvenis, et non vulgaris eruditionis.

gious, [x] ready to disgrace, provoke any, to kill themselves and others; Arnoldus adds, stark mad by fits; [y] *they sleep little, their urine is subtle and fiery;* (Guianerius) *in their fits you shall hear them speak all manner of languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latine, that never were taught or knew them before.* Apponensis (*in com. in Pro. sec.* 30) speaks of a mad woman that spake excellent good Latine; and Rhasis knew another, that could prophesie in her fit, and foretel things truly to come. [z] Guianerius had a patient could make Latine verses when the moon was combust, otherwise illiterate. Avicenna and some of his adherents will have these symptomes, when they happen, to proceed from the devil, and that they are rather *dæmoniaci*, possessed, than mad or melancholy, or both together, as Jason Pratensis thinks; *immiscent se mali genii, &c.* but most ascribe it to the humour; which opinion Montaltus (*cap.* 21) stifly maintains, confuting Avicenna and the rest, referring it wholly to the quality and disposition of the humour and subject. Cardan (*de rerum var. lib.* 8. *cap.* 10) holds these men, of all others, fit to be assassinates, bold, hardy, fierce, and adventurous, to undertake any thing by reason of their choler adust. [a] *This humour,* saith he, *prepares them to endure death itself, and all manner of torments, with invincible courage: and 'tis a wonder to see with what alacrity they will undergo such tortures, ut supra naturam res videatur:* he ascribes this generosity, fury or rather stupidity, to this adustion of choler and melancholy: but I take these rather to be mad or desperate, than properly melancholy: for commonly this humour, so adust and hot, degenerates into madness.

If it come from melancholy it self adust, those men (saith Avicenna[b]) *are usually sad and solitary, and that continually, and in excess, more than ordinary suspicious, more fearful, and have long, sore, and most corrupt imaginations;* cold and black, bashful, and so solitary, that (as [c] Arnoldus writes) *they will endure no company; they dream of graves still, and dead men, and think themselves bewitched or dead:* if it be extream, they think they hear hideous noyses, see and talk [d] *with black men and converse familiarly with devils; and such strange chimeras and visions* (Gordonius), or that they are possessed by them, that somebody talks to them or within them. *Tales melancholici plerumque dæmoniaci* (Montaltus, *consil.* 26. *ex* Avicenna). Valescus de Taranta had such a woman in cure, [e] *that thought she had to do with the devil:* and Gentilis Fulgosus (*quæst.* 55) writes that he had a melancholy friend, that [f] *had a black man in the likeness of a souldier,* still following him wheresoever he was. Laurentius (*cap.* 7) hath many stories of such as have thought themselves bewitched by their enemies; and some that would eat no meat, as being dead. [g] Anno 1550, an advocate of Paris fell into such a melancholy fit, that he believed verily he was dead; he could not be perswaded otherwise, or to eat or drink, till a kinsman of his, a scholar of Bourges, did eat before him, dressed like a corse. The story (saith Serres) was acted in a comedy before Charles the Ninth. Some think they are beasts, wolves, hogs, and [h] cry like dogs, foxes, bray like asses, and low like kine, as king Prœtus daughters. Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2 *de Manid*) hath an example of a Dutch baron so affected: and Trincavellius (*lib.* 1. *consil.* 11) another of a noble man in his countrey, [i] *that thought he was certainly a beast, and*

[x] Si a cholerâ, furibundi interficiunt se et alios; putant se videre pugnas. [y] Urina subtilis et ignea; parum dormiunt. [z] Tract. 16. c. 4. [a] Ad hæc perpetranda furore rapti ducuntur; cruciatus quosvis tolerant, et mortem; et furore exacerbato audent, et ad supplicia plus irritantur; mirum est, quantam habeant in tormentis patientiam. [b] Tales plus cæteris timent, et continue tristantur; valde suspiciosi, solitudinem diligunt; corruptissimas habent imaginationes, &c. [c] Si a melancholiâ adustâ, tristes, de sepulcris somniant, timent ne fascinentur, putant se mortuos, adspici nolunt. [d] Videntur sibi videre monachos nigros et dæmones, et suspensos et mortuos. [e] Quâvis nocte se cum dæmone coire putavit. [f] Semper fere vidisse militem nigrum præsentem. [g] Anthony de Verdeur. [h] Quidam mugitus boum æmulantur, et pecora se putant, ut Prœti filiæ. [i] Baro quidam mugitus boum, et rugitus asinorum, et aliorum animalium voces, effingit.

would imitate most of their voices, with many such symptomes, which may properly be reduced to this kind.

If it proceed from the several combinations of these four humours, or spirits (Herc. de Saxon. adds hot, cold, dry, moist, dark, confused, settled, constringed, as it participates of matter, or is without matter) the symptomes are likewise mixt. One thinks himself a giant, another a dwarf; one is heavy as lead, another is as light as a feather. Marcellus Donatus (*l.* 2. *cap.* 41) makes mention, out of Seneca, of one Senecio, a rich man, [j] *that thought himself and every thing else he had, great—great wife, great horses; could not abide little things, but would have great pots to drink in, great hose, and great shoes bigger than his feet*—like her in [k] Trallianus, *that supposed she could shake all the world with her finger,* and was afraid to clinch her hand together, lest she should crush the world like an apple in pieces—or him in Galen, that thought he was [l] Atlas, and sustained heaven with his shoulders. Another thinks himself so little, that he can creep into a mousehole: one fears heaven will fall on his head: a second is a cock; and such a one [m] Guianerius saith he saw at Padua, that would clap his hands together, and crow. [n] Another thinks he is a nightingal, and therefore sings all the night long: another he is all glass, a pitcher, and will therefore let nobody come near him; and such a one [o] Laurentius gives out upon his credit, that he knew in France. Christophorus a Vega (*cap.* 3. *lib.* 14), Skenkius, and Marcellus Donatus (*l.* 2. *cap.* 1), have many such examples, and one, amongst the rest, of a baker in Ferrara, that thought he was composed of butter, and durst not sit in the sun, or come near the fire, for fear of being melted; of another that though he was a case of leather, stuffed with wind. Some laugh, weep; some are mad, some dejected, moped, in much agony, some by fits, others continuate, &c. Some have a corrupt ear (they think they hear musick, or some hideous noise, as their phantasie conceives), corrupt eyes, some smelling, some one sense, some another. [p] Lewis the eleventh had a conceit every thing did stink about him: all the odoriferous perfumes they could get, would not ease him; but still he smelled a filthy stink. A melancholy French poet, in [q] Laurentius, being sick of a fever, and troubled with waking, by his physicians was appointed to use *unguentum populeum* to anoint his temples; but he so distasted the smell of it, that, for many years after, all that came near him he imagined to scent of it, and would let no man talk with him but aloof off, or wear any new clothes, because he thought still they smelled of it; in all other things wise and discreet, he would talk sensibly, save only in this. A gentleman in Lymosen (saith Anthony Verdeur), was perswaded he had but one leg: affrighted by a wild boar, that by chance stroke him on the legg, he could not be satisfied his legg was sound (in all other things well) until two Franciscans, by chance coming that way, fully removed him from the conceit. *Sed abunde fabularum audivimus.*

Subsect. IV.—*Symptomes from education, custome, continuance of time, our condition, mixt with other diseases, by fits, inclination, &c.*

Another great occasion of the variety of these symptomes proceeds from custom, discipline, education, and several inclinations. [r] This humour will imprint in melancholy men the objects most answerable to their condition of life, and ordinary actions, and dispose men according to their several studies and callings. If an ambitious man become melancholy, he forthwith thinks he is a king, an emperour, a monarch, and walks alone,

[j] Omnia magna putabat, uxorem magnam, grandes equos; abhorrult omnia parva; magna pocula, et calceamenta pedibus majora. [k] Lib. 1. cap. 16. Putavit se uno digito posse totum mundum conterere. [l] Sustinet humeris cœlum cum Atlante. Alii cœli ruinam timent. [m] Cap. 1. Tract. 15. Alius se gallum rutat, alius lusciniam. [n] Trallianus. [o] Cap. 7. de mel. [p] Anthony de Verdeur. [q] Cap. 7. de mel. Laurentius, cap. 6.

pleasing himself with a vain hope of some future preferment, or present, as he supposeth, and withal acts a lords part, takes upon him to be some statesman, or magnifico, makes congies, gives entertainments, looks big, &c. Francisco Sansovino records of a melancholy man in Cremona, that would not be induced to believe, but that he was pope, gave pardons, made cardinals, &c. [s]Christophorus a Vega makes mention of another of his acquaintance, that thought he was a king driven from his kingdom, and was very anxious to recover his estate. A covetous person is still conversant about purchasing of lands and tenements, plotting in his mind how to compass such and such mannors, as if he were already lord of, and able to go through with it; all he sees is his, *re* or *spe;* he hath devoured it in hope, or else in conceit esteems it his own; like him in [t]Athenæus, that thought all the ships in the haven to be his own. A lascivious *inamorato* plots all the day long to please his mistriss, acts and struts, and carries himself, as if she were in presence, still dreaming of her, as Pamphilus of his Glycerium, or as some do in their morning sleep. [u]Marcellus Donatus knew such a gentlewoman in Mantua, called Elionora Meliorina, that constantly believed she was married to a king, and [v]would kneel down and talk with him, as if he had been there present with his associates; and if she had found by chance a piece of glass in a muck-hill or in the street, she would say that it was a jewell sent from her lord and husband. If devout and religious, he is all for fasting, prayer, ceremonies, alms, interpretations, visions, prophecies, revelations; [w]he is inspired by the Holy Ghost, full of the Spirit; one while he is saved, another while damned, or still troubled in his mind for his sins; the devil will surely have him, &c. More of these in the third partition of love-melancholy. [x]A scholars mind is busied about his studies; he applauds himself for that he hath done, or hopes to do, one while fearing to be out in his next exercise, another while contemning all censures; envies one, emulates another; or else, with indefatigable pains and meditation, consumes himself. So of the rest, all which vary according to the more remiss and violent impression of the object, or as the humour itself is intended or remitted: for some are so gently melancholy, that, in all their carriage, and to the outward apprehension of others, it can hardly be discerned, yet to them an intolerable burden, and not to be endured. [y] *Quædam occulta, quædam manifesta;* some signs are manifest and obvious to all at all times, some to few, or seldom, or hardly perceived: let them keep their own counsel, none will take notice or suspect them. *They do not express in outward shew their depraved imaginations* (as [z]Hercules de Saxoniâ observes), *but conceal them wholly to themselves, and are very wise men, as I have often seen: some fear; some do not fear at all, as such as think themselves kings or dead; some have more signs, some fewer, some great, some less;* some vex, fret, still fear, grieve, lament, suspect, laugh, sing, weep, chafe, &c. by fits (as I have said), or more during and permanent. Some dote in one thing, are most childish, and ridiculous, and to be wondered at in that, and yet, for all other matters most discreet and wise. To some it is in disposition, to another in habit; and, as they write of heat and cold, we may say of this humour, one is *melancholicus ad octo,* a second two degrees less, a third half-way. 'Tis super-particular, *sesquialtera, sesquitertia,* and *su-*

[s] Lib. 3. cap. 14. Qui se regem putavit regno expulsum. [t] Dipnosophist. lib. Thrasylaüs putavit omnes naves in Piræeum portum appellentes suas esse. [u] De hist. Med. mirab. lib. 2. cap. 1. [v] Genibus flexis loqui cum illo voluit, et adstare jam tum putavit, &c. [w] Gordonius. Quod sit propheta, et inflatus a Spiritu Sancto. [x] Qui forensibus caussis insudat, nil nisi arresta cogitat, et supplices libellos; alius non nisi versus facit. P. Forestus. [y] Gordonius. [z] Verbo non exprimunt, nec opere, sed altâ mente recondunt; et sunt viri prudentissimi, quos ego sæpe novi; cum multi sint sine timore, ut qui se reges et mortuos putant; plura signa quidam habent, pauciora, majora, minora.

perbipartiens tertias, quintas melancholiæ, &c. all those geometrical proportions are too little to express it. [a] *It comes to many by fits, and goes; to others it is continuate:* many (saith [b] Faventinus) *in spring and fall only are molested;* some once a year, as that Roman, [c] Galen speaks of; [d] one, at the conjunction of the moon alone, or some unfortunate aspects, at such and such set hours and times, like the sea tides; to some women when they be with child, as [e] Plater notes, never otherwise; to others 'tis settled and fixed: to one led about and variable still by that *ignis fatuus* of phantasie, like an *arthritis*, or running gout, 'tis here and there, and in every joint, always molesting some part or other; or if the body be free, in a myriad of forms exercising the mind. A second, once peradventure in his life, hath a most grievous fit, once in seven years, once in five years, even to the extremity of madness, death, or dotage, and that upon some feral accident or perturbation, terrible object, and that for a time, never perhaps so before, never after. A third is moved upon all such troublesome objects, cross fortune, disaster, and violent passions, otherwise free, once troubled in three or four years. A fourth, if things be to his mind, or he in action, well pleased in good company, is most jocund, and of a good complexion; if idle, or alone, *à la mort*, or carried away wholly with pleasant dreams and phantasies, but if once crossed and displeased, *Pectore concipiet nil nisi triste suo:* his countenance is altered on a sudden, his heart heavy; irksome thoughts crucifie his soul, and in an instant he is moped or weary of his life, he will kill himself. A fifth complains in his youth, a sixth in his middle age, the last in his old age.

Generally thus much we may conclude of melancholy—that it is [f] most pleasant at first, I say, *mentis gratissimus error*, a most delightsome humour, to be alone, dwell alone, walk alone, meditate, lye in bed whole dayes, dreaming awake as it were, and frame a thousand fantastical imaginations unto themselves. They are never better pleased than when they are so doing: they are in Paradise for the time, and cannot well endure to be interrupt; with him the poet,

> ——————[g] pol! me occidistis, amici,
> Non servâstis, ait——————

you have undone him, he complains, if you trouble him: tell him what inconvenience will follow, what will be the event; all is one; *canis ad vomitum:* [h] 'tis so pleasant, he cannot refrain. He may thus continue peradventure many years by reason of a strong temperature, or some mixture of business, which may divert his cogitations: but, at the last, *læsa imaginatio*, his phantasie is crazed, and, now habituated to such toyes, cannot but work still like a fat; the scene alters upon a sudden; fear and sorrow supplant those pleasing thoughts; suspicion, discontent and perpetual anxiety succeed in their places; so by little and little, by that shoeing-horn of idleness, and voluntary solitariness, Melancholy, this feral fiend, is drawn on; and

> [i] Quantum vertice ad auras
> Æthereas, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:

it was not so delicious at first, as it is now bitter and harsh: a cankered soul macerated with cares and discontents, *tædium vitæ*, impatience, agony, inconstancy, irresolution, precipitate them unto unspeakable miseries. They cannot endure company, light, or life it self, some; unfit for action, and the like. [j] Their bodies are lean and dryed up, withered, ugly, their looks harsh, very dull, and their souls tormented, as they are more or less

[a] Trallianus, lib. 1. 16. Alii intervalla quædam habent, ut etiam consueta administrent; alii in continuo delirio sunt, &c. [b] Prag. mag. Vere tantum et autumno. [c] Lib. de humoribus. [d] Gulanerius. [e] De mentis alienat. cap. 3. [f] Levinus Lemnius, Jason Pratensis. Blanda ab initio. [g] Hor. [h] Facilis descensus Averni. [i] Virg. [j] Corpus cadaverosum. Psa. 67. Cariosa est facies mea præ ægritudine animæ.

intangled, as the humour hath been intended, or according to the continuance of time they have been troubled.

To discern all which symptomes the better [k] Rhasis the Arabian makes three degrees of them. The first is [l] *falsa cogitatio*, false conceits and idle thoughts; to misconstrue and amplifie, aggravating every thing they conceive or fear: the second is, *falsa cogitata loqui*, to talk to themselves, or to use inarticulate, incondite voices, speeches, obsolete gestures, and plainly to utter their minds and conceits of their hearts by their words and actions, as to laugh, weep, to be silent, not to sleep, eat their meat, &c. the third is to put in practice that which they think or speak. Savanarola (*Rub.* 11. *tract.* 8. *cap.* 1. *de ægritudine*) confirms as much: [m] *when he begins to express that in words, which he conceives in his heart, or talks idly, or goes from one thing to another* (which [n] Gordonius calls *nec caput habentia, nec caudam*), he is in the middle way: [o] *but, when he begins to act it likewise, and to put his fopperies in execution, he is then in the extent of melancholy or madness it self.* This progress of melancholy you shall easily observe in them that have been so affected: they go smiling to themselves at first, at length they laugh out; at first solitary, at last they can endure no company: or, if they do, they are now dizards, past sense and shame, quite moped; they care not what they say or do; all their actions, words, gestures, are furious or ridiculous. At first his mind is troubled; he doth not attend what is said; if you can tell him a tale, he cryes at last, what said you? but in the end he mutters to himself, as old women do many times, or old men when they sit alone; upon a sudden they laugh, whoop, hollow, or run away, and swear they see or hear players, [p] devils, hobgoblins, ghosts; strike, or strut, &c. grow humorous in the end. Like him in the poet—*sæpe ducentos, sæpe decem servos*—he will dress himself, and undress, careless at last, grows insensible, stupid, or mad. [q] He howls like a woolf, barks like a dog, and raves like Ajax and Orestes, hears musick and outcryes, which no man else hears; as [r] he did whom Amatus Lusitanus mentioneth (*cent.* 3. *cura* 55), or that woman in [s] Springer, that spake many languages, and said she was possessed; that farmer, in [t] Prosper Calenus, that disputed and discoursed learnedly in philosophy and astronomy, with Alexander Achilles his master, at Boloigne in Italy. But of these I have already spoken.

Who can sufficiently speak of these symptomes, or prescribe rules to comprehend them? As Echo to the painter in Ausonius, *vane, quid affectas, &c.* foolish fellow, what wilt? if you must needs paint me, paint a voice, *et similem si vis pingere, pinge sonum:* if you will describe melancholy, describe a phantastical conceit, a corrupt imagination, vain thoughts and different; which who can do? The four and twenty letters make no more variety of words in divers languages, than melancholy conceits produce diversity of symptomes in several persons. They are irregular, obscure, various, so infinite, Proteus himself is not so divers; you may as well make the moon a new coat, as a true character of a melancholy man; as soon find the motion of a bird in the air, as the heart of man, a melancholy man. They are so confused, I say, divers, intermixt with other diseases — as the species be confounded (which [u] I have shewed) so are the symptomes; sometimes with headach, cachexia, dropsie, stone (as you may perceive by those several examples and illustrations, collected by Hil-

[k] Lib. 9. ad Almansorem. [l] Practicâ majore. [m] Quum ore loquitur quæ corde concepit, quum subito de unâ re ad aliud transit, neque rationem de aliquo reddit, tunc est in medio: at quum incipit operari quæ loquitur, in summo gradu est. [n] Cap. 19. Partic. 2. Loquitur secum, et ad alios, ac si vere præsentes. Aug. c. 11. lib. de curâ pro mortuis gerendâ. Rhasis. [o] Quum res ad hoc devenit, ut ea, quæ cogitare cœperit, ore promat, atque acta permisceat, tum perfecta melancholia est. [p] Melancholicus se videre et audire putat dæmones. Lavater, de spectris, par. 3. cap. 2. [q] Wierus, l. 3. c. 31. [r] Michael, a musician. [s] Malleo malef. [t] Lib. de atrâ bile. [u] Part. 1. Subs. 2. Mem. 2.

desheim, [v] *spicil.* 2. Mercurialis, *consil.* 118. *cap.* 6. *et* 11.), with head-ach, epilepsie, priapismus, (Trincavellius, *consil.* 12. lib. 1. *consil.* 39.) with gout, *caninus appetitus* (Montanus, *consil.* 26. *&c.* 23. 234. 249), with falling-sickness, head-ach, vertigo, lycanthropia, &c. (J. Cæsar Claudinus, *consult.* 4. *consult.* 80. et 116) with gout, agues, hemroids, stone, &c. Who can distinguish these melancholy symptomes so intermixt with others, or apply them to their several kinds, confine them into method? 'Tis hard, I confess; yet I have disposed of them as I could, and will descend to particularize them according to their species: for hitherto I have expatiated in more general lists or terms, speaking promiscuously of such ordinary signs, which occur amongst writers. Not that they are all to be found in one man; for that were to paint a monster or chimera, not a man; but some in one, some in another, and that successively or at several times.

Which I have been the more curious to express and report, not to upbraid any miserable man, or by way of derision (I rather pity them), but the better to discern, to apply remedies unto them; and to shew that the best and soundest of us all is in great danger; how much we ought to fear our own fickle estates, remember our miseries and vanities, examine and humiliate our selves, seek to God, and call to him for mercy, that needs not look for any rods to scourge our selves, since we carry them in our bowels, and that our souls are in a miserable captivity, if the light of grace and heavenly truth doth not shine continually upon us; and by our discretion to moderate our selves, to be more circumspect and wary in the midst of these dangers.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Symptomes of Head-Melancholy.*

If [w] *no symptomes appear about the stomach, nor the blood be misaffected, and fear and sorrow continue, it is to be thought the brain itself is troubled, by reason of a melancholy juyce bred in it, or otherwayes conveyed into it; and that evil juyce is from the distemperature of the part, or left after some inflammation.* Thus far Piso. But this is not alwayes true; for blood and hypochondries both are often affected even in head-melancholy. [x] Hercules de Saxoniâ differs here from the common current of writers, putting peculiar signs of head-melancholy, from the sole distemperature of spirits in the brain, as they are hot, cold, dry, moist, *all without matter, from the motion alone, and tenebrosity of spirits.* Of melancholy which proceeds from humours by adustion, he treats apart, with their several symptomes and cures. The common signs, if it be by essence in the head, *are ruddiness of face, high sanguine complexion, most part,* (*rubore saturato,* [y] one calls it) a blewish, and sometimes full of pumples, with red eyes. (Avicenna, *l.* 3. *Fen.* 2. *Tract.* 4. *c.* 18. Duretus, and others out of Galen. *de affect. l.* 3. *c.* 6.) [z] Hercules de Saxoniâ, to this of redness of face, adds *heaviness of the head, fixed and hollow eyes.* [a] *If it proceed from dryness of the brain, then their heads will be light, vertiginous, and they most apt to wake, and to continue whole months together without sleep. Few excrements in their eyes and nostrils; and often bald by reason of excess of dryness.* Montaltus adds (c. 17). If it proceeds from moisture, dulness, drowsiness, head-ach follows; and, (as Sallust. Salvianus, *c. l. l.* 2. out of his own experience found) epileptical, with a multitude of humours in the head. They are very

[v] De delirio, melancholiâ, et maniâ. [w] Nicholas Piso. Si signa circa ventriculum non apparent, nec sanguis male affectus, et adsunt timor et mœstitia, cerebrum ipsum existimandum est, &c. [x] Tract. de mel. c. 13, &c. Ex intemperie spirituum, et cerebri motu et tenebrositate. [y] Facie sunt rubente et livescente, quibus etiam aliquando adsunt pustulæ. [z] Jo. Pantheon, cap. de Mel. Si cerebrum primario afficiatur, adsunt capitis gravitas, fixi oculi, &c. [a] Laurent. cap. 5. Si a cerebro, ex siccitate, tum capitis *erit levitas,* sitis, vigilia, paucitas superfluitatum in oculis et naribus.

bashful, if ruddy, apt to blush, and to be red upon all occasions, *præsertim si metus accesserit*. But the chiefest symptome to discern this species, as I have said, is this, that there be no notable signs in the stomach, hypochondries, or elsewhere, *digna*, as [b] Montaltus terms them, or of greater note, because oftentimes the passions of the stomach concurr with them. Wind is common to all three species, and is not excluded, only that of the hypochondries is [c]*more windy* than the rest, saith Hollerius. Aëtius (*tetrab. l.* 2. *se.* 2. *c.* 9. *et* 10) maintains the same : [d]if there be more signs, and more evident, in the head than elsewhere, the head is primarily affected, and prescribes head melancholy to be cured by meats (amongst the rest) void of wind, and good juyce, not excluding wind, or corrupt blood, even in head melancholy it self : but these species are often confounded, and so are their symptomes, as I have already proved. The symptomes of the mind are superfluous and continual cogitations : [e]*for, when the head is heated, it scorcheth the blood, and from thence proceed melancholy fumes, which trouble the mind* (Avicenna). They are very cholerick, and soon hot, solitary, sad, often silent, watchful, discontent (*Montaltus, cap.* 24). If any thing trouble them, they cannot sleep, but fret themselves still, till another object mitigate, or time wear it out. They have grievous passions, and immoderate perturbations of the mind, fear, sorrow, &c. yet not so continuate, but that they are sometimes merry, apt to profuse laughter (which is more to be wondered at), and that by the authority of [f]Galen himself, by a reason of mixture of blood : *prærubri jocosis delectantur, et irrisores plerumque sunt :* if they be ruddy, they are delighted in jests, and oftentimes scoffers themselves, conceited, and (as Rodericus a Vega comments on that place of Galen) merry, witty, of a pleasant disposition, and yet grievously melancholy anon after. *Omnia discunt sine doctore*, saith Aretæus : they learn without a teacher : and, as [g]Laurentius supposeth, those feral passions and symptomes of such as think themselves glass, pitchers, feathers, &c. speak strange languages, proceed *a calore cerebri* (if it be in excess), from the brains distempered heat.

SUBSECT. II.—*Symptomes of windy Hypochondriacal Melancholy.*

In this hypochondriacal or flatuous melancholy, the symptomes are so ambiguous, (saith [h] Crato, in a counsel of his for a noble woman) *that the most exquisite physicians cannot determine of the part affected.* Matthew Flaccius, consulted about a noble matron, confessed as much, that in this malady, he, with Hollerius, Fracastorius, Falopius, and others, being to give their sentence of a party labouring of hypochondriacal melancholy, could not find out by the symptomes, which part was most especially affected : some said the womb, some heart, some stomach, &c. and therefore Crato (*consil.* 24. *lib.* 1) boldly avers, that, in this diversity of symptomes which commonly accompany this disease, [i]*no physician can truly say what part is affected.* Galen (*lib.* 3. *de loc. affect.*) reckons up these ordinary symptomes (which all the neotericks repeat) out of Diocles ; only this fault he finds with him, that he puts not *fear* and *sorrow* amongst the other signs. Trincavellius excuseth Diocles (*lib.* 3. *consil.* 35), because that oftentimes, in a strong head and constitution, a generous spirit, and a valiant, these symptomes appear not, by reason of his valour and courage. [j] Hercules de

[b] Si nulla digna læsio ventriculo, quoniam, in hac melancholiâ capitis, exigua nonnunquam ventriculi pathemata coëunt ; duo enim hæc membra sibi invicem affectionem transmittunt. [c] Postrema magis flatuosa. [d] Si minus molestiæ circa ventriculum aut ventrem, in iis cerebrum primario afficitur ; et curare oportet hunc affectum, per cibos flatûs exsortes, et bonæ concoctionis, &c. raro cerebrum afficitur sine ventriculo. [e] Sanguinem adurit caput calidius ; et inde fumi melancholici adusti animum exagitant. [f] Lib. de loc. affect. cap. 6. [g] Cap. 6. [h] Hildesheim, spicil. 1. de mel. In hypochondriacâ melancholiâ, adeo ambigua sunt symptomata, ut etiam exercitatissimi medici de loco affecto statuere non possint. [i] Medici de loco affecto nequeunt statuere. [j] Tract. postumo de mel. Patavii edit. 1620. per Bozettum Bibliop. cap. 2.

Saxoniâ (to whom I subscribe) is of the same mind (which I have before touched) that *fear* and *sorrow* are not general symptomes: some fear, and are not sad; some be sad, and fear not; some neither fear nor grieve. The rest are these, beside fear and sorrow, [k] *sharp belchings, fulsome crudities, heat in the bowels, wind and rumbling in the guts, vehement gripings, pain in the belly and stomach sometimes, after meat that is hard of concoction, much watering of the stomach, and moist spittle, cold sweat*, importunus sudor, *unseasonable sweat all over the body* (as Octavius Horatianus, lib. 2. cap. 5. calls it) *cold joynts, indigestions;* [l] *they cannot endure their own fulsome belchings; continual wind about their hypochondries, heat and griping in their bowels;* præcordia sursum convelluntur, *midriff, and bowels are pulled up; the veins about their eyes look red, and swell from vapours and wind.* Their ears sing now and then; vertigo and giddiness comes by fits, turbulent dreams, driness, leanness; apt they are to sweat upon all occasions, of all colours and complexions. Many of them are high coloured, especially after meals; which symptome Cardinal Cæsius was much troubled with, and of which he complained to Prosper Calenus his physician, he could not eat, or drink a cup of wine, but he was as red in the face, as if he had been at a maiors feast. That symptome alone vexeth many. [m] Some again are black, pale, ruddy; sometime their shoulders and shoulder-blades ake; there is a leaping all over their bodies, sudden trembling, a palpitation of the heart, and that *cardiaca passio*, grief in the mouth of the stomach, which maketh the patient think his heart it self aketh, and sometimes suffocation, *difficultas anhelitûs*, short breath, hard wind, strong pulse, swooning, Montanus (*consil.* 55), Trincavellius (*lib.* 3. *consil.* 36. *et* 37) Fernelius (*cons.* 43), Frambesarius (*consult. lib.* 1. *consil.* 17), Hildesheim, Claudinus, &c. give instance of every particular. The peculiar symptomes, which properly belong to each part, be these. If it proceed from the stomach, saith [n] Savanarola, 'tis full of pain, wind. Guianerius adds, *vertigo, nausea*, much spitting, &c. If from the myrache, a swelling and wind in the hypochondries, a loathing and appetite to vomit, pulling upward. If from the heart, aking and trembling of it, much heaviness. If from the liver, there is usually a pain in the right hypochondry. If from the spleen, hardness and grief in the left hypochondry, a rumbling, much appetite and small digestion (Avicenna). If from the mesaraïck veins and liver on the other side, little or no appetite (Herc. de Saxionâ). If from the hypochondries, a rumbling inflation, concoction is hindered, often belching, &c. And from these crudities, windy vapours ascend up to the brain, which trouble the imagination, and cause fear, sorrow, dulness, heaviness, many terrible conceits and chimeras, as Lemnius well observes (*l.* 1. *c* 16): *as* [o] *a black and thick cloud covers the sun, and intercepts his beams and light, so doth this melancholy vapour obnubilate the mind, inforce it to many absurd thoughts and imaginations*, and compel good, wise, honest, discreet men (arising to the brain from the [p] lower parts, *as smoak out of a chimney*) to dote, speak, and do that which becomes them not, their persons, callings, wisdoms. One, by reason of those ascending vapours and gripings rumbling beneath, will not be perswaded but that he hath a serpent in his guts, a viper; another, frogs. Trallianus relates a story of a woman, that imagined she had swallowed an eel, or a serpent; and Felix Platerus (*observat. lib.* 1.) hath

[k] Acidi ructus, cruditates, æstus in præcordiis, flatus, interdum ventriculi dolores vehementes, sumtoque cibo concoctu difficili, sputum humidum idque multum sequetur, &c. Hip. lib. de mel. Galenus, Melanelius e Ruffo et Aëtio, Altomarus, Piso, Montaltus, Bruel, Wecker, &c. [l] Circa præcordia de assiduâ inflatione queruntur; et, cum sudore totius corporis importuno, frigidos articulos sæpe patiuntur, indigestione laborant, ructus suos insuaves perhorrescunt, viscerum dolores habent. [m] Montaltus, c. 13. Wecker, Fuchsius, c. 13. Altomarus, c. 7. Laurentius, c 73. Bruel, Gordon. [n] Pract. major. Dolor in eo et ventositas, nausea. [o] Ut atra densaque nubes, soli offusa, radios et lumen ejus intercipit et offuscat: sic, &c. [p] Ut *fumes e camino.*

a most memorable example of a countreyman of his, that by chance falling into a pit where frogs and frogs-spawn was, and a little of that water swallowed, began to suspect that he had likewise swallowed frogs-spawn; and with that conceipt and fear, his phantasie wrought so far, that he verily thought he had young live frogs in his belly, *qui vivebant ex alimento suo*, that lived by his nourishment, and was so certainly perswaded of it, that, for many years following, he could not be rectified in his conceipt: he studied physick seven years together, to cure himself, travelled into Italy, France, and Germany, to conferr with the best physicians about it, and, *anno* 1609, asked his counsel amongst the rest. He told him it was wind, his conceipt, &c. but *mordicus contradicere, et ore et scriptis probare nitebatur:* no saying would serve: it was no wind but real frogs: *and do you not hear them croak?* Platerus would have deceived him by putting live frogs into his excrements: but he, being a physician himself, would not be deceived, *vir prudens alias, et doctus*, a wise and learned man otherwise, a doctor of physick; and after seven years dotage in this kind, *a phantasiâ liberatus est*, he was cured. Laurentius and Goulart have many such examples, if you be desirous to read them. One commodity, above the rest which are melancholy, these windy flatuous have—*lucida intervalla:* their symptomes and pains are not usually so continuate as the rest, but come by fits, fear and sorrow and the rest: yet in another, they exceed all others; and that is, [q]they are luxurious, incontinent, and prone to venery, by reason of wind, *et facile amant, et quamlibet fere amant* (Jason Pratensis). [r]Rhasis is of opinion, that Venus doth many of them much good; the other symptomes of the mind be common with the rest.

SUBSECT. III.—*Symptomes of Melancholy abounding in the whole body.*

THEIR bodies, that are affected with this universal melancholy, are most part black; [s]*the melancholy juyce is redundant all over;* hirsute they are, and lean; they have broad veins, their blood is gross and thick. [t]*Their spleen is weak*, and a liver apt to ingender the humour; they have kept bad diet, or have had some evacuation stopped, as hæmroids, or months in women, which [u]Trallianus, in the cure, would have carefully to be inquired, and withal to observe of what complexion the party is, black or red. For, as Forrestus and Hollerius contend, if [v]they be black, it proceeds from abundance of natural melancholy; if it proceed from cares, agony, discontents, diet, exercise, &c. they may be as well of any other colour, red, yellow, pale, as black, and yet their whole blood corrupt; *prærubri colore sæpe sunt tales sæpe flavi* (saith [w]Montaltus, *cap.* 22). The best way to discern this species, is to let them bleed: if the blood be corrupt, thick, and black, and they withal free from those hypochondriacal symptomes, and not so grievously troubled with them, or those of the head, it argues they are melancholy *a toto corpore*. The fumes which arise from this corrupt blood, disturb the mind, and make them fearful and sorrowful, heavy-hearted, as the rest, dejected, discontented, solitary, silent, weary of their lives, dull and heavy, or merry, &c. and, if far gone, that which Apuleius wished to his enemy, by way of imprecation, is true in them: [x]*dead mens bones, hobgoblins, ghosts, are ever in their minds, and meet them still in every turn: all the bugbears*

[q] Hypochondriaci maxime affectant coire, et multiplicatur coitus in ipsis, eo quod ventositates multiplicantur in hypochondriis, et coitus sæpe allevat has ventositates. [r] Cont. lib. 1. tract. 9. [s] Wecker. Melancholicus succus toto corpore redundans. [t] Splen naturâ imbecillior. Montaltus, cap 22. [u] Lib. 1. cap. 16. Interrogare convenit, an aliqua evacuationis retentio obvenerit, viri in hæmorrhoid. mulierum menstruis; et vide faciem similiter, an sit rubicunda. [v] Naturales nigri acquisiti a toto corpore, sæpe rubicundi. [w] Montaltus, cap. 22. Piso. Ex colore sanguinis, si minuas venam, si fluat niger, &c. [x] Apul. l. 1. Semper obviæ species mortuorum: quidquid umbrarum est uspiam, quidquid lemurum et larvarum, oculis suis aggerunt: sibi fingunt omnia noctium occursacula, omnia bustorum formidamina; omnia sepulcrorum terriculamenta.

of the night, and terrours and fairybabes of tombes and graves are before their eyes and in their thoughts, as to women and children, if they be in the dark alone. If they hear, or read, or see, any tragical object, it sticks by them: they are afraid of death, and yet weary of their lives; in their discontented humours, they quarrel with all the world, bitterly inveigh, tax satyrically; and, because they cannot otherwise vent their passions, or redress what is amiss, as they mean, they will, by violent death, at last be revenged on themselves.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Symptomes of Maids, Nunnes, and Widows Melancholy.*

BECAUSE Lodovicus Mercatus (in his second book *de mulier. affect. c.* 4.) and Rodericus a Castro (*de morb. mulier. c.* 3. *l.* 2), two famous physicians in Spain, Daniel Sennertus of Wittenberg (*lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *c.* 13), with others, have vouchsafed, in their works not long since published, to write two just treatises *de Melancholiâ Virginum, Monialium, et Viduarum*, as a peculiar species of melancholy (which I have already specified) distinct from the rest, ([y] for it much differs from that which commonly befals men and other women, as having one only cause proper to women alone) I may not omit, in this general survey of melancholy symptomes, to set down the particular signs of such parties so misaffected.

The causes are assigned out of Hippocrates, Cleopatra, Moschion, and those old *gynæciorum scriptores*, of this feral malady, in more ancient maids, widows, and barren women, *ob septum transversum violatum* (saith Mercatus), by reason of the midriffe or *diaphragma*, heart and brain offended with those vicious vapours which come from menstruous blood: *inflammationem arteriæ circa dorsum*, Rodericus adds, an inflammation of the back, which with the rest is offended by [z] that fuliginous exhalation of corrupt seed, troubling the brain, heart and mind; the brain I say, not in essence, but by consent; *universa enim hujus affectûs causa ab utero pendet, et a sanguinis menstrui malitiâ:* for, in a word, the whole malady proceeds from that inflammation, putredity, black smoky vapours, &c. from thence comes care, sorrow, and anxiety, obfuscation of spirits, agony, desperation, and the like, which are intended or remitted, *si amatorius accesserit ardor*, or any other violent object or perturbation of mind. This melancholy may happen to widows, with much care and sorrow, as frequently it doth, by reason of a sudden alteration of their accustomed course of life, &c. To such as lye in childe-bed, *ob suppressam purgationem;* but to nunnes and more ancient maids, and some barren women, for the causes abovesaid, 'tis more familiar; *crebrius his quam reliquit accidit, inquit Rodericus;* the rest are not altogether excluded.

Out of these causes Rodericus defines it, with Aretæus, to be *angorem animi*, a vexation of the mind, a sudden sorrow from a small, light, or no occasion, [a] with a kind of still dotage and grief of some part or other, head, heart, breasts, sides, back, belly, &c. with much solitariness, weeping, distraction, &c. from which they are sometimes suddenly delivered, because it comes and goes by fits, and is not so permanent as other melancholy.

But to leave this brief description, the most ordinary symptomes be these: *pulsatio juxta dorsum*, a beating along the back, which is almost perpetual; the skin is many times rough, squalid, especially (as Aretæus observes) about the arms, knees, and knuckles. The midriffe and heart-strings do burn and

[y] Differt enim ab eâ quæ viris et reliquis feminis communiter contingit, propriam habens caussam. [z] Ex menstrui sanguinis tetrâ ad cor et cerebrum exhalatione: vitiatum semen mentem perturbat, &c. non per essentiam, sed per consensum. Animus mœrens et anxius inde malum trahit, et spiritus cerebri obfuscantur; quæ cuncta augentur, &c. [a] Cum tacito delirio ac dolore alicujus partis internæ, dorsi, hypochondrii, cordis regionem et universam mammam interdum occupantis, &c. Cutis aliquando squalida, aspera, rugosa, præcipue cubitis, genibus, et digitorum articulis; præcordia ingenti sæpe *terrore æstuant* et pulsant; cumque vapor excitatus sursum evolat, cor palpitat aut premitur, animus *deficit, &c.*

beat very fearfully; and, when this vapour or fume is stirred, flyeth upward, the heart it self beats, is sore grieved, and faints: *fauces siccitate præcludun-tur, ut difficulter possit ab uteri strangulatione discerni*, like fits of the mother; *alvus plerisque nil reddit, aliis exiguum, acre, biliosum; lotium flavum.* They complain many times, saith Mercatus, of a great pain in their heads, about their hearts, and hypochondries, and so likewise in their breasts, which are often sore; sometimes ready to swoon, their faces are inflamed, and red, they are dry, thirsty, suddenly hot, much troubled with wind, cannot sleep, &c. And from thence proceed *ferina deliramenta*, a brutish kind of dotage, troublesome sleep, terrible dreams in the night, *subrusticus pudor, et verecundia ignava*, a foolish kind of bashfulness to some, perverse conceipts, and opinions, [b] dejection of mind, much discontent, preposterous judgement. They are apt to loath, dislike, disdain, to be weary of every object, &c. each thing almost is tedious to them: they pine away, void of counsel, apt to weep, and tremble, timorous, fearful, sad, and out of all hopes of better fortunes. They take delight in nothing for the time, but love to be alone and solitary, though that do them more harm. And thus they are affected so long as this vapour lasteth; but, by and by, as pleasant and merry as ever they were in their lives, they sing, discourse and laugh in any good company, upon all occasions; and so by fits it takes them now and then, except the malady be inveterate; and then 'tis more frequent, vehement, and continuate. Many of them cannot tell how to express themselves in words, how it holds them, what ails them; you cannot understand them, or well tell what to make of their sayings; so far gone sometimes, so stupified and distracted, they think themselves bewitched; they are in despair, *aptæ ad fletum, desperationem, dolores mammis et hypochondriis.* Mercatus therefore adds, now their breasts, now their hypochondries, belly and sides, then their heart and head akes; now heat, then wind, now this, now that offends; they are weary of all; [c] and yet will not, cannot again tell how, where or what offends them, though they be in great pain, agony, and frequently complain, grieving, sighing, weeping, and discontented still, *sine caussâ manifestâ*, most part; yet, I say, they will complain, grudge, lament, and not be perswaded but that they are troubled with an evil spirit; which is frequent in Germany, (saith Rodericus) amongst the common sort, and to such as are most grievously affected; (for he makes three degrees of this disease in women) they are in despair, surely forespoken or bewitched, and in extremity of their dotage, (weary of their lives) some of them will attempt to make away themselves. Some think they see visions, confer with spirits and devils; they shall surely be damned, are afraid of some treachery, imminent danger, and the like: they will not speak, make answer to any question, but are almost distracted, mad, or stupid for the time, and by fits: and thus it holds them, as they are more or less affected, and as the inner humour is intended or remitted, or by outward objects and perturbations aggravated, solitariness, idleness, &c.

Many other maladies there are, incident to young women, out of that one and only cause above specified, many feral diseases. I will not so much as mention their names: melancholy alone is the subject of my present discourse, from which I will not swerve. The several cures of this infirmity, concerning diet, which must be very sparing, phlebotomy, physick, internal, external remedies, are at large in great variety in [d] Rodericus a Castro, Sennertus, and

[b] Animi dejectio, perversa rerum existimatio, præposterum judicium. Fastidiosæ, languentes, tædiosæ, consilii inopes, lacrymosæ, timentes, mœstæ, cum summâ rerum meliorum desperatione, nullâ re delectantur, solitudinem amant, &c. [c] Nolunt aperire molestiam quam patiuntur; sed conqueruntur tamen de capite, corde, mammis, &c. In puteos fere maniaci prosilire, ac stranguiari capiunt, nullâ orationis suavitate ad spem salutis recuperandam erigi, &c. Familiares non curant; non loquuntur, non respondent, &c. et hæc graviora, si, &c. [d] Clysteres et helleborismum Matthioli summe laudat.

Mercatus, which who so will, as occasion serves, may make use of. But the best and surest remedy of all, is to see them well placed, and married to good husbands in due time; *hinc illæ lacrymæ*, that's the primary cause, and this is the ready cure, to give them content to their desires. I write not this to patronize any wanton, idle flurt, lascivious or light huswives, which are too forward many times, unruly, and apt to cast away themselves on him that comes next, without all care, counsel, circumspection, and judgement. If religion, good discipline, honest education, wholsome exhortation, fair promises, fame and loss of good name, cannot inhibit and deterr such, (which, to chaste and sober maids, cannot choose but avail much) labour and exercise, strict diet, rigor, and threats, may more opportunely be used, and are able of themselves to qualifie and divert an ill disposed temperament. For seldome shall you see an hired servant, a poor handmaid, though antient, that is kept hard to her work and bodily labour, a coarse countrey wench, troubled in this kind; but noble virgins, nice gentlewomen, such as are solitary and idle, live at ease, lead a life out of action and employment, that fare well, in great houses, and jovial companies, ill disposed peradventure of themselves, and not willing to make any resistance, discontented otherwise, of weak judgement, able bodies, and subject to passions (*grandiores virgines*, saith Mercatus, *steriles, et viduæ, plerumque melancholicæ*) such for the most part are misaffected, and prone to this disease. I do not so much pity them that may otherwise be eased; but those alone, that, out of a strong temperament, innate constitution, are violently carried away with this torrent of inward humours, and, though very modest of themselves, sober, religious, vertuous, and well given (as many so distressed maids are), yet cannot make resistance; these grievances will appear, this malady will take place, and now manifestly shews itself, and may not otherwise be helped. But where am I? Into what subject have I rushed! What have I to do with nunns, maids, virgins, widows? I am a bachelor myself, and lead a monastick life in a college: *næ ego sane ineptus, qui hæc dixerim*; I confess 'tis an indecorum: and as Pallas a virgin blushed, when Jupiter by chance spake of love matters in her presence, and turn'd away her face; *me reprimam*; though my subject necessarily require it, I will say no more.

And yet I must and will say something more, add a word or two *in gratiam virginum et viduarum*, in favour of all such distressed parties, in commiseration of their present estate. And, as I cannot chuse but condole their mishap that labour of this infirmity, and are destitute of help in this case, so must I needs inveigh against them that are in fault, more than manifest causes, and as bitterly tax those tyrannizing pseudopoliticians, superstitious orders, rash vows, hard hearted parents, guardians, unnatural friends, allies, (call them how you will) those careless and stupid overseers, that, out of worldly respects, covetousness, supine negligence, their own private ends, (*cum sibi sit interim bene*) can so severely reject, stubbornly neglect, and impiously contemn, without all remorse and pity, the tears, sighs, groans, and grievous miseries, of such poor souls committed to their charge. How odious and abominable are those superstitious and rash vows of popish monasteries, so to bind and enforce men and women to vow virginity, to lead a single life against the laws of nature, opposite to religion, policy, and humanity! so to starve, to offer violence, to suppress the vigour of youth! by rigorous statutes, severe laws, vain perswasions, to debar them of that, to which by their innate temperature they are so furiously inclined, urgently carried, and sometimes precipitated, even irresistibly led, to the prejudice of their soul's health, and good estate of body and mind! and all for base and private respects, to maintain their gross superstition, to inrich themselves and *their territories* (as they falsely suppose) by hindering some marriages, that

the world be not full of beggers, and their parishes pestered with orphans. Stupid politicians! *hæccine fieri flagitia?* ought these things so to be carried? *Better marry than burn*, saith the apostle; but they are otherwise perswaded. They will by all means quench their neighbours house, if it be on fire; but that fire of lust, which breaks out into such lamentable flames, they will not take notice of; their own bowels oftentimes, flesh and blood, shall so rage and burn; and they will not see it. *Miserum est*, saith Austin, *seipsum non miserescere;* and they are miserable in the mean time, that cannot pity themselves, the common good of all, and, *per consequens*, their own estates. For, let them but consider what fearful maladies, feral diseases, gross inconveniences come to both sexes by this enforced temperance. It troubles me to think of, much more to relate, those frequent aborts and murdering of infants in their nunneries (read [e] Kemnitius and others), their notorious fornications, those spintrias, tribadas, ambubaias, &c. those rapes, incests, adulteries, mastuprations, sodomies, buggeries, of monks and friers. (See Bale's Visitation of Abbies, [f] Mercurialis, Rodericus a Castro, Peter Forestus, and divers physicians.) I know their ordinary apologies and excuses for these things; *sed viderint politici, medici, theologi:* I shall more opportunely meet with them [g] elsewhere.

Illius viduæ, aut patronum virginis hujus,
Ne me forte putes, verbum non amplius addam.

Memb. III.—*Immediate Cause of these precedent Symptomes.*

To give some satisfaction to melancholy men that are troubled with these symptomes, a better means, in my judgement, cannot be taken, than to shew them the causes whence they proceed; not from devils, as they suppose, or that they are bewitched or forsaken of God, hear or see, &c. as many of them think, but from natural and inward causes; that, so knowing them, they may better avoid the effects, or at least endure them with more patience. The most grievous and common symptomes are fear and sorrow, and that without a cause, to the wisest and discreetest men, in this malady not to be avoided. The reason why they are so, Aëtius discusseth at large, Tetrabib. 2. 2. in his first problem out of Galen, *lib.* 2. *de caussis sympt.* 1. For Galen imputeth all to the cold that is black, and thinks that the spirits being darkened, and the substance of the brain cloudy and dark, all the objects thereof appear terrible, and the [h] mind itself, by those dark, obscure gross fumes, ascending from black humours, is in continual darkness, fear, and sorrow; divers terrible monstrous fictions in a thousand shapes and apparitions occurr, with violentpassions, by which the brain and phantasie are troubled and eclipsed. [i] Fracastorius (*lib.* 2. *de intellect.*) *will have cold to be the cause of fear and sorrow; for such as are cold, are ill disposed to mirth, dull and heavy, by nature solitary, silent; and not for any inward darkness (as physicians think); for many melancholy men dare boldly be, continue, and walk in the dark, and delight in it: solum frigidi timidi:* if they be hot, they are merry; and the more hot, the more furious, and void of fear, as we see in mad men: but this reason holds not; for then no melancholy, proceeding from choler adust, should fear. Averroës scoffs at Galen for his reasons, and brings five arguments to refell them: so doth Herc. de Saxoniâ (*Tract. de melan. cap.* 3) assigning other causes, which are copiously censured and confuted by Ælianus Montaltus, *cap.* 5. *et* 6. Lod. Mercatus, *de inter. morb, cur. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. Altomarus, *cap.* 7. *de mel.* Guianerius,

[e] Examen conc. Trident. de cœlibatu sacerd. [f] Cap. de Satyr, et Priapis. [g] Part. 3. sect. 2. Memb. 5. Subs. 5. [h] Vapores crassi et nigri a ventriculo in cerebrum exhalant. Fel. Platerus. [i] Calidi hilares, frigidi indispositi ad lætitiam, et ideo solitarii, taciturni, non ob tenebras internas, ut medici volunt, sed ob frigus; multi melancholici nocte ambulant intrepidi. Vapores melancholici spiritibus mixti, tenebrarum causse sunt. Cap. 1.

tract. 15. *c.* 1. Bright, *cap.* 17. Laurentius, *cap.* 5. Valesius, *med. cont. lib.* 5. *con.* 1. [j] *Distemperature* (they conclude) *makes black juice; blackness obscures the spirits; the spirits, obscured, cause fear and sorrow.* Laurentius (*cap.* 13.) supposeth these black fumes offend especially the diaphragmo or midriff, and so *per consequens*, the mind, which is obscured, as [k] the sun by a cloud. To this opinion of Galen, almost all the Greeks and Arabians subscribe, the Latines new and old; *internæ tenebræ offuscant animum, ut externæ nocent pueris*: as children are affrighted in the dark, so are melancholy men at all times, [l] as having the inward cause with them, and still carrying it about. Which black vapours, whether they proceed from the black blood about the heart, (as T. W. Jes. thinks, in his Treatise of the passions of the mind,) or stomach, spleen, midriff, or all the misaffected parts together, it boots not; they keep the mind in a perpetual dungeon, and oppress it with continual fears, anxieties, sorrows, &c. It is an ordinary thing for such as are sound, to laugh at this dejected pusillanimity, and those other symptomes of melancholy, to make themselves merry with them, and to wonder at such, as toyes and trifles, which may be resisted and withstood, if they will themselves: but let him that so wonders, consider with himself, that, if a man should tell him on a sudden, some of his especial friends were dead, could he choose but grieve? or set him upon a steep rock, where he should be in danger to be precipitated, could he be secure? his heart would tremble for fear, and his head be giddy. P. Byarus (*Tract. de pest.*) gives instance (as I have said) [m] *and put case* (saith he) *in one that walks upon a plank; if it lye on the ground, he can safely do it; but, if the same plank be laid over some deep water, instead of a bridge, he is vehemently moved; and 'tis nothing but his imagination*, formâ cadendi impressâ, *to which his other members and faculties obey.* Yea, but you infer, that such men have a just cause to fear, a true object of fear: so have melancholy men an inward cause, a perpetual fume and darkness, causing fear, grief, suspicion, which they carry with them—an object which cannot be removed, but sticks as close, and is as inseparable, as a shadow to a body; and who can expel, or over-run his shadow: remove heat of the liver, a cold stomach, weak spleen: remove those adust humours and vapours arising from them, black blood from the heart, all outward perturbations; take away the cause; and then bid them not grieve nor fear, or be heavy, dull, lumpish: otherwise counsel can do little good; you may as well bid him that is sick of an ague, not to be adry; or him that is wounded, not to feel pain.

Suspicion follows fear and sorrow at heels, arising out of the same fountain; so thinks [n] Fracastorius, *that fear is the cause of suspicion, and still they suspect some treachery, or some secret machination to be framed against them*; still they distrust. Restlessness proceeds from the same spring; variety of fumes makes them like and dislike. Solitariness, avoiding of light, that they are weary of their lives, hate the world, arise from the same causes; for their spirits and humours are opposite to light; fear makes them avoid company, and absent themselves, lest they should be misused, hissed at, or overshoot themselves; which still they suspect. They are prone to venery, by reason of wind; angry, waspish, and fretting still, out of abundance of choler, which causeth fearful dreams, and violent perturbations to them, both sleeping and waking. That they suppose they have no heads, flye, eink, they are pots, glasses, &c. is wind in their heads. [o] Herc. de Saxoniâ

[j] Intemperies facit succum nigrum; nigrities obscurat spiritum; obscuratio spiritûs facit metum et tristitiam. [k] Ut nubecula solem offuscat. Constantinus, lib. de melanch. [l] Altomarus, c. 7. Caussam timoris circumfert. Ater humor passionis materia; et atri spiritus perpetuam animæ domicilio offundunt noctem. [m] Pone exemplum, quod quis potest ambulare super trabem quæ est in viâ: sed si sit super aquam profundam, loco pontis, non ambulabit super eam, eo quod imaginatur in animo et timet vehementer, formâ cadendi impressâ, cui obediunt membra omnia, et facultates reliquæ. [n] Lib. 2. de intellectione. *Suspiciosi* ob timorem et obliquum discursum; et semper inde putant sibi fieri insidias. Lauren. 5. [o] *Tract. de mel. cap. 7.* Ex dilatatione, contractione, confusione, tenebrositate spirituum, calidâ, frigidâ *intemperie, &c.*

doth ascribe this to the several motions in the animal spirits, *their dilatation, contraction, confusion, alteration, tenebrosity, hot or cold distemperature,* excluding all material humours. [p]Fracastorius *accounts it a thing worthy of inquisition, why they should entertain such false conceits, as that they have horns, great noses, that they are birds, beasts,* &c. why they should think themselves kings, lords, cardinals. For the first [q]Fracastorius gives two reasons: *one is the disposition of the body; the other the occasion of the phantasie,* as if their eyes be purblind, their ears sing by reason of some cold and rheume, &c. To the second, Laurentius answers, the imagination, inwardly or outwardly moved, represents to the understanding, not inticements only, to favour the passion, or dislike; but a very intensive pleasure follows the passion, or displeasure; and the will and reason are captivated by delighting in it.

Why students and lovers are so often melancholy and mad, the philosopher of [r]Conimbra assigns this reason, *because, by a vehement and continual meditation of that wherewith they are affected, they fetch up the spirits into the brain; and, with the heat brought with them, they incend it beyond measure; and the cells of the inner senses dissolve their temperature; which being dissolved, they cannot perform their offices as they ought.*

Why melancholy men are witty, (which Aristotle hath long since maintained in his problems; and that [s]all learned men, famous philosophers and lawgivers, *ad unum fere omnes melancholici,* have still been melancholy) is a problem much controverted. Jason Pratensis will have it understood of natural melancholy; which opinion Melancthon inclines to, in his book *de Animâ,* and Marcilius Ficinus, (*de san. tuen. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5) but not simple; for that makes men stupid, heavy, dull, being cold and dry, fearful, fools, and solitary, but mixt with the other humours, flegm only excepted; and they not adust, [t]but so mixt, as that blood be half, with little or no adustion, that they be neither too hot nor too cold. Aponensis (cited by Melancthon) thinks it proceeds from melancholy adust, excluding all natural melancholy, as too cold. Laurentius condemns his tenent, because adustion of humours makes men mad, as lime burns when water is cast on it. It must be mixt with blood, and somewhat adust; and so that old aphorism of Aristotle may be verified: *nullum magnum ingenium sine mixturâ dementiæ,* no excellent wit without a mixture of madness. Fracastorius shall decide the controversie; [u]*phlegmatick are dull: sanguine, lively, pleasant, acceptable and merry, but not witty: cholerick are too swift in motion, and furious, impatient of contemplation, deceitful wits: melancholy men have the most excellent wits: but not all: this humour may be hot or cold, thick or thin: if too hot, they are furious and mad; if too cold, dull, stupid, timorous and sad: if temperate, excellent, rather inclining to that extream of heat, than cold.* This sentence of his will agree with that of Heraclitus; a dry light makes a wise mind; temperate heat and driness are the chief causes of a good wit: therefore, saith Ælian, an elephant is the wisest of all brute beasts, because his brain is dryest, *et ob atræ bilis copiam:* this reason Cardan approves (*subtil. l.* 12). Jo. Baptista Silvaticus, a physician of Milan, (in his first controversie) hath copiously handled this question; Rulandus, in his problems, Cœlius Rhodoginus, *lib.* 17. Valleriola, 6[to] *narrat. med.* Herc. de Saxoniâ, *Tract. post. de mel. cap* 3. Lodovicus Mercatus, *de inter. morb. cur. lib. cap.* 17. Baptista Porta, *Physiog. lib.* 1. *c.* 13. and many others.

[p] Illud inquisitione dignum, cur tam falsa recipiant, habere se cornua, esse mortuos, nasutos, esse aves, &c. [q] 1. Dispositio corporis. 2. Occasio imaginationis. [r] In pro. ll. de cœlo. Vehemens et assidua cogitatio rei erga quam afficitur, spiritus in cerebrum evocat. [s] Melancholici ingeniosi omnes, summi viri in artibus et disciplinis, sive circum imperatoriam aut reip. disciplinam, omnes fere melancholici. Aristoteles. [t] Adeo miscentur, ut sit duplum sanguinis ad reliqua duo. [u] Lib. 2. de intellectione. Pingui sunt Minervâ phlegmatici: sanguinei amabiles, grati, hilares, at non ingeniosi; cholerici celeres motu, et ob id contemplationis impatientis: melancholici solum excellentes, &c.

Weeping, sighing, laughing, itching, trembling, sweating, blushing, hearing, and seeing strange noises, visions, wind, crudity, are motions of the body, depending upon these precedent motions of the mind. Neither are tears affections, but actions (as Scaliger holds): [v] *the voice of such as are afraid trembles, because the heart is shaken* (Conimb. *prob.* 6. *sec.* 3. *de som.*) Why they stut or faulter in their speech, Mercurialis and Montaltus (*cap.*17) give like reasons out of Hippocrates, [w] *driness, which makes the nerves of the tongue torpid.* Fast speaking, (which is a symptome of some few) Aëtius will have caused [x] *from abundance of wind, and swiftness of imagination:* [y] *boldness comes from excess of dryness;* hirsuteness, from a dry temperature. The cause of much waking in a dry brain, continual meditation, discontent, fears, and cares, that suffer not the mind to be at rest: incontinency is from wind, and an hot liver (Montanus, *cons.* 26). Rumbling in the guts is caused from wind, and wind from ill concoction, weakness of natural heat, or a distempered heat and cold; [z] palpitation of the heart, from vapours; heaviness and aking, from the same cause. That the belly is hard, wind is a cause, and of that leaping in many parts. Redness of the face, and itching, as if they were flea-bitten, or stung with pis-mires, from a sharp subtile wind: [a] cold sweat, from vapours arising from the hypochondries, which pitch upon the skin; leanness for want of good nourishment. Why their appetite is so great, [b] Aëtius answers: *os ventris frigescit*, cold in those inner parts, cold belly, and hot liver, causeth crudity; and intention proceeds from perturbations; [c] our soul, for want of spirits, cannot attend exactly to so many intentive operations; being exhaust, and overswayed by passion, she cannot consider the reasons which may disswade her from such affections.

[d] Bashfulness and blushing is a passion proper to men alone, and is not only caused for [e] some shame and ignominy, or that they are guilty unto themselves of some foul fact committed, but (as [f] Fracastorius well determines) *ob defectum proprium, et timorem, from fear, and a conceit of our defects. The face labours and is troubled at his presence that sees our defects; and nature, willing to help, sends thither heat; heat draws the subtilest blood; and so we blush. They that are bold, arrogant, and careless, seldome or never blush, but such as are fearful.* Anthonius Lodovicus, in his book *de pudore*, will have this subtil blood arise in the face, not so much for the reverence of our betters in presence, [g] *but for joy and pleasure, or if any thing at unawares shall pass from us, a sudden accident, occurse, or meeting*, (which Disarius, in [h] Macrobius, confirms) any object heard or seen (for blind men never blush, as Dandinus observes; the night and darkness make men impudent)—or that we be staid before our betters, or in company we like not, or if any thing molest and offend us—*erubescentia* turns to *rubor*, blushing to a continuate redness. [i] Sometimes the extremity of the ears tingle, and are red, sometimes the whole face, *etsi nihil vitiosum commiseris*, as Lodovicus holds: though Aristotle is of opinion, *omnis pudor ex vitio commisso*, all shame for some offence. But we find otherwise; it may as well proceed [k] from fear, from force, and inexperience, (so [l] Dandinus holds) as vice; a hot liver, saith Duretus (*notis in Hollerium*); *from a hot brain, from wind, the lungs heated, or, after drinking of wine, strong drink, perturbations, &c.*

[v] Trepidantium vox tremula, quia cor quatitur. [w] Ob ariditatem quæ reddit nervos linguæ torpidos. [x] Incontinentia linguæ ex copiâ flatuum, et velocitate imaginationis. [y] Calvities ob siccitatis excessum. [z] Aëtius. [a] Lauren. c. 13. [b] Tetrab. 2. ser. 2. c. 10. [c] Ant. Lodovicus prob. lib. 1. sect. 5. de atrabilariis. [d] Subrusticus pudor, vitiosus pudor. [e] Ob ignominiam aut turpedinem facti, &c. [f] De symp. et antip. cap. 12. Laborat facies ob præsentiam ejus qui defectum nostrum videt; et natura, quasi opem latura, calorem illuc mittit; calor sanguinem trahit; unde rubor. Audaces non rubent, &c. [g] Ob gradium et voluptatem, foras exit sanguis, aut ob melioris reverentiam, aut ob subitum occursum, aut si quid incautius exciderit. [h] Com. in Arist. de animâ. Cæci ut plurimum impudentes. Nox facit impudentes. [i] Alexander Aphrodisiensis makes all bashfulness a virtue; eamque se refert in seipso experiri solitum, etsi esset admodum senex. [k] Sæpe post cibum apti ad ruborem, ex potu vini, ex timore sæpe, et ab hepate calido, cerebro calido, &c. [l] Com. in Arist. de animâ. Tam a vi et inexperientiâ quam a vitio.

Laughter, what it is, saith [m] Tully, *how caused, where, and so suddenly breaks out, that, desirous to stay it, we cannot, how it comes to possess and stir our face, veins, eyes, countenance, mouth, sides, let Democritus determine.* The cause, that it often affects melancholy men so much, is given by Gomesius (*l.* 3. *de sale genial. cap.* 18)—abundance of pleasant vapours, which in sanguine melancholy especially, break from the heart, [n] *and tickle the midriff, because it is transverse and full of nerves; by which titillation the sense being moved, and the arteries distended, or pulled, the spirits from thence move and possess the sides, veins, countenance, eyes.* See more in Jossius, *de risu, et fletu*, Vives, 3. *de Animâ.* Tears, as Scaliger defines, proceed from grief and pity, [o] *or from the heating of a moist brain; for a dry cannot weep.*

That they see and hear so many phantasms, chimeras, noises, visions, &c. (as Fienus hath discoursed at large in his book of imagination, and [p] Lavater, *de spectris, part.* 1. *cap.* 2, 3, 4) their corrupt phantasie makes them see and hear that which indeed is neither heard nor seen. *Qui multum jejunant, aut noctes ducunt insomnes*, they that much fast, or want sleep, as melancholy or sick men commonly do, see visions, or such as are weak-sighted, very timorous by nature, mad, distracted, or earnestly seek. *Sabini, quod volunt, somniant*, as the saying is; they dream of that they desire. Like Sarmiento the Spaniard, who, when he was sent to discover the Streights of Magellan, and confine places, by the prorex of Peru, standing on the top of an hill, *amœnissimam planitiem despicere sibi visus fuit, ædificia magnifica, quamplurimos pagos, altas turres, splendida templa*, and brave cities, built like ours in Europe; not (saith mine [q] author) that there was any such thing, but that he was *vanissimus et nimis credulus*, and would fain have had it so. Or (as [r] Lod. Mercatus proves), by reason of inward vapours, and humours from blood, choler, &c. diversly mixt, they apprehend and see outwardly, as they suppose, divers images, which indeed are not. As they that drink wine think all runs round, when it is their own brain; so is it with these men; the fault and cause is inward, as Galen affirms: [s] mad men and such as are near death, *quas extra se videre putant imagines, intra oculos habent;* 'tis in their brain, which seems to be before them; the brain, as a concave glass, reflects solid bodies. *Senes etiam decrepiti cerebrum habent concavum et aridum, ut imaginentur se videre* (saith [t] Boissardus) *quæ non sunt;* old men are too frequently mistaken, and dote in like case; or, as he that looketh through a piece of red glass, judgeth every thing he sees to be red; corrupt vapours mounting from the body to the head, and distilling again from thence to the eyes, when they have mingled themselves with the watery crystal which receiveth the shadows of things to be seen, make all things appear of the same colour, which remains in the humour that overspreads our sight, as to melancholy men all is black, to phlegmatick all white, &c. Or else, as before, the organs, corrupt by a corrupt phantasie, (as Lemnius, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 16. well quotes) [u] *cause a great agitation of spirits and humours, which wander to and fro in all the creeks of the brain, and cause such apparitions before their eyes.* One thinks he reads something written in the moon, as Pythagoras is said to have done of old; another smells brimstone, hears Cerberus bark: Orestes, now mad, supposed

[m] 2. De oratore. Quid ipse risus, quo pacto concitetur, ubi sit, &c. [n] Diaphragma titillant, quia transversum et nervosum, quâ titillatione moto sensu atque arteriis distentis, spiritus inde latera, venas, os, oculos occupant. [o] Ex calefactione humidi cerebri; nam ex sicco lacrymæ non fluunt. [p] Res mirandas imaginantur; et putant se videre quæ nec vident, nec audiunt. [q] Laët. lib. 13. cap. 2. descrip. Indiæ Occident. [r] Lib. 1. cap. 17. cap de mel. [s] Insani, et qui morti vicini sunt, res, quas extra se videre putant, intra oculos habent. [t] Cap. 10. de spirit. apparitione. [u] De occult. nat. mirac.

he saw the Furies tormenting him, and his mother still ready to run upon him.

> O mater! obsecro, noli me persequi
> His Furiis, adspectu anguineis, horribilibus!
> Ecce! ecce! in me jam ruunt!

but Electra told him, thus raving in his mad fit, he saw no such sights at all; it was but his crazed imagination.

> Quiesce, quiesce, miser, in lintels tuis;
> Non cernis etenim, quæ videre te putas.

So Pentheus (*in Bacchis Euripidis*) saw two suns, two Thebes: his brain alone was troubled. Sickness is an ordinary cause of such sights. Cardan, *subtil.* 8. *mens ægra, laboribus et jejuniis fracta, facit eos videre, audire, &c.* And. Osiander beheld strange visions, and Alexander ab Alexandro, both in their sickness, which he relates (*de rerum varietat. lib.* 8. *cap.* 44). Albategnius, that noble Arabian, on his death bed, saw a ship ascending and descending; which Fracastorius records of his friend Baptista Turrianus. Weak sight, and a vain perswasion withall, may effect as much, and second causes concurring, as an oare in water makes a refraction, and seems bigger, bended double, &c. The thickness of the aire may cause such effects; or any object not well discerned in the dark, fear and phantasie will suspect to be a ghost, a devil, &c. [v] *Quod nimis miseri timent, hoc facile credunt:* we are apt to believe, and mistake in such cases. Marcellus Donatus (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 1) brings in a story of Aristotle, of one Antepheron, which likely saw, wheresoever he was, his own image in the aire, as in a glass. Vitellio (*lib.* 10. *perspect.*) hath such another instance of a familiar acquaintance of his, that, after the want of three or four nights sleep, as he was riding by a river side, saw another riding with him, and using all such gestures as he did; but, when more light appeared, it vanished. Eremites and anachorites have frequently such absurd visions, revelations, by reason of much fasting and bad diet: many are deceived by legerdemain, as Scot hath well shewed in his book of the discovery of witchcraft, and Cardan, *subtil.* 18. Suffites, perfumes, suffumigations, mixt candles, perspective glasses, and such natural causes, make men look as if they were dead, or with horse heads, bulls-horns, and such like bruitish shapes, the room full of snakes, adders, dark, light, green, red, of all colours, as you may perceive in Baptista Porta, Alexis, Albertus, and others:—glow-worms, fire drakes, meteors, *ignis fatuus*, (which Plinius, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 37) calls Castor and Pollux) with many such that appear in moorish grounds, about churchyards, moist valleys, or where battels have been fought; the causes of which read in Goclenius, Velcurius, Finkius, &c. Such feats are often done, to frighten children, with squibs, rotten wood, &c. to make folks look as if they were dead, [w] *solito majores*, bigger, lesser, fairer, fouler, *ut astantes sine capitibus videantur, aut toti igniti, aut formâ dæmonum. Accipe pilos canis, nigri, &c.* saith Albertus; and so 'tis ordinary to see strange uncouth sights by catoptricks; who knows not that if, in a dark room, the light be admitted at one little hole, and paper or glass put upon it, the sun shining, will represent, on the opposite wall, all such objects as are illuminated by his rayes? With concave and cylinder glasses, we may reflect any shape of men, devils, anticks, (as magicians most part do, to gull a silly spectator in a dark room) we will ourselves, and that hanging in the air, when 'tis nothing but such an horrible image (as [x] Agrippa demonstrates) placed in another room. Roger Bacon of old is said to have represented his own

[v] Seneca. Quod metuunt nimis, nunquam amoveri posse nec tolli putant. [w] Sanguis upupæ cum melle compositus et centaureâ, &c. Albertus. [x] Lib. 1. occult. philos. Imperiti homines dæmonum et umbrarum imagines videre se putant, quum nihil sint aliud, quam simulacra animæ expertia.

image walking in the aire by this art, though no such thing appear in his perspectives. But most part, it is in the brain that deceives them; although I may not deny, but that oftentimes the devil deludes them, takes his opportunity to suggest, and represent vain objects to melancholy men, and such as are ill affected. To these you may add the knavish impostures of juglers, exorcists, mass-priests, and mountebanks, of whom Roger Bacon speaks, &c. *de miraculis naturæ et artis, cap.* 1. [y] They can counterfeit the voices of all birds and bruit beasts almost, all tones and tunes of men, and speak within their throats, as if they spoke afar off, that they make their auditors believe they hear spirits, and are thence much astonished and affrighted with it. Besides those artificial devices to over-hear their confessions, like that whispering place of Glocester with us, or like the Dukes place at Mantua in Italy, where the sound is reverberated by a concave wall; a reason of which Blancanus in his Echometria gives, and mathematically demonstrates.

So that the hearing is as frequently deluded as the sight, from the same causes almost, as he that hears bells, will make them sound what he list. *As the fool thinketh, so the bell clinketh.* Theophilus (in Galen) thought he heard musick, from vapours which made his ears sound, &c. Some are deceived by echoes, some by roaring of waters, or concaves and reverberation of aire in the ground, hollow places and walls. [z] At Cadurcum in Aquitany, words and sentences are repeated by a strange echo to the full, or whatsoever you shall play upon a musical instrument, more distinctly and louder, than they are spoken at first. Some echoes repeat a thing spoken seven times, as at Olympus in Macedonia (as Pliny relates, *lib.* 36. *cap.* 15.) some twelve times, as at Charenton, a village near Paris in France. At Delphos in Greece heretofore was a miraculous echo, and so in many other places. Cardan (*subtil. l.* 18) hath wonderful stories of such as have been deluded by these echoes. Blancanus the Jesuit (in his Echometria) hath a variety of examples, and gives his reader full satisfaction of all such sounds, by way of demonstration. [a] At Barrey, an isle in the Severn mouth, they seem to hear a smiths forge: so at Lipara, and those sulphureous isles, and many such like which Olaus speaks of in the continent of Scandia, and those northern countries. Cardan (*de rerum var. l.* 15. *c.* 84) mentioneth a woman, that still supposed she heard the devil call her, and speaking to her, (she was a painters wife in Milan) and many such illusions and voices, which proceed most part from a corrupt imagination.

Whence it comes to pass, that they prophesie, speak several languages, talk of astronomy, and other unknown sciences to them, (of which they have ever been ignorant) [b] I have in brief touched; only this I will here add, that Arculanus, Bodin. (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 6. *dæmon.*) and some others, [c] hold as a manifest token that such persons are possessed with the devil, (so doth [d] Hercules de Saxoniâ, and Apponensis) and fit only to be cured by a priest. But, [e] Guianerius, [f] Montaltus, Pomponatius of Padua, and Lemnius (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.) refer it wholly to the ill-disposition of the [g] humour, and that out of the authority of Aristotle, *prob.* 30. 1, because such symptomes are cured by purging; and as, by the striking of a flint, fire is inforced, so, by the vehement motions of spirits, they do *elicere voces inauditas*, compel strange speeches to be spoken. Another argument he had from Plato's *reminiscentia*, which is, all out, as likely as that which Marsilius Ficinus speaks

[y] Pythonissæ, vocum varietatem in ventre et gutture fingentes, formant voces humanas a longe vel prope, prout volunt, ac si spiritus cum homine loqueretur; et sonos brutorum fingunt, &c. [z] Tam clare et articulate audies repetitum, ut perfectior sit Echo quam ipse dixeris. [a] Blowing of bellows, and knocking of hammers, if they apply their ear to the cliff. [b] Memb. 1. Sub. 3. of this partition, cap. 16. in 9 Rhasis. [c] Signa dæmonis nulla sunt, nisi quod loquantur ea quæ ante nesciebant, ut Teutonicum aut aliud idioma, &c. [d] Cap. 12. tract. de mel. [e] Tract. 15. c. 4. [f] Cap. 9. [g] Mira vis concitat humores, ardorque vehemens mentem exagitat, quum, &c.

of his friend Pierleonus;[h] by a divine kind of infusion, he understood the secrets of nature, and tenents of Græcian and barbarian philosophers, before ever he heard of, saw, or read their works: but in this I should rather hold, with Avicenna and his associates, that such symptomes proceed from evil spirits, which take all opportunities of humours decayed, or otherwise, to pervert the soul of man: and besides, the humour it self is *balneum diaboli*, the devils bath, and (as Agrippa proves) doth intice him to seize upon them.

SECT. IV.

Memb. I.—*Prognosticks of Melancholy.*

Prognosticks, or signs of things to come, are either good or bad. If this malady be not hereditary, and taken at the beginning, there is good hope of cure; *recens curationem non habet difficilem*, saith Avicenna, (*l.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *Tract.* 4. *c.* 18). That which is with laughter, of all others, is most secure, gentle, and remiss (Hercules de Saxoniâ). [i]*If that evacuation of hæmrods, or varices which they call the water between the skin, shall happen to a melancholy man, his misery is ended* (Hippocrates, *Aphor.* 6. 11). Galen (*l.* 6. *de morbis vulgar. com.* 8) confirms the same; and to this aphorisme of Hippocrates all the Arabians, new and old Latines, subscribe. (Montaltus, *c* 25. Hercules de Saxoniâ, Mercurialis, Vittorius, Faventinus, &c.) Skenkius (*l.* 1. *observat. med. c. de Maniâ*) illustrates this aphorisme, with an example of one Daniel Federer, a coppersmith, that was long melancholy, and in the end mad about the twenty-seventh year of his age: these *varices* or water began to arise in his thighs; and he was freed from his madness. Marius the Roman was so cured, some say, though with great pain. Skenkius hath some other instances of women that have been helped by flowing of their moneths, which before were stopped. That the opening of the hæmrods will do as much for men, all physicians joyntly signifie, so they be voluntary, some say, and not by compulsion. All melancholy men are better after a quartane. [j]Jobertus saith, scarce any man hath that ague twice. But, whether it free him from this malady, 'tis a question; for many physicians ascribe all long agues for especial causes, and a quartane ague amongst the rest. [k]Rhasis, *cont. lib.* 1. *tract.* 9. *When melancholy gets out at the superficies of the skin, or settles, breaking out in scabs, leprosie, morphew, or is purged by stools, or by the urine, or that the spleen is enlarged, and those varices appear, the disease is dissolved.* Guianerius (*cap.* 5. *tract.* 15) adds dropsie, jaundise, dysentery, leprosie, as good signs, to these scabs, morphews, and breaking out, and proves it, out of the sixth of Hippocrates Aphorismes.

Evil prognosticks, on the other part. *Inveterata melancholia incurabilis;* if it be inveterate, it is [l]incurable (a common axiome), *aut difficulter curabilis*, (as they say that make the best) hardly cured. This Galen witnesseth (*l.* 3. *de loc. affect. cap.* 6): [m]*be it in whom it will, or from what cause soever, it is ever long, wayward, tedious, and hard to be cured, if once it be habituated.* As Lucian said of the gout, she was [n]*the queen of the diseases, and inexorable*, may we say of melancholy. Yet Paracelsus will have all diseases whatsoever curable, and laughs at them which think otherwise, as T. Erastus (*part.* 3) objects to him; although, in another place, hereditary diseases he accounts incurable, and by no art to be [o]removed. Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2. *de mel.*) holds it less dangerous, if only [p]*imagination be hurt, and*

[h] Præfat. Jamblici mysteriis. [i] Si melancholicis hæmorrhoides supervenerint, varices, vel (ut quibusdam placet) aqua inter cutem, solvitur malum. [j] Cap. 10. de quartanâ. [k] Cum sanguis exit per superficiem, et residet melancholia per scabiem, morpheam nigram, vel expurgatur per inferiores partes, vel urinam, &c. non erit, &c. splen magnificatur, et varices apparent. [l] Quia jam conversa in naturam. [m] In quocunque sit, a quicunque caussâ, hypocon. præsertim, semper est longa, morosa, nec facile curari potest. [n] Regina morborum et inexorabilis. [o] Omne delirium, quod oritur a paucitate cerebri, incurabile. Hildesheim, spicil. de maniâ. [p] Si sola imaginatio lædatur, et non ratio.

not reason: [q]*the gentlest is from blood, worse from choler adust, but the worst of all from melancholy putrified.* [r]Bruel esteems hypochondriacal least dangerous, and the other two species (opposite to Galen) hardest to be cured. [s]The cure is hard in man, but much more difficult in women. And both men and women must take notice of that saying of Montanus (*pro Abbate Italo*): [t]*this malady doth commonly accompany them to their grave; physicians may ease, and it may lye hid for a time: but they cannot quite cure it, but it will return again more violent and sharp than at first, and that upon every small occasion or errour:* as in Mercuries weather-beaten statue, that was once all over gilt, the open parts were clean, yet there was *in fimbriis aurum*, in the chinks a remnant of gold—there will be some reliques of melancholy left in the purest bodies (if once tainted), not so easily to be rooted out. [u]Oftentimes it degenerates into epilepsy, apoplexy, convulsions, and blindness, (by the authority of Hippocrates and Galen) [v]all averr, if once it possesses the ventricles of the brain—Frambesarius, and Sallust Salvianus [w]adds, if it get into the optick nerves, blindness. Mercurialis (*consil.* 20) had a woman to his patient, that from melancholy became epileptick and blind. [x]If it come from a cold cause, or so continue cold, or increase, epilepsie, convulsions follow, and blindness; or else, in the end, they are moped, sottish, and, in all their actions, speeches, gestures, ridiculous. [y]If it come from an hot cause, they are more furious, and boisterous, and in conclusion mad. *Calescentem melancholiam sæpius sequitur mania.* [z]If it heat and increase, that is the common event: *per circuitus, aut semper, insanit;* he is mad by fits, or altogether; for (as [a]Sennertus contends out of Crato) there is *seminarium ignis* in this humour, the very seeds of fire. If it come from melancholy natural adust, and in excess, they are often dæmoniacal (Montanus).

[b]Seldom this malady procures death, except (which is the greatest, most grievous calamity, and the misery of all miseries) they make away themselves; which is a frequent thing, and familiar amongst them. 'Tis [c]Hippocrates observation, Galens sentence, (*etsi mortem timent, tamen plerumque sibi ipsis mortem consciscunt, l. 3. de locis affect. cap. 7*) the doom of all physicians. 'Tis Rabbi Moses aphorism, the prognosticon of Avicenna, Rhasis, Aërtius, Gordonius, Valescus, Altomarus, Sallust Salvianus, Capivaccius, Mercatus, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Piso, Bruel, Fuchsius, all, &c.

[d] Et sæpe usque adeo, mortis formidine, vitæ
Percipit infelix odium, lucisque videndæ,
Ut sibi consciscat mœrenti pectore letum.

And so far forth deaths terrour doth affright,
He makes away himself, and hates the light:
To make an end of fear and grief of heart,
He voluntary dies, to ease his smart.

In such sort doth the torture and extremity of his misery torment him, that he can take no pleasure in his life, but is in a manner inforced to offer violence unto himself, to be freed from his present insufferable pains. So some (saith [e]Fracastorius) *in fury, but most in despair, sorrow fear, and out of the anguish and vexation of their souls, offer violence to themselves; for their life is unhappy and miserable. They can take no rest in the night, nor sleep: or, if they do slumber, fearful dreams astonish them.* In the day time, they are affrighted still by some terrible object, and torn in pieces with suspicion, fear, sorrow, discontents, cares, shame, anguish, &c. as so

[q] Mala a sanguine fervente, deterior a bile assatâ, pessima ab atrâ bile putrefactâ. [r] Difficilior cura ejus quæ fit vitio corporis totius et cèrebri. [s] Difficilis curatu in viris, multo difficilior in feminis. [t] Ad interitum plerumque homines comitatur: licet medici levent plerumque, tamen non tollunt unquam, sed recidet acebior quam antea, minimâ occasione, aut errore. [u] Periculum est, ne degeneret in epilepsiam, apoplexiam, convulsionem, cæcitatem. [v] Montal. c. 25. Laurentius. Nic. Piso. [w] Her. de Saxoniâ, Aristotle, Capivaccius. [x] Favent. Humor frigidus sola delirii caussa, furoris vero humor calidus. [y] Heurnius calls madness sobolem melancholiæ. [z] Alexander, l. 1. c. 18. [a] Lib. 1. part. 2. c. 11. [b] Montalt. c. 15. Raro mors aut nunquam, nisi sibi ipsis inferant. [c] Lib. de insan. Fabio Calvo interprete. Nonnulli violentas manus sibi inferunt. [d] Lucret. l. 3. [e] Lib. 2. de Intell. Sæpe mortem sibi consiscunt ob timorem et tristitiam, tædio vitæ affecti ob furorem et desperationem. Est enim infera, &c. Ergo sic perpetuo afflictati vitam oderunt, se præcipitant, his malis carituri, aut interficiunt se, aut tale quid ommittunt.

many wild horses, that they cannot be quiet an hour, a minute of time, but, even against their wills, they are intent, and still thinking of it: they cannot forget it: it grinds their souls day and night; they are perpetually tormented, a burden to themselves, as Job was; they can neither eat, drink, or sleep. Psal. 107. 18. *Their soul abhorreth all meat, and they are brought to deaths door,* [f] *being bound in misery and iron:* [g] they curse their stars (with Job), [h] *and day of their birth, and wish for death* (for, as Pineda and most interpreters hold, Job was even melancholy to despair, and almost [i] madness itself): they murmur many times against the world, friends, allies, all mankind, even against God himself in the bitterness of their passions: [j] *vivere nolunt, mori nesciunt;* live they will not, die they cannot. And, in the midst of these squalid, ugly, and such irksome dayes, they seek at last, (finding no comfort, [k] no remedy in this wretched life) to be eased of all by death. *Omnia appetunt bonum;* all creatures seek the best, and for their good, as they hope, *sub specie,* in shew at least, *vel quia mori, pulchrum putant,* (saith [l] Hippocrates) *vel quia putant inde se majoribus malis liberari,* to be freed as they wish. Though, many times, as Æsops fishes, they leap from the frying-pan into the fire itself, yet they hope to be eased by this means; and therefore, (saith Felix [m] Platerus) *after many tedious dayes, at last, either by drowning, hanging, or some such fearful end,* they precipitate or make away themselves: *many lamentable examples are daily seen amongst us: alius ante fores se laqueo suspendit,* (as Seneca notes) *alius se præcipitavit a tecto, ne dominum stomachantem audiret; alius, ne reduceretur a fugâ, ferrum adegit in viscera:* so many causes there are——*His amor exitio est, furor his*—— love, grief, anger, madness; and shame, &c. 'Tis a common calamity, [n] a fatal end to this disease: they are condemned to a violent death, by a jury of physicians, furiously disposed, carried headlong by their tyrannizing wills, inforced by miseries; and there remains no more to such persons, if that heavenly physician, by his assisting grace and mercy alone, do not prevent, (for no humane perswasion or art can help) but to be their own butchers, and execute themselves. Socrates his *cicuta,* Lucretias dagger, Timons halter are yet to be had; Catoes knife, and Neroes sword are left behind them, as so many fatal engines, bequeathed to posterity, and will be used, to the worlds end, by such distressed souls: so intolerable, unsufferable, grievous and violent is their pain, [o] so unspeakable, and continuate. One day of grief is an hundred years, as Cardan observes, 'tis *carnificina hominum, angor animi,* as well saith Aretæus, a plague of the soul, the cramp and convulsion of the soul, an epitome of hell; and, if there be a hell upon earth, it is to be found in a melancholy mans heart:

> For that deep torture may be call'd an hell,
> When more is felt, than one hath power to tell.

Yea, that which scoffing Lucian said of the gout in jest, I may truly affirm of melancholy in earnest.

> O triste nomen! O Diis odibile,
> [p] Melancholia lacrymosa, Cocyti filia!
> Tu Tartari specubus opacis edita
> Erinnys, utero quam Megæra suo tulit
> Et ab uberibus aluit, cuique parvulæ
> Amarulentum in os iac Alecto dedit,
> Omnes abominabilem te dæmones
> Produxere in lucem, exitio mortalium.

> O sad and odious name! a name so fell,
> Is this of melancholy, brat of hell.
> There born in hellish darkness doth it dwell.
> The Furies brought it up, Megæra's teat,
> Alecto gave it bitter milk to eat:
> And all conspir'd a bane to mortal men,
> To bring this devil out of that black den.

Et paullo post—

[f] Psal. 107. 10. [g] Job, 33. [h] Job, 6. 8. [i] Vi doloris et tristitiæ ad insaniam prænè redactus. [j] Seneca. [k] In salutis suæ desperatione proponunt sibi mortis desiderium. Oct. Horat. l. 2. c. 5. [l] Lib. de insaniâ. Sic sic juvat ire per umbras. [m] Cap. 3. de mentis alienat. Mœsti degunt, dum tandem mortem, quam timent, suspendio aut submersione, aut aliquâ aliâ vi, ut multa tristia exempla vidimus. [n] Arculanus, in 9 Rhasis, c. 16. Cavendum, ne ex alto se præcipitent, aut alias lædant. [o] O omnium *opinionibus* incogitabile malum! Lucian. Mortesque mille, mille, dum vivit, necesgerit, perituque. *Heinsius, Austriaco.* [p] Regina morborum, cui famulantur omnes et obediunt. Cardan.

Non Jupiter fert tale telum fulminis,
Non ulla sic procella sævit sequoris,
Non impetuosi tanta vis est turbinis.
n asperos sustineo morsus Cerberi?
Num virus Echidnæ membra mea depascitur?
Aut tunica sanie tincta Nessi sanguinis?
Illacrymabile et immedicabile malum hoc.

Jupiters thunderbolt, nor storm at sea,
Nor whirl-wind, doth our hearts so much dismay,
What? am I bit by that fierce Cerberus?
Or stung by [p] serpent so pestiferous?
Or put on shirt that's dipt in Nessus blood?
My pain's past cure; physick can do no good.

No torture of body like unto it;

——Siculi non invenere tyranni
Majus tormentum;

no strappados, hot irons, Phalaris bulls,

[q]——Nec ira Deûm tantum, nec tela, nec hostis,
Quantum sola noces animis illapsa.

Joves wrath, nor devils, can
Do so much harm to th' soul of man.

All fears, griefs, suspicions, discontents, imbonities, insuavities, are swallowed up and drowned in this Euripus, this Irish sea, this ocean of misery, as so many small brooks; 'tis *coagulum omnium ærumnarum*, which [r]Ammianus applied to his distressed Palladius. I say of our melancholy man, he is the cream of humane adversity, the [s]quintessence, and upshot; all other diseases whatsoever are but flea-bitings, to melancholy, in extent: 'tis the pitch of them all,

[t] Hospitium est calamitatis. Quid verbis opus est?
Quamcunque malam rem queris, illic reperies.

What need more words? 'tis calamities inn,
Where seek for any mischief, 'tis within;

and a melancholy man is that true Prometheus, which is bound to Caucasus; the true Tityus, whose bowels are still by a vulture devoured (as poets feign); for so doth [u]Lilius Giraldus interpret it of anxieties, and those of griping cares, and so ought it to be understood. In all other maladies we seek for help; if a leg or an arm ake, through any distemperature or wound, or that we have an ordinary disease, above all things whatsoever we desire help and health, a present recovery, if by any means possible, it may be procured: we will freely part with all our other fortunes, substance, endure any misery, drink bitter potions, swallow those distastful pills, suffer our joynts to be seared, to be cut off, any thing for future health; so sweet, so dear, so precious above all things in this world is life: 'tis what we chiefly desire, long and happy days; ([v]*multos da, Jupiter, annos!*) increase of years all men wish; but, to a melancholy man, nothing so tedious, nothing so odious; that which they so carefully seek to preserve, [x]he abhors, he alone. So intolerable are his pains, some make a question, *gravioris morbi corporis an animi*, whether the diseases of the body or mind be more grievous: but there is no comparison, no doubt to be made of it; *multo enim sævior longeque est atrocior animi quam corporis crucidatus* (Lem. *l.* 1. *c.* 12): the diseases of the mind are far more grievous.——*Totum hic pro vulnere corpus;* body and soul is misaffected here, but the soul especially. So Cardan testifies (*de rerum var. lib.* 8. 40): [y]Maximus Tyrius a Platonist, and Plutarch, have made just volumes to prove it. [z]*Dies adimit ægritudinem hominibus;* in other diseases there is some hope likely; but these unhappy men are born to misery, past all hope of recovery, incurably sick; the longer they live, the worse they are; and death alone must ease them.

Another doubt is made by some philosophers, whether it be lawful for a man, in such extremity of pain and grief, to make away himself, and how those men that so do are to be censured. The Platonists approve of it, that it is lawful in such cases, and upon a necessity. Plotinus (*l. de beatitud. c.* 7), and Socrates himself defends it, (in Platos Phædon): *if any man labour of an incurable disease, he may dispatch himself, if it be*

[p] Eheu! quis intus scorpio, &c. Seneca, Act. 4. Herc. Œt. [q] Silius Italicus. [r] Lib. 29. [s] Hic omnis imbonitas et insuavitas consistit, ut Tertulliani verbis utar, orat. ad martyr. [t] Plautus. [u] Vit. Herculis. [v] Persius. [x] Quid est miserius in vitâ, quam velle mori? Seneca. [y] Tom. 2. Libello, an graviores passiones, &c. [z] Ter.

to his good. Epicurus and his followers, the Cynicks, and Stoicks, in general affirm it, Epictetus and [a]Seneca amongst the rest: *quamcunque veram esse viam ad libertatem;* any way is allowable, that leads to liberty; [b]*let us give God thanks, that no man is compelled to live against his will;* [c]*quid ad hominem claustra, carcer, custodia? liberum ostium habet;* death is always ready and at hand. *Vides illum præcipitem locum, illud flumen?* dost thou see that steep place, that river, that pit, that tree? there is liberty at hand; *effugia servitutis et doloris sunt,* as that Laconian lad cast himself headlong, (*non serviam, aiebat puer*) to be freed of his misery. Every vein in thy body, if these be *nimis operosi exitus,* will set thee free: *quid tua refert, finem facias an accipias?* there's no necessity for a man to live in misery. *Malum est necessitati vivere; sed in necessitate vivere, necessitas nulla est. Ignavus, qui sine caussâ moritur; et stultus qui cum dolore vivet* (*Idem. epist.* 58). Wherefore hath our mother the earth brought out poisons (saith [d]Pliny) in so great a quantity, but that men in distress might make away themselves? which kings of old had ever in a readiness, *ad incerta fortunæ venenum sub custode promtum* (Livy writes), and executioners alwayes at hand. Speusippus, being sick, was met by Diogenes; and, carried on his slaves shoulders, he made his moan to the philosopher: but, I pity thee not, quoth Diogenes, *qui, cum talis sis, vivere sustines:* thou maist be freed when thou wilt,—meaning by death. [e]Seneca therefore commends Cato, Dido, and Lucretia, for their generous courage in so doing, and others that voluntarily die, to avoid a greater mischief, to free themselves from misery, to save their honour or vindicate their good name, as Cleopatra did, as Sophonisba (Syphax wife) did, Hannibal did, as Junius Brutus, as Vibius Virius, and those Campanian senatours in Livy (*Dec.* 3. *lib.* 6), to escape the Roman tyranny, that poisoned themselves. Themistocles drank bulls blood, rather than he would fight against his countrey; and Demosthenes chose rather to drink poyson, Publius *Crassi filius,* Censorius, and Plancus, those heroical Romans, to make away themselves, than to fall into their enemies hands. How many myriads besides in all ages might I remember,

> ——————qui sibi letum
> Insontes peperere manu, &c.

[f]Rhasis, in the Macchabees, is magnified for it, Sampsons death approved. So did Saul and Jonas sin; and many worthy men and women, *quorum memoria celebratur in ecclesiâ,* saith [g]Leminchus, for killing themselves to save their chastity and honour, when Rome was taken (as Austin instances, *l.* 1. *de Civit. Dei, cap.* 16). Jerome vindicateth the same (*in Jonam*); and Ambrose (*l.* 3. *de virginitate*) commendeth Pelagia for so doing. Eusebius (*lib.* 8. *cap.* 15) admires a Roman matron for the same fact, to save herself from the lust of Maxentius the tyrant. Adelhelmus, abbot of Malmesbury, calls them *beatas virgines, quæ sic, &c.* Titus Pomponius Atticus, that wise, discreet, renowned Roman senator, Tullys dear friend, when he had been long sick, as he supposed, of an incurable disease, *vitamque produceret ad augendos dolores, sine spe salutis,* was resolved voluntarily by famine to dispatch himself, to be rid of his pain; and when Agrippa and the rest of his weeping friends earnestly besought him, *osculantes obsecrarent, ne id, quod natura cogeret, ipse acceleraret,* not to offer violence to himself—*with a settled resolution he desired again they would approve of his good intent, and not seek to dehort him from it;* and so constantly died, *precesque eorum taciturnâ suâ obstinatione depressit.* Even so did Corellius Rufus, another grave sena-

[a] Patet exitus; si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere: quis vos tenet invitos? De provid. cap. 8. [b] Agamus Deo gratias, quod nemo invitus in vitâ teneri potest. [c] Epist. 26. Senec. et de sacra. 2. cap. 15. et *Epist.* 70. et 12. [d] Lib. 2. cap. 83. Terra mater nostri miserta. [e] Epist. 24. 71. 82. [f] Mac 14. 42. [g] *Vindicatio Apoc. lib.*

tor, (by the relation of Plinius Secundus, *epist. lib.* 1. *epist.* 12.) famish himself to death; *pedibus correptus, cum incredibiles cruciatus et indignissima tormenta pateretur, a cibis omnino abstinuit:* neither he nor Hispulla his wife could divert him; but *destinatus mori obstinate magis*, &c. die he would, and die he did. So did Lycurgus, Aristotle, Zeno, Chrysippus, Empedocles, with myriads, &c. In warrs, for a man to run rashly upon imminent danger, and present death, is accounted valour and magnanimity; [h]to be the cause of his own, and many a thousands ruine besides, to commit wilful murther in a manner, of himself and others, is a glorious thing; and he shall be crowned for it. The [i]Massagetæ in former times, [j]Barbiccians, and I know not what nations besides, did stifle their old men, after seventy years, to free them from those grievances incident to that age. So did the inhabitants of the islands of Choa; because their aire was pure and good, and the people generally long lived, *antevertebant fatum suum, priusquam manci forent, aut imbecillitas accederet, papavere vel cicutâ;* with poppy or hemlock they prevented death. Sir Thomas Moore, in his Utopia, commends voluntary death, if he be *sibi aut aliis molestus*, troublesome to himself or others: [k]*especially if to live be a torment to him, let him free himself with his own hands from this tedious life, as from a prison, or suffer himself to be freed by others.* [l]And 'tis the same tenent which Laërtius relates of Zeno, of old: *juste sapiens sibi mortem consciscit, si in acerbis doloribus versetur, membrorum mutilatione, aut morbis ægrè curandis*, and which Plato (9. *de legibus*) approves, if old age, poverty, ignominy, &c. oppress; and which Fabius expresseth in effect (*Præfat.* 7. *Institut.*) *nemo nisi sua culpa diu dolet.* It is an ordinary thing in China (saith Mat. Riccius the Jesuit) [m]*if they be in despair of better fortunes, or tyred and tortured with misery, to bereave themselves of life, and many times, to spite their enemies the more, to hang at their door.* Tacitus the historian, Plutarch the philosopher, much approve a voluntary departure, and Austin (*de civ. Dei, l.* 1. *c.* 29) defends a violent death, so that it be undertaken in a good cause: *nemo sic mortuus, qui non fuerat aliquando moriturus: quid autem interest, quo mortis genere vita ista finiatur, quando ille, cui finitur, iterum mori non cogitur? &c.* no man so voluntarily dies, but *volens nolens*, he must die at last; and our life is subject to innumerable casualties: who knows when they may happen? *utrum satius est, unam perpeti moriendo, an omnes timere vivendo!* [n]rather suffer one, than fear all. *Death is better than a bitter life* (*Ec.* 30. 17): [o]and a harder choice to live in fear, than, by once dying, to be freed from all. Cleombrotus Ambraciotes perswaded I know not how many hundreds of his auditors, by a luculent oration he made of the miseries of this, and happiness of that other life, to precipitate themselves: and (having read Platos divine tract *de animâ*) for examples sake, led the way first. That neat epigram of Callimachus will tell you as much:

> Jamque vale, Soli cum diceret Ambraciotes, | Morte nihil dignum passus: sed forte Platonis
> In Stygios fertur desiluisse lacus, | Divini eximium de nece legit opus.

[p]Calenus and his Indians hated of old to die a natural death: the Circumcellians and Donatists, loathing life, compelled others to make them away:— with many such; [q]but these are false and pagan positions, prophane stoical

[h] As amongst Turks and others. [i] Bohemus, de moribus gent. [j] Ælian. lib. 4. cap. 1. Omnes 70 annum egressos interficiunt. [k] Lib. 2. Præsertim cum tormentum et vita sit, bonâ spe fretus, acerbâ vitâ, velut a carcere, se eximat, vel ab aliis eximi suâ voluntate patiatur. [l] Nam quis, amphoram exsiccans, fæcem exsorberet? (Seneca, epist. 58.) quis in pœnas et risum viveret? Stulti est manere in vitâ, cum sit miser. [m] Expedit. ad Sinas, l. 1. c. 9. Vel bonorum desperatione, vel malorum perpessione, fracti et fatigati, vel manus violentas sibi inferunt, vel, ut inimicis suis segre faciant, &c. [n] So did Anthony, Galba, Vitellius, Otho, Aristotle himself, &c. Ajax in despair, Cleopatra to save her honour. [o] Inertius deligitur diu vivere in timore tot morborum, quam, semel moriendo, nullum deinceps formidare. [p] Curtius, l. 16. [q] Laqueus præcisus, con. l. l. 5. Quidam, naufragio facto, amissis tribus liberis et uxore, suspendit se; præcidit illi quidam ex præteruntibus laqueum: a liberato reus fit maleficii. Seneca.

paradoxes, wicked examples: it boots not what heathen philosophers determine in this kind: they are impious, abominable, and upon a wrong ground. *No evil is to be done, that good may come of it; reclamat Christus, reclamat scriptura;* God, and all good men are [r]against it. He that stabs another, can kill his body: but he that stabs himself, kills his own soul. [s]*Male meretur, qui dat mendico, quod edat; nam et illud quod dat, perit; et ille producit vitam ad miseriam*: he that gives a beggar an almes (as that comical poet said) doth ill, because he doth but prolong his miseries. But Lactantius (*l.* 6. *c.* 7. *de vero cultu*) calls it a detestable opinion, and fully confutes it (*lib.* 3. *de sap. cap.* 18); and S. Austin (*ep.* 52. *ad Macedonium, cap.* 61. *ad Dulcitium Tribunum*): so doth Hierom, to Marcella of Blæsillas death: *non recipio tales animas, &c.* he calls such men *martyres stultæ philosophiæ:* so doth Cyprian (*de duplici martyrio*): *si qui sic moriantur, aut infirmitas, aut ambitio, aut dementia, cogit eos:* 'tis meer madness so to do, [t]*furor est, ne moriare, mori.* To this effect writes Arist. 3. *Ethic.* Lipsius *Manuduc, ad Stoicam Philosophiam, lib.* 3. *dissertat.* 23: but it needs no confutation. This only let me add, that, in some cases, those [u]hard censures of such as offer violence to their own persons, or in some desperate fit to others, which sometimes they do by stabbing, slashing, &c. are to be mitigated, as in such as are mad, beside themselves for the time, or found to have been long melancholy, and that in extremity: they know not what they do, deprived of reason, judgement, all, [v]as a ship that is void of a pilot, must needs impigne upon the next rock, or sands, and suffer shipwreck. [w]P. Forestus hath a story of two melancholy brethren, that made away themselves, and, for so foul a fact, were accordingly censured to be infamously buried, as in such cases they use, to terrifie others (as it did the Milesian virgins of old): but upon farther examination of their misery and madness, the censure was [x]revoked, and they were solemnly interred, as Saul was by David (2 *Sam.* 2. 4), and Seneca well adviseth, *irascere interfectori, sed miserere interfecti;* be justly offended with him, as he was a murderer, but pity him now, as a dead man. Thus of their goods and bodies we can dispose; but what shall become of their souls, God alone can tell; his mercy may come *inter pontem et fontem, inter gladium et jugulum,* betwixt the bridge and the brook, the knife and the throat. *Quod cuiquam contigit, cuivis potest:* who knows how he may be tempted? It is his case; it may be thine: [y]*Quæ sua sors hodie est, cras fore vestra potest.* We ought not to be so rash and rigorous in our censures, as some are: charity will judge best: God be merciful unto us all!

[r] See Lipsius, Manuduc. ad Stoicam philosophiam, lib. 3. dissert. 22. D. Kings 14. Lect. on Jonas. D. Abbots 6. Lect. on the same prophet. [s] Plautus. [t] Martial. [u] As to be buried out of Christian burial, with a stake. Idem Plato (9. de legibus) vult separatim sepeliri, quis sibi ipsis mortem conciscunt, &c. lose their goods, &c. [v] Navis, destituta nauclero, in terribilem aliquem scopulum impingit. [w] Observat. [x] Seneca, tract. 1. l. 8. c. 4. Lex, homicida insepultus abjiciatur: contradicitur, eo quod afferre sibi manus coactus sit assiduis malis; summam infelicitatem suam in hoc removit, quod existimabat licere misero mori. [y] Buchanan, Eleg. lib.

THE

SYNOPSIS

OF THE

SECOND PARTITION.

- Cure of melancholy is either
  - *Sect.* 1. General to all, which contains
    - Unlawful means forbidden
      - *Mem.*
      - 1. From the devil, magicians, witches, &c. by charms, spels, incantations, images, &c.
        - *Quæst.* 1. Whether they can cure this, or other such like diseases?
        - *Quæst.* 2. Whether, if they can so cure, it be lawful to seek to them for help?
    - Lawful means, which are
      - 2. Immediately from God, a *Jove principium*, by prayer, &c.
      - 3. *Quæst.* 1. Whether Saints and their reliques can help this infirmity?
        - *Quæst.* 2. Whether it be lawful in this case to sue to them for aid?
      - or
      - 4. Mediately by Nature, which concerns and works by
        - *Subsect.*
        - 1. *Physician*, in whom is required science, confidence, honesty, &c.
        - 2. *Patient*, in whom is required obedience, constancy, willingness, patience, confidence, bounty, &c. not to practise on himself.
        - 3. *Physick*, which consists of
          - Dietetical ♈
          - Pharmaceutical ♉
          - Chirurgical ♊
  - or
  - Particular to the three distinct species, ♋ ♌ ♍
- ♈ *Sect.* 2. Dietetical, which consists in reforming those six non-natural things, as in
  - Diet rectified. 1. *Memb.*
    - Matter and quality. 1 *Subs.*
      - Such meats as are easie of digestion, well dressed, hot, sod, &c. young, moist, of good nourishment, &c.
      - Bread of pure wheat, well baked.
      - Water clear from the fountain.
      - Wine and drink too strong, &c.
      - Flesh
        - Mountain birds, partridge, pheasants, quails, &c.
        - Hen, capon, mutton, veal, kid, rabbit, &c.
      - Fish
        - That live in gravelly waters, as pike, pearch, trowt, sea-fish, solid, white, &c.
      - Herbs
        - Borage, bugloss, bawm, succory, endive, violets, in broth, not raw, &c.
      - Fruits and roots
        - Raisins of the sun, apples corrected for wind, oranges, &c. parsnips, potatoes, &c.
    - or
    - 2. Quantity.
      - At seasonable and usual times of repast, in good order, not before the first be concocted, sparing, not overmuch of one dish.
  - 2. Rectification of retention and evacuation, as costiveness, venery, bleeding at nose, mouths stopped, baths, &c.
  - 3. Air, rectified, with a digression of the air.
    - Naturally in the choice and site of our countrey, dwelling-place, to be hot and moist, light, wholsome, pleasant, &c.
    - Artificially, by often change of air, avoiding winds, fogs, tempests, opening windows, perfumes, &c.
  - 4. Exercise.
    - Of body and mind, but moderate, as hawking, hunting, riding, shooting, bowling, fishing, fowling, walking in fair fields, galleries, tennis, bar.
    - Of mind, as chess, cards, tables, &c. to see plays, masks, &c. serious studies, business, all honest recreations.
  - 5. Rectification of waking and terrible dreams, &c.
  - 6. Rectification of passions and perturbations of the mind. ♎

Synopsis of the Second Partition.

ub. 6. ions perturbations of mind ified.

From himself — *Subsect.*
1. By using all good means of help, confessing to a friend, &c.
Avoiding all occasions of his infirmity.
Not giving way to passions, but resisting to his utmost.

or
2. By fair and foul means, counsel, comfort, good perswasion, witty devices, fictions, and if it be possible, to satisfie his mind.
3. Musick of all sorts aptly applyed.
4. Mirth, and merry company.

from his friends.

Sect. 3. A consolatory digression, containing remedies to all discontents and passions of the mind.

Memb.
1. General discontents and grievances satisfied.
2. Particular discontents, as deformity of body, sickness, baseness of birth, &c.
3. Poverty and want, and such calamities and adversities.
4. Against servitude, loss of liberty, imprisonment, banishment, &c.
5. Against vain fears, sorrows for death of friends, or otherwise.
6. Against envy, livor, hatred, malice, emulation, ambition, and self-love, &c.
7. Against repulses, abuses, injuries, contempts, disgraces, contumelies, slanders, and scoffs, &c.
8. Against all other grievous and ordinary symptomes of this disease of melancholy.

ect. 4. rmaceu-, or Phy- which th with licines, a a di- sion of kind of ick, is er *ub.* 1. *sect.* 1.

General to all or **Particular to the three distinct species ♉ ♌ ♏.**

Alterative or **Purging**

Simples altering melancholy, with a digression of exotick simples 2. *Subs.*

3. *Subs.* Herbs.
- To the heart; borage, buglosse, scorzonera, &c.
- To the head; balm, hops, nenuphar, &c.
- Liver; eupatory, artemisia, &c.
- Stomach; wormwood, centory, peniroyal.
- Spleen; ceterach, ash, tamerisk.
- To purifie the blood; endive, succory, &c.
- Against wind; origan, fennel, aniseed, &c.

4. Pretious stones; as smaragdes, chelidonies, &c.
Minerals; as gold, &c.

Compounds altering melancholy, with a digression of compounds. 1. *Subs.*

Inwardly taken or **Outwardly used, as**

Liquid or **solid, as those aromatical confections.**

Liquid: fluide
- Wines; as of hellebor, buglosse, tamerisk, &c.
- Syrups of borage, buglosse, hops, epithyme, endive, succory, &c.

or consisting
- Conserves of violets, maidenhair, borage, buglosse, roses, &c.
- Confections; treacle, Mithridate, eclegmes or linctures

or solid, as those aromatical confections: hot
- Diambra, dianthos.
- Diamargaritum calidum.
- Diamoschum dulce.
- Electuarium de gemmis.
- Lætificans Galeni et Rhasis.

or cold
- Diamargaritum frigidum.
- Diarrhodon abbatis.
- Diacorolli, diacodium with their tablets.

Condites of all sorts, &c.

Outwardly used, as
- Oyls of camomile, violets, roses, &c.
- Oyntments, alabastritum, populeum, &c.
- Liniments, plasters, cerotes, cataplasms, frontals, fomentations, epithemes, sacks, bags, odoraments, posies, &c.

Medicines purging melancholy, are either *Memb.* 2.

- Simples purging melancholy.
  - 1. *Subs.* Upward, as vomits. — Asarabacca, lawrell, white hellebor, scilla, or sea onyon, antimony, tobacco.
  - or Downward.
    - 2 *Subs.* More gentle; as sena, epithyme, polypody, myrobalanes, fumitory, &c.
    - Stronger; Aloës, lapis Armenus, lapis lazuli, black hellebor.
- or
- 3. *Subs.* Compounds purging melancholy.
  - Superior parts.
    - Mouth
      - swallowed, or
        - Liquid, as potions, julips, syrups, wine of hellebor, bugloss, &c.
        - Solid, as lapis Armenus, and lazuli, pills of Indy, pills of fumitory, &c.
        - Electuaries, diasena, confection of hamech, hierologladium, &c.
      - or
      - Not swallowed, as gargarisms, masticatories, &c.
    - or
    - Nostrils — Sneezing powders, odoraments, perfumes, &c.
  - Inferiour parts, as clysters strong and weak, and suppositories of Castilian soap, honey boiled, &c.

II. Chyrurgical physick, which consists of *Memb.* 3.

- Phlebotomy, to all parts almost, and all the distinct species.
- With knife, horsleeches.
- Cupping-glasses.
- Cauteries, and searing with hot irons, boaring.
- Dropax and sinapismus.
- Issues to several parts, and upon several occasions.

♋ *Sect.* 5. Cure of head-melancholy. *Memb.* 1.

1. *Subsect.*

Moderate diet, meat of good juice, moistning, easie of digestion.
Good air.
Sleep more than ordinary.
Excrements daily to be voided by art or nature.
Exercise of body and mind not too violent, or too remiss, passions of the mind, and perturbations to be avoided.

2. Blood-letting, if there be need, or that the blood be corrupt, in the arm, forehead, &c. or with cupping-glasses.

3. Preparatives and purgers.
- Preparatives; as syrup of borage, bugloss, epithyme, hops, with their distilled waters, &c.
- Purgers; as Montanus and Matthiolus helleborismus, Quercetanus, syrup of hellebor, extract of hellebor, pulvis Hali, antimony prepared, *Rulandi aqua mirabilis;* which are used, if gentler medicines will not take place; with Arnoldus, *vinum buglossatum*, sena, cassia, myrobalanes, *aurum potabile*, or before Hamech, pil. Indæ. hiera. pil. de lap. Armeno, lazuli.

4. Averters.
- Cardans nettles, frictions, clysters, suppositories, sneezings, masticatories, nasals, cupping-glasses.
- To open the hæmorrhoids with horsleeches, to apply horsleeches to the forehead without scarification, to the shoulders, thighs.
- Issues, boaring, cauteries, hot irons in the suture of the crown.

5. Cordials, resolvers, hinderers.
- A cup of wine or strong drink.
- Bezoars stone, amber, spice.
- Conserves of borage, bugloss, roses, fumitory.
- Confection of alchermes.
- *Electuarium lætificans Galeni et Rhasis*, &c.
- *Diamargaritum frig. diaboraginatum*, &c.

6. Correctores of accidents, as,

- Odoraments of roses, violets.
- Irrigations of the head, with the decoctions of nymphea, lettice, mallows, &c.
- Epithemes, oyntments, bags to the heart.
- Fomentations of oyl for the belly.
- Baths of sweet water, in which were sod mallows, violets, roses, water-lillies, borage flowers, rams heads, &c.
- To procure sleep, and are
  - Inwardly taken,
    - Simples — Poppy, nymphea, lettice, roses purslane, henbane, mandrake, nightshade, opium, &c.
    - or
    - Compounds.
      - Liquid, as syrups of poppy, verbasco, violets, roses.
      - Solid, as *requies Nicholai, Philonium, Romanum, laudanum Paracelsi.*
  - or
  - Outwardly used, as
    - Oyls of nymphea, poppy, violets, roses, mandrake, nutmegs.
    - Odoraments of vinegar, rose-water, opium.
    - Frontals of rose-cake, rose-vinegar, nutmeg.
    - Oyntments, alabastritum, unguentum populeum, simple or mixt with opium.
    - Irrigations of the head, feet, spunges, musick, murmur and noise of waters.
    - Frictions of the head, and outward parts, saeculi of henbane, wormwood at his pillow, &c.
- Against terrible dreams; not to sup late, or eat pease, cabbage, venison, meats heavy of digestion, use bawm, hartstongue, &c.
- Against ruddiness and blushing, inward and outward remedies.

2. *Memb.* of melholy over body.

- Diet, preparatives, purges, averters, cordials, correctors, as before:
- Phlebotomy, in this kind more necessary, and more frequent.
- To correct and cleanse the blood with fumitory, sena, succory, dandelion, endive, &c.

Cure hypochondriac by injury, *Memb.*

Subsect. 1.

- Phlebotomy, if need require.
- Diet, preparatives, averters, cordials, purgers, as before, saving that they must not be so vehement.
- Use of penyroyal, wormwood, centaury sod, which alone hath cured many.
- To provoke urine with anniseed, daucus, asarum, &c. and stools, if need be, by clysters and suppositories.
- To respect the spleen, stomach, liver, hypochondries.
- To use treacle now and then in winter.
- To vomit after meals sometimes, if it be inveterate.
- To expel wind,
  - Inwardly taken,
    - Simples, or Compounds, as
      - Roots, — Galanga, gentian, enula, angelica, calamus aromaticus, zedoary, china, condite ginger, &c.
      - Herbs, — Peniroyal, rue, calamint, bay leaves, and berries, scordium, bettany, lavander, camomile, centaury, wormwood, cumin, broom, orange pills.
      - Spices, — Saffron, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, pepper, musk, zedoary with wine, &c.
      - Seeds, — Aniseed, fennel-seed, ammi, cari, cumin, nettle, bayes, parsley, grana paradisi.
    - or
    - Dianisum, diagalanga, diaciminum, diacalaminthes, electuarium de baccis lauri, benedicta laxativa, &c. pulvis carminativus, et pulvis descrip. Antidotario Florentino, aromaticum rosatum, Mithridate.
  - or
  - Outwardly used, as cupping-glasses to the hypochondries without scarification, oyl of camomile, rue, anniseed, their decoctions, &c.

THE

SECOND PARTITION.

THE CURE OF MELANCHOLY.

THE FIRST { SECTION. MEMBER. SUBSECTION.

Unlawful Cures rejected

INVETERATE melancholy, howsoever it may seem to be a continuate, inexorable disease, hard to be cured, accompanying them to their graves most part (as [a] Montanus observes), yet many times it may be helped, even that which is most violent, or at least (according to the same [b] author) *it may be mitigated and much eased. Nil desperandum.* It may be hard to cure, but not impossible for him that is most grievously affected, if he be willing to be helped.

Upon this good hope I will proceed, using the same method in the cure, which I have formerly used in the rehearsing of the causes; first *general*, then *particular;* and those according to their several species. Of these cures some be *lawful*, some *unlawful*, which though frequent, familiar, and often used, yet justly censured, and to be controverted: as, first, whether, by these diabolical means, which are more commonly practised by the devil and his ministers, sorcerers, witches, magicians, &c. by spells, cabalistical words, charms, characters, images, amulets, ligatures, philtres, incantations, &c. this disease and the like may be cured? and if they may, whether it be lawful to make use of them, those magnetical cures, or for our good to seek after such means in any case? The first, whether they can do any such cures, is questioned amongst many writers, some affirming, some denying. Valesius, *cont. med. lib.* 5. *cap.* 6. Malleus Maleficor. Heurnius, *l.* 3. *pract. med. cap.* 28. Cœlius, *lib.* 16. *c.* 16. Delrio, *tom.* 3. Wierus, *lib.* 2. *de præstig. dæm.* Libanius, Lavater, *de spect. part.* 2. *cap.* 7. Holbrenner the Lutheran in *Pistorium*, Polydor Virg. *l.* 1. *de prodig.* Tandlerus, Lemnius, (Hippocrates, and Avicenna amongst the rest) deny that spirits or devils have any power over us, refer all (with Pomponatius of Padua) to natural causes and humours. Of the other opinion are Bodinus, *Dæmonomantiæ, lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. Arnoldus, Marcellus Empiricus, J. Pistorius, Paracelsus, *Apodix. Magic.*, Agrippa, *lib.* 2. *de occult. Philos. cap.* 36. 69. 71. 72. *et l.* 3. *c.* 23, *et* 10. Marcilius Ficinus, *de vit. cœlit. compar. cap.* 13. 15. 18. 21. *&c.* Galeottus, *de promiscuâ doct. cap.* 24. Jovianus Pontanus, *Tom.* 2. Plin. *lib.* 28. *c.* 2. Strabo, *lib.* 15. *Geog.* Leo. Suavius; Goclenius *de ung. armar.* Oswoldus Crollius, Ernestus Burgravius, D[r]. Flud, &c.—Cardan (*de subt.*) brings many proofs out of *Ars Notoria*, and Solomons decayed works, old Hermes, Artesius, Costaben Luca, Picatrix, &c. that such cures may be done. They

[a] Consil. 265. pro Abbate Italo. [b] Consil. 26. Aut curabitur, aut certe minus afflictetur, si velet.

can make fire it shall not burn, fetch back thieves or stoln goods, shew their absent faces in a glass, make serpents lye still, stanch blood, salve gouts, epilepsies, biting of mad dogs, tooth-ach, melancholy, *et omnia mundi mala*, make men immortal, young again, as the [c] Spanish marquess is said to have done by one of his slaves, and some, which juglers in [d] China maintain still (as Tragaltius writes) that they can do by their extraordinary skill in physick, and some of our modern chymists by their strange limbecks, by their spels, philosophers stones and charms. [e] *Many doubt*, saith Nicholas Taurellus, *whether the devil can cure such diseases he hath not made; and some flatly deny it: howsoever common experience confirmes to our astonishment, that magicians can work such feats, and that the devil without impediment can penetrate through all the parts of our bodies, and cure such maladies, by means to us unknown.* Daneus, in his tract, *de Sortiariis*, subscribes to this of Taurellus; Erastus (*de Lamiis*) maintaineth as much; and so do most divines, that, out of their excellent knowledge and long experience, they can commit [f] *agentes cum patientibus, colligere semina rerum, eaque materiæ applicare*, as Austin infers (*de Civ. Dei, et de Trinit. lib.* 3. *cap.* 7. *et* 8): they can work stupend and admirable conclusions: we see the effects only, but not the causes of them. Nothing so familiar as to hear of such cures. Sorcerers are too common; cunning men, wizards, and white witches (as they call them), in every village, which, if they be sought unto, will help almost all infirmities of body and mind—*servatores* in Latine; and they have commonly S[t]. Catherines wheel printed in the roof of their mouth, or in some other part about them; *resistunt incantatorum præstigiis*, ([g] Boissardus writes) *morbos a sagis motos propulsant, &c.* that to doubt of it any longer, [h] *or not to believe, were to run into that other sceptical extreme of incredulity*, saith Taurellus. Leo Suavius, in his comment upon Paracelsus, seemes to make it an art which ought to be approved; Pistorius and others stifly maintain the use of charmes, words, characters, &c. *Ars vera est; sed pauci artifices reperiuntur;* the art is true, but there be but a few that have skill in it. Marcellus Donatus (*lib.* 2. *de hist. mir. cap.* 1) proves, out of Josephus eight books of antiquities, that [i] *Solomon so cured all the diseases of the mind by spels, charmes, and drove away devils, and that Eleazar did as much before Vespasian.* Langius (in his *med. epist.*) holds Jupiter Menecrates, that did so many stupend cures in his time, to have used this art, and that he was no other than a magician. Many famous cures are daily done in this kind; the devil is an expert physician (as Godelman calls him, *lib.* 1. *c.* 18): and God permits oftentimes these witches and magicians to produce such effects, as Lavater (*cap.* 3. *lib.* 8. *part.* 3. *cap.* 1), Polyd. Virg. (*lib.* 1. *de prodigiis*), Delrio, and others, admit. Such cures may be done: and, Paracels. (*Tom.* 4. *de morb. ament.*) stifly maintains, [j] *they cannot otherwise be cured but by spells, seals, and spiritual physick.* [k] Arnoldus (*lib. de sigillis*) sets down the making of them; so doth Rulandus, and many others.

Hoc posito, they can effect such cures, the main question is, whether it be lawful, in a desperate case, to crave their help, or ask a wisard's advice. 'Tis a common practice of some men to go first to a witch, and then to a physician; if one cannot, the other shall:

Flectere si *nequeunt* Superos, Acheronta *movebunt.*

[c] Vide Renatum Morey, Anim. in scholam Salernit. c. 38. Si ad 40 annos possent producere vitam, cur non ad centum? si ad centum, cur non ad mille? [d] Hist. Chinensium. [e] Alii dubitant an dæmon possit morbos curare quos non fecit; alii negant; sed quotidiana experientia confirmat, magos magno multorum stupore morbos curare, singulas corporis partes citra impedimentum permeare, et medils nobis ignotis curare. [f] Agentia cum patientibus conjungunt. [g] Cap. 11. de Servat. [h] Hæc alii rident; sed vereor, ne, dum nolumus esse crediili, vitium non effugiamus incredulitatis. Refert Solomonem mentis morbos curâsse, et dæmones abegisse ipsos carminibus, quod et coram Vespasiano fecit Eleazer. [i] Spirituales morbi spiritualiter curari debent. [k] Sigillum ex auro peculiari ad melancholiam, &c.

[l] *It matters not,* saith Paracelsus, *whether it be God or the devil, angels or unclean spirits, cure him, so that he be eased.* If a man fall into a ditch, (as he prosecutes it) what matter is it whether a friend or an enemy help him out? and if I be troubled with such a malady, what care I whether the devil himself, or any of his ministers, by God's permission, redeem me? He calls a [m] magician Gods minister and his vicar, applying that of *vos estis Dii* prophanely to them (for which he is lashed by T. Erastus, *part.* 1. *fol.* 45); and elsewhere he encourageth his patients to have a good faith, [n] *a strong imagination, and they shall find the effects; let divines say to the contrary what they will.* He proves and contends that many diseases cannot otherwise be cured: *incantatione orti, incantatione curari debent;* if they be caused by incantation, [o] they must be cured by incantation. Constantinus (*l.* 4.) approves of such remedies: Bartolus the lawyer, Peter Ærodius (*rerum Judic. lib.* 3. *tit.*7), Salicetus, Godefridus, with others of that sect, allow of them, *modo sint ad sanitatem, quæ a magis fiunt, secus non;* so they be for the parties good, or not at all. But these men are confuted by Remigius, Bodinus (*dæm. lib.* 3. *cap.* 2), Godelmannus (*l.* 1. *cap.* 8), Wierus, Delrio (*lib.* 6. *quæst.* 2. *Tom.* 3. *mag. inquis.*) Erastus (*de Lamiis*): all [p] our divines, schoolmen, and such as write cases of conscience, are against it; the scripture it self absolutely forbids it as a mortal sin (*Levit. cap.* 18. 19. 23. *Deut.* 18. *&c. Rom.* 8. 19). *Evil is not to be done, that good may come of it.* Much better it were for such patients that are so troubled, to endure a little misery in this life, than to hazard their souls health for ever; and (as Delrio counselleth) [q] *much better dye than be so cured.* Some take upon them to expel devils by natural remedies, and magical exorcisms, which they seem to approve out of the practice of the primitive church, as that above cited of Josephus, Eleazar, Irenæus, Tertullian, Austin. Eusebius makes mention of such; and magick it self hath been publickly professed in some universities, as of old in Salamanca in Spain, and Cracovia in Poland: but condemned, *anno* 1318, by the chancellour and university of [r] Paris. Our pontifical writers retain many of these adjurations and forms of exorcisms still in their church; besides those in baptism used, they exorcise meats, and such as are possessed, as they hold, in Christs name. Read Hieron. Mengus, *cap.* 3. Pet. Tyreus, *part.* 3. *cap.* 8. what exorcisms they prescribe, besides those ordinary means of [s] *fire, suffumigations, lights, cutting the air* with swords, *cap.* 57. herbs, odours: of which Tostatus treats, 2 *Reg. cap.* 16. *quæst.* 43. You shall find many vain and frivolous superstitious forms of exorcisms among them, not to be tolerated, or endured.

MEMB. II.

Lawful Cures, first from God.

Being so clearly evinced as it is, all unlawful cures are to be refused, it remains to treat of such as are to be admitted; and those are commonly such which God hath appointed, [t] by vertue of stones, herbs, plants, meats, &c. and the like, which are prepared and applyed to our use, by art and industry of physicians, who are the dispensers of such treasures for our good, and to be [u] *honoured for necessities sake*—Gods intermediate ministers, to whom, in

[l] Lib. 1. de occult. Philos. Nihil refert, an Deus an diabolus, angeli an immundi spiritus, ægro opem ferant, modo morbos curetur. [m] Magus minister et vicarius Dei. [n] Utere forti imaginatione, et experieris effectum; dicant in adversum quidquid volunt theologi. [o] Idem Plinius contendit, quosdam esse morbos, qui incantationibus solum curentur. [p] Qui talibus credunt, aut ad eorum domos euntes, aut suis domibus introducunt, aut interrogant, sciant se fidem Christianam et baptismum prævaricâsse, et apostatas esse. Austin. de superst. observ. Hoc pacto a Deo deficitur ad diabolum. P. Mart. [q] Mori præstat quam superstitiose sanari, Disquis. mag. 1. 2. c. 2. sect. 1. quæst. 1. Tom. 3. [r] P. Lumbard. [s] Suffitus, gladiorum ictus, &c. [t] The Lord hath created medicines of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhor them, Ecclus. 38. 4. [u] My son, fail not in thy sickness, but pray unto the Lord; and he will make thee whole, Ecclus. 38. 9. Huc omne principium, huc refer exitum. Hor. 3. carm. Od. 6.

our infirmities, we are to seek for help: yet not so that we rely too much, or wholly, upon them. *A Jove principium;* we must first begin with prayer, and then use physick; not one without the other, but both together. To pray alone, and reject ordinary means, is to do like him in Æsop, that, when his cart was stalled, lay flat on his back, and cryed aloud, "Help, Hercules!" but that was to little purpose, except, as his friend advised him, *rotis tute ipse annitaris*, he whipt his horses withal, and put his shoulder to the wheel. God works by means, as Christ cured the blind man with clay and spittle. *Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.* As we must pray for health of body and mind, so we must use our utmost endeavours to preserve and continue it. Some kind of devils are not cast out but by fasting and prayer, and both necessarily required, not one without the other. For all the physick we can use, art, excellent industry, is to no purpose without calling upon God: *Nil juvat immensos Cratero promittere montes:* It is in vain to seek for help, run, ride, except God bless us.

——— non Siculæ dapes
[y] Dulcem elaborabunt saporem:
Non avium citharæve cantus, ———

[z] Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri,
Ægroto possunt domino deducere febres.

[x] With house, with land, with money, and with gold,
The masters fever will not be control'd.

We must use prayer and physick both together: and so, no doubt, our prayers will be available, and our physick take effect. 'Tis that Hezekiah practised (2 Kings 20), Luke the Evangelist; and which we are enjoined (Coloss. 4), not the patient only, but the physician himself. Hippocrates, an heathen, required this in a good practitioner, and so did Galen. *lib. de Plat. et Hipp. dog. lib.* 9. *c.* 15; and in that tract of his, *an mores sequantur temp. cor.* *c.* 11. 'tis that which he doth inculcate, [y] and many others. Hyperius, (in his first book *de sacr. script. lect.*) speaking of that happiness and good success which all physicians desire and hope for in their cures, [z] tells them, *that it is not to be expected, except, with a true faith, they call upon God, and teach their patients to do the like.* The council of Lateran (*Canon.* 22.) decreed they should do so: the fathers of the church have still advised as much. Whatsoever thou takest in hand, (saith [a] Gregory) *let God be of thy counsel: consult with him, that healeth those that are broken in heart,* (Psal. 147. 3.) *and bindeth up their sores.* Otherwise, as the prophet Jeremy (*cap.* 46. 11) denounced to Ægypt, in vain shalt thou use many medicines; for thou shalt have no health. It is the same counsel which [b] Comineus, that politick historiographer, gives to all Christian princes, upon occasion of that unhappy overthrow of Charles duke of Burgundy, by means of which he was extreamly melancholy, and sick to death, in so much that neither physick nor perswasion could do him any good,—perceiving his preposterous error belike, adviseth all great men, in such cases, [c] *to pray first to God with all submission and penitency, to confess their sins, and then to use physick.* The very same fault it was, which the prophet reprehends in Asa king of Juda, that he relyed more on physick than on God, and by all means would have him to amend it. And 'tis a fit caution to be observed of all other sorts of men. The prophet David was so observant of this precept, that, in his greatest misery and vexation of mind, he put this rule first into practice: (Psal. 77. 3) *When I am*

[y] Musick and fine fare can do no good. [z] Hor. l. 1. ep. 2. [x] Sint Crœsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus, aureas undas agens, eripiet unquam e miseriis. [y] Scientia de Deo debet in medico infixa esse. Mesue Arabs. Sanat omnes languores Deus. For you shall pray to your Lord, that he would prosper that which is given for ease, and then use physick for the prolonging of life. Ecclus. 38. 4. [a] Omnes optant quamdam in medicinâ felicitatem; sed hanc non est quod expectent, nisi Deum verâ fide invocent, atque ægros similiter ad ardentem vocationem excitent. [b] Lemnius e Gregor. exhor. ad vitam opt. instit. c. 48. Quidquid meditaris aggredi aut perficere, Deum in consilium adhibeto. [b] Commentar. lib. 7. Ob infelicem pugnam contristatus, in ægritudinem incidit, ita ut a medicis curari non posset. [c] In his animi malis, princeps imprimis ad Deum precetur, et peccatis veniam exoret; inde ad *medicinam, &c.*

in heaviness, I will think on God. (Psal. 86. 4.) *Comfort the soul of thy servant, for unto thee I lift up my soul.* (And verse 7.) *In the day of trouble will I call upon thee, for thou hearest me.* (Psal. 54. 1.) *Save me, O God, by thy name, &c.* (Psal. 82. Psal. 20.) And 'tis the common practice of all good men: (Psal. 107. 13) *when their heart was humbled with heaviness, they cryed to the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them from their distress.* And they have found good success in so doing, as David confesseth (Psal. 30. 12): *Thou hast turned my mourning into joy; thou hast loosed my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness.* Therefore he adviseth all others to do the like: (Psal. 31. 24.) *All ye that trust in the Lord, be strong, and he shall establish your heart.* It is reported by [d] Suidas, speaking of Hezekiah, that there was a great book of old, of king Solomons writing, which contained medicines for all manner of diseases, and lay open still as they came into the temple: but Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, caused it to be taken away, because it made the people secure, to neglect their duty in calling and relying upon God, out of a confidence on those remedies. [e] Minutius, that worthy consul of Rome, in an oration he made to his souldiers, was much offended with them, and taxed their ignorance, that, in their misery, called more on him than upon God. A general fault it is all over the world; and Minutius his speech concerns us all: we rely more on physick, and seek oftner to physicians, than to God himself. As much faulty are they that prescribe, as they that ask, respecting wholly their gain, and trusting more to their ordinary receipts and medicines many times, than to him that made them. I would wish all patients in this behalf, in the midst of their melancholy, to remember that of Siracides, (Ecc. 1. 12.) *The fear of the Lord is glory and gladness, and rejoicing. The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart, and giveth gladness and joy, and long life;* and all such as prescribe physick, to begin in *nomine Dei*, as [f] Mesue did, to imitate Lælius a Fonte Eugubinus, that, in all his consultations, still concludes with a prayer for the good success of his business; and to remember that of Crato, one of their predecessors, *fuge avaritiam; et sine oratione et invocatione Dei nihil facias;* avoid covetousness, and do nothing without invocation upon God.

MEMB. III.

Whether it be lawful to seek to Saints for aid in this disease.

THAT we must pray to God, no man doubts: but, whether we should pray to saints in such cases, or whether they can do us any good, it may be lawfully controverted—whether their images, shrines, reliques, consecrated things, holy water, medals, benedictions, those divine amulets, holy exorcisms, and the sign of the cross, be available in this disease. The papists, on the one side, stiffly maintain, how many melancholy, mad, dæmoniacal persons are daily cured at S[t]. Anthonies church in Padua, at S[t]. Vitus in Germany, by our Lady of Lauretta in Italy, or Lady of Sichem in the Low Countreys, [g] *quæ et cæcis lumen, ægris salutem, mortuis vitam, claudis gressum reddit, omnes morbos corporis, animi, curat, et in ipsos dæmones imperium exercet:* she cures halt, lame, blind, all diseases of body and mind, and commands the devil himself, saith Lipsius: 25000 *in a day come thither:* [h] *quis nisi numen in illum locum sic induxit?* who brought them? *in auribus, in oculis omnium gesta, nova novitia;* new news lately done; our eyes and ears are full of her cures; and who can relate them all? They have a proper saint almost for

[d] Greg. Tholos. To. 2. l. 28. c. 7. Syntax. In vestibulo templi Solomonis liber remediorum cujusque morbi fuit, quem revulsit Ezechias, quod populus, neglecto Deo nec invocato, sanitatem inde peteret. [e] Livius, l. 23. Strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam Deorum invocantium opem. [f] Rulandus adjungit optimam orationem ad finem Emptricorum. Mercurialis (consil. 25) ita concludit. Montanus passim, &c. et plures alii, &c. [g] Lipsius. [h] Cap. 26.

every peculiar infirmity; for poyson, gouts, agues, Petronella: S^t. Romanus for such as are possessed: Valentine for the falling sickness; S^t. Vitus for mad men, &c. And as, of old, [i]Pliny reckons up gods for all diseases, (*Febri fanum dicatum est*) Lilius Giraldus repeats many of her ceremonies: all affections of the mind were heretofore accounted gods: Love, and Sorrow, Vertue, Honour, Liberty, Contumely, Impudency, had their temples; tempests, seasons, *Crepitus ventris, Dea Vacuna, Dea Cloacina:* there was a goddess of idleness, a goddess of the draught or jakes, *Prema, Premunda, Priapus*, bawdy gods, and gods for all [j]offices. Varro reckons up 30000 gods; Lucian makes Podagra (the gout) a goddess, and assigns her priests and ministers: and Melancholy comes not behind; for (as Austin mentioneth, *lib.* 4. *De Civit. Dei, cap.* 9) there was of old *Angerona dea*, and she had her chappel and feasts; to whom (saith [k]Macrobius) they did offer sacrifice yearly, that she might be pacified as well as the rest. 'Tis no new thing, you see, this of papists; and, in my judgment, that old doting Lipsius might have fitter dedicated his [l]pen, after all his labours, to this old goddess of Melancholy, than to his *Virgo Halensis*, and been her chaplain; it would have becomed him better. But he, poor man, thought no harm in that which he did, and will not be perswaded but that he doth well; he hath so many patrons, and honorable precedents in the like kind, that justify as much, as eagerly, and more than he there saith of his Lady and Mistris: read but superstitious Coster and Gretsers Tract. *de Cruce Laur.* Arcturus Fanteus, *de invoc. Sanct.* Bellarmine, Delrio, *dis. mag. Tom.* 3, *l.* 6. *quæst.* 2. *sect.* 3. Greg. Tolosanus, *tom.* 2, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 22. *Syntax.* Strozius Cicogna, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 9. Tyreus, Hieronymus Mengus; and you shall find infinite examples of cures done in this kind, by holy waters, reliques, crosses, exorcisms, amulets, images, consecrated beads, &c. Barradius the Jesuit boldly gives it out, that Christs countenance, and the Virgin Maries, would cure melancholy, if one had looked steadfastly on them. P. Morales the Spaniard (in his book *de pulch. Jes. et Mar.*) confirms the same out of Carthusianus, and I know not whom, that it was a common proverb in those daies, for such as were troubled in mind, to say *Eamus ad videndum filium Mariæ* (let us see the son of Mary), as they do now post to S^t. Anthonies in Padua, or to S^t. Hillaries at Poictiers in France. [m]In a closet of that church, there is at this day S^t. Hillaries bed to be seen, *to which they bring all the mad men in the country; and, after some prayers and other ceremonies, they lay them down there to sleep, and so they recover.* It is an ordinary thing in those parts, to send all their mad men to S^t. Hillaries cradle. They say the like of S^t. Tubery in [n]another place. Giraldus Cambrensis (*Itin. Camb. c.* 1) tells strange stories of S. Ciricius staffe, that would cure this and all other diseases. Others say as much (as [o]Hospinian observes) of the Three Kings of Colen; their names written in parchment, and hung about a patients neck, with the sign of the crosse, will produce like effects. Read Lipomannus, or that golden legend of Jacobus de Voragine, you shall have infinite stories,—or those new relations of our [p]Jesuits in Japona and China, of Mat. Riccius, Acosta, Loiola, Xaverius life, &c. Jasper Belga, a Jesuit, cured a mad woman by hanging St. Johns Gospel about her neck, and many such. Holy water did as much in Japona, &c. Nothing so familiar in their works, as such examples.

[i] Lib. 2. c. 7. de Deo. Morbisque in genera descriptis, Deos reperimus. Selden. prolog. c. 3. de Diis Syris. Rosinus. [j] See Lilii Giraldi syntagma de Diis, &c. [k] 12 Cal. Januarii ferias celebrant, ut angores et animi solicitudines propitiata depellat. [l] Hanc Divæ pennam consecravi, Lipsius. [m] Jodocus Sincerus, itin. Galliæ, 1617. Huc mente captos deducunt, et statis orationibus, sacrisque peractis, in illum lectum dormitum ponunt, &c. [n] In Galliâ Narbonensi. [o] Lib. de orig. Festorum. Collo suspensa, et pergameno inscripta, cum signo crucis, &c. [p] Em Acosta, com. rerum in Oriente gest. a societat. Jesu, *anno* 1568. Epist. Gonsalvi Fernandis. an. 1560, e Japoniâ.

But we, on the other side, seek to God alone. We say with David, (Ps. 46. 1.) *God is our hope and strength, and help in trouble, ready to be found.* For their catalogue of examples, we make no other answer, but that they are false fictions, or diabolical illusions, counterfeit miracles. We cannot deny but that it is an ordinary thing, on S[t]. Anthonies day in Padua, to bring divers mad men and dæmoniacal persons to be cured: yet we make a doubt whether such parties be so affected indeed, but prepared by their priests by certain oyntments and drams, to cosen the commonalty, as [q] Hildesheim well saith. The like is commonly practised in Bohemia, as Mathiolus gives us to understand in his preface to his comment upon Dioscorides. But we need not run so far for examples in this kind: we have a just volume published at home to this purpose: [r] *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to with-draw the hearts of religious men under pretence of casting out Devils, practised by Father Edmunds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, and divers Romish Priests, his wicked associates,* with the several parties names, confessions, examinations, &c. which were pretended to be possessed. But these are ordinary tricks, only to get opinion and money, meer impostures. Æsculapius of old, that counterfeit God, did as many famous cures: his temple (as [s] Strabo relates) was daily full of patients, and as many several tables, inscriptions, pendants, donaries, &c. to be seen in his church, as at this day at our Lady of Lorettas in Italy. It was a custome, long since,

> Suspendisse potenti
> Vestimenta maris Deo—*Hor. lib.* 1. *od.* 5.

To do the like, in former times, they were seduced and deluded as they are now. 'Tis the same devil still, called heretofore Apollo, Mars, Neptune, Venus, Æsculapius, &c. as [t] Lactantius (*lib.* 2. *de orig. erroris, c.* 17) observes. The same Jupiter, and those bad angels, are now worshipped and adored by the name of S[t]. Sebastian, Barbara, &c. Christopher and George are come in their places. Our Lady succeeds Venus (as they use her in many offices): the rest are otherwise supplyed (as [u] Lavater writes); and so they are deluded: [v] *and God often winks at these impostures, because they forsake his word, and betake themselves to the devil, as they do that seek after holy water, crosses, &c.* (Wierus, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 3.) What can these men plead for themselves more than those heathen gods? the same cures done by both, the same spirit that seduceth: but read more of the pagan gods effects in Austin, *de Civitate Dei, l.* 10. *cap.* 6; and of Æsculapius, especially, in Cicogna, *l.* 3. *cap.* 8: or put case they could help, why should we rather seek to them, than to Christ himself? since that he so [w] kindly invites us unto him: *Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and I will ease you* (Matth. 11); and we know that there is one God, *one Mediator betwixt God and man, Jesus Christ* (1 Tim. 2. 5), *who gave himself a ransome for all men. We know that we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ* (1 John, 2. 1), that there is no [x] *other name under heaven, by which we can be saved, but by his,* who is alwayes ready to hear us, and sits at the right hand of God, and from [y] whom we can have no repulse: *solus vult, solus potest: curat universos tanquam singulos, et* [z] *unumquemque nostrûm ut solum;* we are all as one to him; he cares for us all as one; and why should we then seek to any other but to him?

[q] Spicil. de morbis dæmoniacis. Sic a sacrificulis parati unguentis magicis corpori illitis, ut stultæ plebeculæ persuadeant tales curari a Sancto Antonio. [r] Printed at London, 4to. by J. Roberts, 1605. [s] Greg. l. 8. Cujus fanum ægrotantium multitudine refertum undiquaque, et tabellis pendentibus, in quibus sanati languores erant inscripti. [t] Mali angeli sumserunt olim nomen Jovis, Junonis, Apollinis, &c. quos Gentiles Deos credebant: nunc S. Sebastiani, Barbare, &c. nomen habent, et aliorum. [u] Part. 2. cap. 9. de spect. Veneri substituunt virginem Mariam. [v] Ad hæc ludibria Deus connivet frequenter, ubi, relicto verbo Dei, ad Satanam curritur; quales hi sunt, qui aquam lustralem, crucem, &c. lubricæ fidei hominibus offerunt. [w] Carior est ipsis homo, quam sibi. [x] Paul. [y] Bernard. [z] Austin.

MEMB. IV.

Subsect. I.—*Physician, Patient, Physick.*

Of those diverse gifts which, our apostle Paul saith, God hath bestowed on man, this physick is not the least, but most necessary, and especially conducing to the good of mankind. Next therefore to God, in all our extremities (*for of the Most High cometh healing*, Ecclus. 38, 2) we must seek to, and rely upon the physician, [a] who is *manus Dei* (saith Hierophilus), and to whom he hath given knowledge, that he might be glorified in his wondrous works. *With such doth he heal men, and taketh away their pains* (Ecclus. 38. 6, 7): *when thou hast need of him, let him not go from thee. The hour may come that their enterprises may have good success* (ver. 13). It is not therefore to be doubted, that if we seek a physician as we ought, we may be eased of our infirmities—such a one, I mean, as is sufficient, and worthily so called; for there be many mountebanks, quacksalvers, empiricks, in every street almost, and in every village, that take upon them this name, make this noble and profitable art to be evil spoken of and contemned, by reason of these base and illiterate artificers: but such a physician I speak of, as is approved, learned, skilful, honest, &c. of whose duty Wecker, (*Antid. cap.* 2. *et Syntax. med.*) Crato, Julius Alexandrinus, (*medic.*) Heurnius, (*prax. med. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1) *&c.* treat at large. For this particular disease, him that shall take upon him to cure it, [b] Paracelsus will have to be a magician, a chymist, a philosopher, an astrologer; Thurnesserus, Severinus the Dane, and some other of his followers, require as much: *many of them cannot be cured but by magick.* [c] Paracelsus is so stiff for those chymical medicines, that, in his cures, he will admit almost of no other physick, deriding in the mean time Hippocrates, Galen, and all their followers. But magick, and all such remedies, I have already censured, and shall speak of chymistry [d] elsewhere. Astrology is required by many famous physicians, by Ficinus, Crato, Fernelius, [e] doubted of, and exploded by others. I will not take upon me to decide the controversie my self: Johannes Hossurtus, Thomas Boderius, and Maginus in the preface to his Mathematical physick, shall determine for me. Many physicians explode astrology in physick, (saith he) there is no use of it: *unam artem ac quasi temerariam insectantur, ac gloriam sibi ab ejus imperitiâ aucupari;* but I will reprove physicians by physicians, that defend and profess it, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicen, &c. that count them butchers without it, *homicidas medicos astrologiæ ignaros, &c.* Paracelsus goes farther, and will have his physician [f] predestinated to this mans cure, and this malady, and time of cure, the scheme of each geniture inspected, gathering of herbs, of administering, astrologically observed; in which Thurnesserus, and some iatromathematical professors, are too superstitious in my judgement. [g] *Hellebor will help, but not alway, not given by every physician, &c.* But these men are too peremptory and self-conceited, as I think. But what do I do, interposing in that which is beyond my reach? A blind man cannot judge of colours, nor I peradventure of these things. Only thus much I would require, honesty in every physician, that he be not over careless or covetous, Harpy-like to make a prey of his patient; *carnificis namque est* (as [h] Wecker notes) *inter ipsos cruciatus ingens pretium exposcere*, as an hungry chyrurgion often doth produce and wier-draw his cure, so long as there is any hope of pay, *Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.*

[a] Ecclus. 38. In the sight of great men, he shall be in admiration. [b] Tom. 4. Tract. 3. de morbis amentium. Horum multi non nisi à magis curandi et astrologis, quoniam origo ejus a cœlis petenda est. [c] Lib. de Podagrâ. [d] Sect. 5. [e] Langius. J. Cæsar Claudinus, consult. [f] Prædestinatum ad hunc curandum. [g] Helleborus curat: sed quod ab omni datus medico, vanum est. [h] Antid. gen. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Many of them, to get a fee, will give physick to every one that comes, when there is no cause; and they do so *irritare silentem morbum*, as [i]Heurnius complains, stir up a silent disease, as it often falleth out, which, by good counsel, good advice alone, might have been happily composed, or, by rectification of those six non-natural things, otherwise cured. This is *naturæ bellum inferre*, to oppugn nature, and make a strong body weak. Arnoldus, in his eighth and eleventh Aphorisms, gives cautions against, and expressly forbiddeth it. [j]*A wise physician will not give physick, but upon necessity, and first try medicinal dyet, before he proceed to medicinal cure.* [k]In another place he laughs those men to scorn, that think *longis syrupis expugnare dæmones et animi phantasmata*, they can purge phantastical imaginations, and the devil, by physick. Another caution is, that they proceed upon good grounds, if so be there be need of physick, and not mistake the disease. They are often deceived by the [l]similitude of symptoms, saith Heurnius; I could give instance in many consultations, wherein they have prescribed opposite physick. Sometimes they go too perfunctorily to work, in not prescribing a just [m]course of physick. To stir up the humour, and not to purge it, doth often more harm than good. Montanus (*consil.* 30) inveighs against such perturbations, *that purge to the halves, tire nature, and molest the body to no purpose.* 'Tis a crabbed humour to purge—and, as Laurentius calls this disease, the reproach of physicians: Bessardus, *flagellum medicorum*, their lash—and, for that cause, more carefully to be respected. Though the patient be averse, saith Laurentius, desire help, and refuse it again, though he neglect his own health, it behoves a good physician not to leave him helpless. But most part, they offend in that other extream; they prescribe too much physick, and tire out their bodies with continual potions, to no purpose. Aëtius (*tetrabib.* 2. 2. *ser. cap.* 90) will have them by all means therefore [n]*to give some respite to nature*, to leave off now and then; and Lælius a Fonte Eugubinus, in his consultations, found it (as he there witnesseth) often verified by experience, [o]*that after a deal of physick to no purpose, left to themselves, they have recovered.* 'Tis that which Nic. Piso, Donatus Altomarus, still inculcate—*dare requiem naturæ*, to give nature rest.

Subsect. II.—*Concerning the Patient.*

When these precedent cautions are accurately kept, and that we have now got a skilful, an honest physician to our mind, if his patient will not be conformable, and content to be ruled by him, all his endeavours will come to no good end. Many things are necessarily to be observed and continued on the patients behalf: first, that he be not too niggardly miserable of his purse, or think it too much he bestows upon himself, and, to save charges, endanger his health. The Abderites, when they sent for Hippocrates, promised him what reward he would—[p]*all the gold they had; if all the city were gold, he should have it.* Naaman the Syrian, when he went into Israel to Elisha to be cured of his leprosie, took with him ten talents of silver, six thousand pieces of gold, and ten change of rayments (2 Kings, 5. 5). Another thing is, that out of bashfulness he do not conceal his grief: if ought trouble his minde, let him freely disclose it. *Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.*

[i] Quod sæpe evenit, (lib. 3. cap. 1.) cum non sit necessitas. Frustra fatigant remediis ægros, qui victûs ratione curari possunt. Heurnius. [j] Modestus et sapiens medicus nunquam properabit ad pharmacum, nisi cogente necessitate. 41. Aphor. Prudens et pius medicus cibis prius medicinalibus, quam medicinis puris morbum expellere satagat. [k] Brev. l. c. 18. [l] Similitudo sæpe bonis medicis imponit. [m] Qui melancholicis præbent remedia non satis valida. Longiores morbo imprimis solertiam medici postulant, et fidelitatem: qui enim tumultuario hos tractant, vires absque ullo commodo lædunt et frangunt, &c. [n] Naturæ remissionem dare oportet. [o] Plerique hoc morbo medicinâ nihil profecisse visi sunt, et sibi demissi invaluerunt. [p] Abderitani, ep. Hippoc. Quidquid auri apud nos est, libenter persolvemus, etiamsi tota urbs nostra aurum esset.

By that means he procures to himself much mischief, and runs into a greater inconvenience: he must be willing to be cured, and earnestly desire it. *Pars sanitatis velle sanari fuit.* (Seneca.) 'Tis a part of his cure to wish his own health; and not to defer it too long.

[q] Qui blandiendo dulce nutrivit malum,
Sero recusat ferre quod subiit jugum. Et
He that by cherishing a mischief doth provoke,
Too late, at last, refuseth to cast off his yoke.

[r] Helleborum frustra, cum jam cutis ægra tumebit
Poscentes videas; venienti occurrite morbo.
When the skin swells, to seek it to appease
With hellebor, is vain; meet your disease.

By this means many times, or through their ignorance in not taking notice of their grievance and danger of it, contempt, supine negligence, extenuation, wretchedness, and peevishness, they undo themselves. The citizens, I know not of what city now, when rumour was brought their enemies were coming, could not abide to hear it; and when the plague begins in many places, and they certainly know it, they command silence, and hush it up: but, after they see their foes now marching to their gates, and ready to surprise them, they begin to fortifie and resist when 'tis too late; when the sickness breaks out, and can be no longer concealed, then they lament their supine negligence: 'tis no otherwise with these men. And often, out of prejudice, a loathing and distaste of physick, they had rather dy, or do worse, than take any of it. *Barbarous immanity* ([s]Melancthon termes it), *and folly to be deplored, so to contemn the precepts of health, good remedies, and voluntarily to pull death, and many maladies, upon their own heads:* though many again are in that other extreme, too profuse, suspicious, and jealous of their health, too apt to take physick on every small occasion, to aggravate every slender passion, imperfection, impediment; if their finger do but ake, run, ride, send for a physician, as many gentlewomen do, that are sick, without a cause, even when they will themselves, upon every toy or small discontent; and when he comes, they make it worse than it is, by amplifying that which is not. [t]Hier. Capivaccius sets it down as a common fault of all *melancholy persons, to say their symptomes are greater than they are, to help themselves;* and (which Mercurialis notes, *consil.* 53) *to be more* [u]*troublesome to their physicians, than other ordinary patients, that they may have change of physick.*

A third thing to be required in a patient, is confidence, to be of good chear, and have sure hope that his physician can help him. [v]Damascen the Arabian requires likewise in the physician himself, that he be confident he can cure him, otherwise his physick will not be effectuall, and promise withall that he will certainly help him, make him beleeve so at least. [w]Galeottus gives this reason, because the forme of health is contained in the physicians mind; and, as Galen holds, [x]*confidence and hope do more good than physick;* he cures most, in whom most are confident. Axiochus, sick almost to death, at the very sight of Socrates recovered his former health. Paracelsus assigns it for an only cause why Hippocrates was so fortunate in cures, not for any extraordinary skill he had, [y]but *because the common people had a most strong conceipt of his worth.* To this of confidence we may adde perseverance, obedience, and constancie, not to change his physician, or dislike him upon every toy; for he that so doth, (saith [z]Janus Damascen) *or consults with many, falls into many errours; or that useth many medicines.*

[q] Seneca. [r] Per. 3. Sat. [s] De animâ. Barbarâ tamen immanitate, et deplorandâ inscitiâ, contemnunt præcepta sanitatis; mortem et morbos ultro accersunt. [t] Consul. 173. e Scoltzio, Melanch. Ægrorum hoc fere proprium est, ut graviora dicant esse symptomata, quam reverà sunt. [u] Melancholici plerumque medicis sunt molesti, ut alia aliis adjungant. [v] Oportet infirmo imprimere salutem, utcunque promittere, etsi ipse desperet. Nullum medicamentum efficax, nisi medicus etiam fuerit fortis imaginationis. [w] De promisc. doct. cap. 15. Quoniam sanitatis formam animi medici continent. [x] Spes et *confidentia* plus valent quam medicina. [y] Felicior in medicinâ ob fidem ethnicorum. [z] Aphoris. 89. *Æger, qui plurimos consulit medicos, plerumque in errorem singulorum cadit.*

It was a chief caveat of [a]Seneca to his friend Lucilius, that he should not alter his physician, or prescribed physick: *nothing hinders health more: a wound can never be cured, that hath severall plasters.* Crato (*consil.* 186) taxeth all melancholy persons of this fault: [b]*'tis proper to them, if things fall not out to their minde, and that they have not present ease, to seek another and another;* (as they do commonly that have sore eyes) *twenty, one after another; and they still promise all to cure them, try a thousand remedies; and by this means they increase their malady, make it most dangerous and difficil to be cured. They try many* (saith [c]Montanus) *and profit by none:* and for this cause (*consil.* 24) he injoyns his patient, before he take him in hand, [d]*perseverance and sufferance; for, in such a small time, no great matter can be effected; and upon that condition he will administer physick; otherwise all his endeavour and counsell would be to small purpose.* And, in his 31 *counsell* for a notable matron, he tels her, [e]*if she will be cured, she must be of a most abiding patience, faithfull obedience, and singular perseverance; if she remit or despair, she can expect or hope for no good success.* *Consil.* 230, for an Italian abbot, he makes it one of the greatest reasons why this disease is so incurable, [f]*because the parties are so restless and impatient, and will therefore have him that intends to be eased,* [g]*to take physick, not for a moneth, a year, but to apply himself to their prescriptions all the dayes of his life.* Last of all, it is required that the patient be not too bold to practise upon himself, without an approved physicians consent, or to try conclusions, if he read a receipt in a book; for so, many grosly mistake, and do themselves more harme than good. That which is conducing to one man, in one case, the same time is opposite to another. [h]An asse and a mule went laden over a brook, the one with salt, the other with wool; the mules packe was wet by chance; the salt melted; his burden the lighter, and he thereby much eased: he told the asse, who, thinking to speed as well, wet his packe likewise at the next water; but it was much the heavier; he quite tired. So one thing may be good and bad to severall parties, upon divers occasions. *Many things* (saith [i]Penottus) *are written in our books, which seem to the reader to be excellent remedies; but they that make use of them, are often deceived, and take, for physick, poyson.* I remember, in Valleriolas observations, a story of one John Baptist, a Neapolitan, that, finding by chance a pamphlet in Italian, written in praise of hellebor, would needs adventure on himself, and tooke one dram for one scruple: and, had not he been sent for, the poor fellow had poysoned himself. From whence he concludes (out of Damascenus 2. *et* 3. *Aphoris.*) [j]*that, without exquisite knowledge, to work out of bookes is most dangerous: how unsavorie a thing it is to beleeve writers, and take upon trust, as this patient perceived by his own perill.* I could recite such another example, of mine own knowledge, of a friend of mine, that, finding a receipt in Brassivola, would needs take hellebor in substance, and try it on his own person; but, had not some of his familiars come to visit him by chance, he had by his indiscretion hazarded himself. Many such I have observed. These are those ordinary cautions, which I should thinke fit to be noted; and he that

[a] Nihil ita sanitatem impedit, ac remediorum crebra mutatio; nec venit vulnus ad cicatricem, in quo diversa medicamenta tentantur. [b] Melancholicorum proprium, quum ex eorum arbitrio non fit subita mutatio in melius, alterare medicos, qui quidvis, &c. [c] Consil. 31. Dum ad varia se conferunt, nullo prosunt. [d] Imprimis hoc statuere oportet, requiri perseverantiam, et tolerantiam. Exiguo enim tempore nihil ex, &c. [e] Si curari vult, opus est pertinaci perseverantiâ, fideli obedientiâ, et patientiâ singulari: si tædet aut desperei, nullum habeit effectum. [f] Ægritudine amittunt patientiam; et inde morbi incurabiles. [g] Non ad mensem aut annum, sed oportet toto vitæ curriculo curationi operam dare. [h] Camerarius, emb. 55. cent. 2. [i] Præfat de nar. med. In libellis qui vulgo versantur apud literatos, incautiores multa legunt, a quibus decipiuntur, eximia illis: sed portentosum hauriunt venenum. [j] Operari ex libris, absque cognitione et solerti ingenio, periculosum est. Unde monemur, quam insipidum scriptis auctoribus credere, quod hic suo didicit periculo.

shall keep them, as [k] Montanus saith, shall surely be much eased, if not thoroughly cured.

Subsect. III.—*Concerning Physick.*

Physick itself in the last place is to be considered: *for the Lord hath created medicines of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhorre them.* Ecclus. 38. 4. and ver. 8. *of such doth the apothecary make a confection, &c.* Of these medicines there be divers and infinite kindes, plants, metals, animals, &c. and those of severall natures, some good for one, hurtfull to another: some noxious in themselves, corrected by art, very wholesome and good, simples, mixt, &c. and therefore left to be managed by discreet and skillfull physicians, and thence applied to mans use. To this purpose they have invented method, and severall rules of art, to put these remedies in order, for their particular ends. Physick (as Hippocrates defines it) is naught else but [l] addition and substraction; and, as it is required in all other diseases, so in this of melancholy it ought to be most accurate; it being (as [m] Mercurialis acknowledgeth) so common an affection in these our times, and therefore fit to be understood. Severall postscripts and methods I find in severall men: some take upon them to cure all maladies with one medicine severally applyed, as that *panacea*, *aurum potabile*, so much controverted in these dayes, *herba solis*, *&c.* Paracelsus reduceth all diseases to four principall heads, to whom Severinus, Ravelascus, Leo Suavius, and others, adhere and imitate: those are leprosy, gout, dropsie, falling-sickness: to which they reduce the rest; as to leprosie, ulcers, itches, furfures, scabs, &c. to gout, stone, cholick, tooth-ach, head-ach, &c. to dropsie, agues, jaundies, cachexia, &c. To the falling-sicknesse, belong palsy, vertigo, cramps, convulsions, incubus, apoplexie, &c. "[n] *If any of these four principall be cured,* (saith Ravelascus) *all the inferior are cured;* and the same remedies commonly serve: but this is too generall, and by some contradicted. For this peculiar disease of melancholy, of which I am now to speak, I find severall cures, severall methods and prescripts. They that intend the practick cure of melancholy, saith Duretus in his notes to Hollerius, set down nine peculiar scopes or ends; Savanarola prescribes seven speciall canons. Ælianus Montaltus, *cap.* 26. Faventinus, in his Empericks, Hercules de Saxoniâ, &c. have their severall injunctions and rules, all tending to one end. The ordinary is threefold, which I mean to follow—Διαιτητικὴ, *Pharmaceutica*, and *Chirurgica*, diet or living, apothecary, chirurgery, which Wecker, Crato, Guianerius, &c. and most prescribe; of which I will insist, and speak in their order.

SECT. II. MEMB. I.

Subsect. I.—*Dyet rectified in substance.*

Diet, Διαιτητικὴ, *victus* or living, according to [o] Fuchsius and others, comprehend those six non-natural things, which, I have before specified, are especiall causes, and, being rectified, a sole, or chief part of the cure. [p] Johannes Arculanus (*cap.* 16. *in* 9. *Rhasis*) accounts the rectifying of these six a sufficient cure. Guianerius (*Tract.* 15. *cap.* 9) calls them, *propriam et primam curam*, the principall cure: so doth Montanus, Crato, Mercurialis, Altomarus, &c. first to be tried. Lemnius (*instit. cap.* 22) names them the hinges of our health; [q] no hope of recovery without them. Reinerus

[k] Consil. 23. Hæc omnia si, quo ordine decet, egerit, vel curabitur, vel certe minus afficietur. [l] Fuchsius, cap. 2. lib. 1. [m] In pract. med. Hæc affectio nostris temporibus frequentissima; ergo maxime pertinet ad nos hujus curitionem intelligere. [n] Si aliquis horum morborum summus sanatur, sanantur omnes interiores. [o] Instit. cap. 8. sect. 1. Victûs nomine non tam cibus et potus, sed aër, exercitatio, somnus, vigilia, et reliquæ res sex non-naturales, continentur. [p] Sufficit plerumque regimen rerum sex non-naturalium. [q] *Et in* his potissima sanitas consistit.

Solenander, in his seventh consultation for a Spanish young gentlewoman, that was so melancholy she abhorred all company, and would not sit at table with her familiar friends, prescribes this physick above the rest; [r]no good to be done without it. [s]Aretæus, (*lib* 1. *cap.* 7) an old physician, is of opinion, that this is enough of it self, if the party be not too far gone in sicknesse. [t]Crato, in a consultation of his for a noble patient, tells him plainly, that, if his highness will keep but a good diet, he will warrant him his former health. [u]Montanus, *consil.* 27, for a nobleman of France, admonisheth his lordship to be most circumspect in his diet, or else all his other physick will [v]be to small purpose. The same injunction I finde verbatim in J. Cæsar Claudinus. *Respon.* 34. Scoltzii *consil.* 183. Trallianus, *cap.* 16. *lib.* 1. Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus often brags that he hath done more cures in his kinde by rectification of diet, than all other physick besides. So that, in a word, I may say to most melancholy men, as the fox said to the wesell, that could not get out of the garner, *Macra cavum repetas, quem macra subisti;* the six non-naturall things caused it; and they must cure it. Which howsoever I treat of, as proper to the meridian of melancholy, yet nevertheless, that which is here said, with him in [w]Tully, though writ especially for the good of his friends at Tarentum and Sicily, yet it will generally serve [x]most other diseases, and help them likewise, if it be observed.

Of these six non-naturall things, the first is diet, properly so called, which consists in meat and drink, in which we must consider substance, quantity, quality, and that opposite to the precedent. In substance, such meats are generally commended, which are [y]*moist, easie of digestion, and not apt to engender winde, not fryed, nor rosted, but sod,* (saith Valescus, Altomarus, Piso, &c.) *hot and moist, and of good nourishment.* Crata (*Consil.* 21. *lib.* 2) admits rost meat, [z]if the burned and scorched superficies, the brown we call it, be pared off. Salvianus (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 1) cries out on cold and dry meats; [a]young flesh and tender is approved, as of kid, rabbets, chickens, veale, mutton, capons, hens, partridge, phesant, quailes, and all mountain birds, which are so familiar in some parts of Africa, and in Italy, and (as [b]Dublinius reports) the common food of boores and clownes in Palæstina. Galen takes exception at mutton; but without question he means that rammy mutton, which is in Turkie and Asia Minor, which have those great fleshie tailes, of 48 pound weight, as Vertomannus witnesseth, *navig. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. The lean of fat meat is best; and all manner of brothes, and pottage, with borage, lettuce, and such wholesome hearbs, are excellent good, specially of a cock boyled; all spoon meat. Arabians commend brains; but [c]Laurentius (*c.* 8.) excepts against them; and so do many others: [d]egges are justified, as a nutritive wholsome meat: butter and oyle may passe, but with some limitation: so [e]Crato confines it, and *to some men sparingly, at set times, or in sauce;* and so sugar and hony are approved. [f]All sharpe and sowre sauces must be avoided, and spices, or at least seldom used: and so saffron, sometimes, in broth, may be tolerated; but these things may be more freely used, as the temperature of the party is hot or cold, or as he shall finde inconvenience by them. The thinnest, whitest, smallest wine is best, not thick, not strong; and so of beer, the midling is fittest. Bread

[r] Nihil hîc agendum sine exquisitâ vivendi ratione, &c. [s] Si ricens malum sit, ad pristinum habitum recuperandum, aliâ medelâ non est opus. [t] Consil. 99. lib. 2. Si celsitudo tua rectam victûs rationem, &c. [u] Moneo, domine, ut sis prudens ad victum, sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibenter. [v] Omnia remedia irrita et vana sine his. Novistis me plerosque, ita laborantes, victu potius quam medicamentis curâsse. [w] 1. de finibus. Tarentinis et Siculis. [x] Modo non multum elongentur. [y] Lib. 1. de melan. cap. 7. Calidus et humidus cibus concoctu facilis, flatûs exsortes, elixi, non assi, neque cibi frixi sint. [z] Si interna tantum pulpa devoretur, non superficies torrida ab igne. [a] Bene nutrientes cibi; tenella ætas multum valet; carnes non virosæ, nec pingues. [b] Hodœpor. peregr. Hierosol. [c] Inimica stomacho. [d] Not fryed, or buttered, but potched. [e] Consil. 16. Non improbatur butyrum et oleum, si tamen plus quam par sit non profundatur: sacchari et mellis usus utiliter ad ciborum condimenta comprobatur. [f] Mercurialis, consil. 88. Acerba omnia evitentur.

of good wheat, pure, well purged from the bran, is preferred: Laurentius (*cap.* 8) would have it kneaded with rain water, if it may be gotten.

Water.] Pure, thin, light water by all means use, of good smell and taste; like to the ayr in sight, such as is soon hot, soon cold, and which Hippocrates so much approves, if at least it may be had. Rain water is purest, so that it fall not down in great drops, and be used forthwith; for it quickly putrifies. Next to it fountain water, that riseth in the east, and runneth eastward, from a quick running spring, from flinty, chalky, gravelly, grounds: and the longer a river runneth, it is commonly the purest; though many springs do yeeld the best water at their fountains. The waters in hotter countries, as in Turkie, Persia, India, within the tropicks, are frequently purer than ours in the north, more subtile, thin, and lighter (as our merchants observe) by four ounces in a pound, pleasanter to drink, as good as our beer, and some of them, as Choaspis in Persia, preferred by the Persian kings, before wine it self.

[g] Clitorio quicunque sitim de fonte levârit.
Vina fugit, gaudetque meris abstemius undis.

Many rivers, I deny not, are muddy still, white, thick, like those in China, Nilus in Ægypt, Tibris at Rome, but after they be setled two or three dayes, defecate and clear, very commodious, usefull and good. Many make use of deep wels, as of old in the Holy Land, lakes, cisterns, when they cannot be better provided; to fetch in carts or gundilos, as in Venice, or camels backs, as at Cairo in Ægypt: [h] Radzivilius observed 8000 camels daily there, employed about that business. Some keep it in trunks, as in the East Indies, made four square, with descending steps; and 'tis not amiss: for I would not have any one so nice as that Græcian Calis, sister to Nicephorus emperour of Constantinople, and [i] married to Dominicus Silvius Duke of Venice, that, out of incredible wantonness, *communi aquâ uti nolebat*, would use no vulgar water; but she died *tantâ* (saith mine authour) *fœtidissimi puris copiâ*, of so fulsome a disease, that no water could wash her clean. [j] Plato would not have a traveller lodge in a city, that is not governed by laws, or hath not a quick stream running by it; *illud enim animum, hoc corrumpit valetudinem;* one corrupts the body, the other the minde. But this is more than needs: too much curiosity is naught; in time of necessity any water is allowed. Howsoever, pure water is best, and which (as Pindarus holds) is better than gold: an especiall ornament it is, and *very commodious to a city* (according to [k] Vegetius) *when fresh springs are included within the wals;* as at Corinth, in the midst of the town almost, there was *arx altissima scatens fontibus*, a goodly mount full of fresh-water springs: *if nature afford them not, they must be had by art.* It is a wonder to read of those [l] stupend aqueducts; and infinite cost hath been bestowed, in Rome of old, Constantinople, Carthage, Alexandria, and such populous cities, to conveigh good and wholsome waters: read [m] Frontinus, Lipsius, *de admir.* [n] Plinius, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 11. Strabo, in his Geogr. That aqueduct of Claudius was most eminent, fetched upon arches 15 miles, every arch 109 foot high: they had 14 such other aqueducts, besides lakes and cisterns, 700, as I take it: [o] every house had private pipes and chanels to serve them for their use. Peter Gillius, in his accurate description of Constantinople, speaks of an old cistern which he went down to see, 336 foot long, 180 foot broad, built of marble, covered over with arch-work, and sustained by 336 pillars, twelve foot asunder, and in 11 rowes, to contain sweet water. In-

[g] Ovid. Met. lib. 15. [h] Peregr. Hier. [i] The dukes of Venice were then permitted to marry. [j] De Legibus. [k] Lib. 4. ca. 10. Magna urbis utilitas, cum perennes fontes muris includuntur; quod si natura non præstat, effodiendi, &c. [l] Opera gigantum dicit aliquis. [m] De aquæduct. [n] Curtius fons a quadragesimo lapide in urbem opere arcuato perductus. Plin. lib. 36. 15. [o] Quæque domus Romæ fistulas habebat et canales, &c.

finite cost in chanels and cisterns, from Nilus to Alexandria, hath been formerly bestowed, to the admiration of these times; [p] their cisterns so curiously cemented and composed, that a beholder would take them to be all of one stone: when the foundation is laid, and cistern made, their house is half built. That Segovian aqueduct in Spain is much wondred at in these dayes, [q] upon three rows of pillars, one above another, conveying sweet water to every house: but each city almost is full of such aqueducts. Amongst the rest, [r] he is eternally to be commended, that brought that new stream to the north side of London at his own charge; and Mr. Otho Nicholson, founder of our water-works and elegant conduit in Oxford. So much have all times attributed to this element, to be conveniently provided of it. Although Galen hath taken exceptions at such waters, which run through leaden pipes, *ob serussam quæ in iis generatur*, for that unctuous ceruse, which causeth dysenteries and fluxes; [s] yet, as Alsarius Crucius of Genua well answers, it is opposite to common experience. If that were true, most of our Italian cities, Montpelier in France, with infinite others, would finde this inconvenience: but there is no such matter. For private families, in what sort they should furnish themselves, let them consult with P. Cresentius, *de Agric. l.* 1. *c.* 4. Pamphilus Hirelacus, and the rest.

Amongst fishes, those are most allowed of, that live in gravelly or sandy waters, pikes, pearch, trout, gudgeon, smelts, flounders, &c. Hippolytus Salvianus takes exception at carp; but I dare boldly say, with [t] Dubravius, it is an excellent meat, if it come not from [u] muddy pooles, that it retain not an unsavory tast. *Erinaceus marinus* is much commended by Oribasius, Aëtius, and most of our late writers.

[v] Crato (*consil.* 21. *lib.* 2) censures all manner of fruits, as subject to putrefaction, yet tolerable at some times; after meales, at second course, they keep down vapors, and have their use. Sweet fruits are best, as sweet cherries, plums, sweet apples, pear-maines, and pippins, which Laurentius extols, as having a peculiar property against this disease; and Plater magnifies: *omnibus modis appropriata conveniunt;* but they must be corrected for their windiness: ripe grapes are good, and raysins of the sun, musk-millions well corrected, and sparingly used. Figs are allowed, and almonds blanched. Trallianus discommends figs. [w] Salvianus olives and capers, which [x] others especially like of, and so of pistick nuts. Montanus and Mercurialis (out of Avenzoar) admit peaches, [y] peares, and apples baked after meales, only corrected with sugar, and aniseed, or fennell-seed; and so they may be profitably taken, because they strengthen the stomack, and keep down vapors. The like may be said of preserved cherries, plums, marmalit of plums, quinces, &c. but not to drink after them. [z] Pomegranates, lemons, oranges are tolerated, if they be not too sharp.

[a] Crato will admit of no herbs, but borage, bugloss, endive, fennell, aniseed, bawme: Calenus and Arnoldus tolerate lettuce, spinage, beets, &c. The same Crato will allow no roots at all to be eaten. Some approve of potatoes, parsnips, but all corrected for winde. No raw sallets; but, as Laurentius prescribes, in broths; and so Crato commends many of them: or to use

[p] Lib. 2. ca. 20. Jod. a Meggen. cap. 15. pereg. Hier. Bellonius. [q] Cypr. Echovius, delic. Hisp. Aqua profluens inde in omnes fere domos ducitur; in puteis quoque æstivo tempore frigidissima conservatur. [r] Sir Hugh Middleton, baronet. [s] De quæsitis med. cent. fol. 354. [t] De piscibus lib. Habent omnes in lautitiis, modo non sint e cœnoso loco. [u] De pisc. c. 2. l. 7. Plurimum præstat ad utilitatem et jucunditatem. Idem Trallianus, lib. 1. c. 16. Pisces petrosi, et molles carne. [v] Etsi omnes putredini sunt obnoxii, ubi secundis mensis, incepto jam priore, devorentur, commodi succi prosunt, qui dulcedine sunt præditi, ut dulcia cerasa, poma, &c. [w] Lib. 2. cap. 1. [x] Montanus, consil. 24. [y] Pyra quæ grato sunt sapore, cocta mala, poma tosta, et saccharo vel anisi semine consperso, utiliter statim a prandio vel a cœnâ sumi possunt, eo quod ventriculum roborent, et vapores caput petentes reprimant. Mont. [z] Punica mala commode permittuntur, modo non sint austera et acida, [a] Olera omnia, præter boraginem, buglossum, intybum, feniculum, anisum, melissum, vitari debent.

borage, hops, bawme, steeped in their ordinary drink. [b] Avenzoar magnifies the juice of a pomegranate, if it be sweet, and especially rose-water, which he would have to be used in every dish; which they put in practice in those hot countries about Damascus, where (if we may beleeve the relations of Vertomannus) many hogsheads of rose-water are to be sold in the market at once, it is in so great request with them.

Subsect. II.—*Dyet rectified in quantity.*

Man alone, saith [c] Cardan, eates and drinks without appetite, and useth all his pleasure without necessity, *animæ vitio*; and thence come many inconveniences unto him: for there is no meat whatsoever, though otherwise wholsome and good, but, if unseasonably taken, or immoderately used, more than the stomack can well beare, it will ingender crudite, and do much harme. Therefore [a] Crato adviseth his patient to eat but twice a day, and that at his set meales, by no meanes to eat without an appetite, or upon a full stomack, and to put seven houres difference betwixt dinner and supper; which rule if we did observe in our colleges, it would be much better for our healths: but custome, that tyrant, so prevailes, that, contrary to all good order and rules of physick, we scarce admit of five. If, after seven houres tarrying, he shall have no stomack, let him defer his meal, or eat very little at his ordinary time of repast. This very counsell was given by Prosper Calenus to Cardinall Cæsius, labouring of this disease; and [e] Platerus prescribes it to a patient of his, to be most severely kept. Guianerius admits of three meals a day; but Montanus, *consil.* 23. *pro. Ab. Italo,* ties him precisely to two. And, as he must not eat overmuch, so he may not absolutely fast; for, as Celsus contends (*lib.* 1), Jacchinus (15. *in* 9 *Rhasis*), [f] repletion and inanition may both do harm in too contrary extreams. Moreover, that which he doth eat, must be well [g] chewed, and not hastily gobled; for that causeth crudity and winde; and by all means to eat no more than he can well digest. *Some think* (saith [h] Trincavellius, *lib.* 11. *cap.* 29. *de curand. part. hum.*) *the more they eat, the more they nourish thewselves*: eat and live, as the proverb is, *not knowing that onely repaires man which is well concocted, not that which is devoured.* Melancholy men most part have good [i] appetites, but ill digestion; and for that cause they must be sure to rise with an appetite: and that which Socrates and Disarius the physicians, in [j] Macrobius, so much require, St. Hierom injoines Rusticus, to eat and drink no more than will [k] satisfie hunger and thirst. [l] Lessius the Jesuite holds 12, 13, or 14 ounces, or in our northern countries 16 at most, (for all students, weaklings, and such as lead an idle sedentary life) *of meat, bread, &c. a fit proportion for a whole day, and as much or little more of drink.* Nothing pesters the body and minde sooner than to be still fed, to eat and ingurgitate beyond all measure, as many do. [m] *By overmuch eating and continuall feasts, they stifle nature, and choke up themselves; which, had they lived coursly, or, like galley-slaves, been tyed to an care, might have happily prolonged many fair years.*

A great inconvenience comes by variety of dishes, which causeth the pre-

[b] Mercurialis, pract. med. [c] Li. 2. de com. Solus homo edit bibitque, &c. [d] Consil. 21. 18. Si plus ingeratur quam par est, et ventriculus tolerare possit, nocet, et cruditates generat, &c. [e] Observat. lib. 1. Assuescat bis in die cibos sumere, certâ semper horâ. [f] Ne plus ingerat, cavendum, quam ventriculus ferre potest; semperque surgat a mensâ non satur. [g] Siquidem qui semimansum velociter ingerunt cibum, ventriculo laborem inferunt, et flatus maximos promovent. Crato. [h] Quidam maxime comedere nituntur, putantes eâ ratione se vires refecturos; ignorantes, non ea quæ ingerunt posse vires reficere, sed quæ probe concoquunt. [i] Multa appetunt; pauca digerunt. [j] Saturnal. lib. 7. cap. 4. [k] Modicus et temperatus cibus et carni et animæ utilis est. [l] Hygiasticon, reg. 14. 16. unciæ per diem sufficiant, computato pane, carne ovis, vel aliis opsoniis, et totidem vel paulo plures unciæ potûs. [m] Idem, reg. 27. *Plures* in domibus suis brevi tempore pascentes exstinguuntur, qui, si triremibus vincti fuissent, aut *gregario pane pasti, sani et* incolumes in longam ætatem vitam prorogâssent.

cedent distemperature, [n] *than which* (saith Avicenna) *nothing is worse; to feed on diversity of meats, or overmuch*, Sertorius-like *in lucem cœnare*, and, as commonly they do in Muscovie and Island, to prolong their meals all day long, or all night. Our northern countries offend especially in this; and we in this island (*ampliter viventes in prandiis et cœnis*, as [o] Polydore notes) are most liberall feeders, but to our own hurt. [p] *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus; excess of meat breedeth sickness; and gluttony causeth cholerick diseases: by surfeiting, many perish; but he that dieteth himself, prolongeth his life*, Ecclus. 37. 29, 30. We account it a great glory for a man to have his table daily furnished with variety of meats: but hear the physician; he puls thee by the ear as thou sittest, and telleth thee, [q] *that nothing can be more noxious to thy health, than such variety and plenty.* Temperance is a bridle of gold; and he that can use it aright, [r] *ego non summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico*, is liker a God than a man: for, as it will transform a beast to a man again, so will it make a man a God. To preserve thine honour, health, and to avoid therefore all those inflations, torments, obstructions, crudities, and diseases, that come by a full diet, the best way is to [s] feed sparingly of one or two dishes at most, to have *ventrem bene moratum*, as Seneca calls it; [t] *to choose one of many, and to feed on that alone*, as Crato adviseth his patient. The same counsell [u] Prosper Calenus gives to Cardinall Cæsius, to use a moderate and simple diet: and, though his table be jovially furnished by reason of his state and guests, yet, for his own part, to single out some one savoury dish, and feed on it. The same is inculcated by [v] Crato (*consil.* 9. *l.* 2) to a noble personage affected with this grievance: he would have his highness to dine or sup alone, without all his honorable attendance and courtly company, with a private friend or so, [w] a dish or two, a cup of Rhenish wine, &c. Montanus, *consil.* 24. for a noble matron, injoyns her one dish, and by no means to drink betwixt meals: the like *consil.* 229. or not to eat till he be an hungry; which rule Berengarius did most strictly observe, as Hilbertus Cenomanensis Episc. writes in his life.

> ——————cui non fuit unquam
> Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famen:

and which all temperate men do constantly keep. It is a frequent solemnity still used with us, when friends meet, to go to the ale-house or tavern; they are not sociable otherwise: and if they visit one anothers houses, they must both eat and drink. I reprehend it not, moderately used: but to some men nothing can be more offensive; they had better (I speak it with Saint [x] Ambrose) pour so much water in their shooes.

It much availes likewise to keep good order in our diet, [y] *to eat liquid things first, broaths, fish, and such meats as are sooner corrupted in the stomack; harder meats of digestion must come last.* Crato *would have the supper less than the dinner*, which Cardan (*contradict. lib.* 1. *Tract.* 5. *contradict.* 18) disallowes, and that by the authority of Galen, 7. *art. curat. cap.* 6; and for four reasons he will have the supper biggest. I have read many treatises to this purpose; I know not how it may concern some few sick men; but, for my part, generally for all, I should subscribe to that custome of the Romans, to make a sparing dinner, and a liberal supper; all their prepa-

[n] Nihil deterius quamdi versa nutrientia simul adjungere, et comedendi tempus prorogare. [o] Lib. 1. hist. [p] Hor. ad lib. 5. ode ult. [q] Ciborum varietate et copiâ in eâdem mensâ nihil nocentius homini ad salutem. Fr. Valeriola, observ. l. 2. cap. 6. [r] Tul. orat. pro M. Marcel. [s] Nullus cibum sumere debet, nisi stomachus sit vacuus. Gordon. lib. med. l. 1. c. 11. [t] E multis edulibus unum elige, relictisque cæteris, ex eo comede. [u] L. de atrâ bile. Simplex sit cibus, et non varius: quod licet dignitati tuæ ob convivas difficile videatur, &c. [v] Celsitudo tua prandeat sola, absque apparatu aulico, contentus sit illustrissimus princeps duobus tantum ferculis, vinoque Rhenano solum in mensâ utatur. [w] Semper intra satietatem a mensâ recedat, uno ferculo contentus. [x] Lib. de Hel. et Jejunio. Multo melius in terram vina fudisses. [y] Crato. Multum refert non ignorare qui cibi priores, &c. liquida præcedant carnium jura, pisces, fructus, &c. Cœna brevior sit prandio.

ration and invitation was still at supper; no mention of dinner. Many reasons I could give; but when all is said *pro* and *con*, [z]Cardans rule is best, to keep that we are accustomed unto, though it be naught: and to follow our disposition and appetite in some things is not amiss; to eat sometimes of a dish which is hurtfull, if we have an extraordinary liking to it. Alexander Severus loved hares and apples above all other meats, as [a]Lampridius relates in his life; one pope pork, another peacock, &c. what harm came of it? I conclude, our own experience is the best physician: that diet which is most propitious to one, is often pernicious to another; such is the variety of palats, humours, and temperatures, let every man observe, and be a law unto himself. Tiberius, in [b]Tacitus, did laugh at all such, that after 30 years of age would ask counsell of others concerning matters of diet; I say the same.

These few rules of diet he that keeps, shall surely finde great ease and speedy remedy by it. It is a wonder to relate that prodigious temperance of some hermites, anchorites, and fathers of the church. He that shall but read their lives, written by Hierom, Athanasius, &c. how abstemious heathens have bin in this kind, those Curii and Fabricii, those old philosophers, as Pliny records (*lib.* 11), Xenophon (*lib.* 1. *de vit. Socrat.*) emperours and kings, as Nicephorus relates (*Eccles. hist. lib.* 18. *cap.* 8), of Mauritius, Lodovicus Pius, &c. and that admirable [c]example of Lodovicus Cornarus, a patritian of Venice, cannot but admire them. This have they done voluntarily, and in health; what shall these private men do, that are visited with sickness, and necessarily [d]injoyned to recover and continue their health? It is a hard thing to observe a strict diet; *et qui medice vivit misere vivit*, as the saying is; *quale hoc ipsum erit vivere, his si privatus fueris?* as good be buried, as so much debarred of his appetite; *excessit medicina malum*, the physick is more troublesome than the disease; so he complained in the poet, so thou thinkest: yet he that loves himself, will easily endure this little misery, to avoid a greater inconvenience; *e malis minimum*, better do this than do worse. And, as [e]Tully holds, *better be a temperate old man, than a lascivious youth*, 'Tis the only sweet thing, (which he adviseth) so to moderate our selves, that we may have *senectutem in juventute, et in senectute juventutem*, be youthful in our old age, staid in our youth, discreet and temperate in both.

MEMB. II.

Retention and Evacuation rectified.

I HAVE declared, in the Causes, what harm costiveness hath done in procuring this disease: if it be so noxious, the opposite must needs be good, or mean at least, as indeed it is, and to this cure necessarily required; *maxime conducit*, saith Montaltus, *cap.* 27; it very much availes. [f]Altomarus (*cap.* 7) *commends walking in a morning, into some fair green pleasant fields; but by all means first, by art or nature, he will have these ordinary excrements evacuated.* Piso calls it *beneficium ventris*, the benefit, help, or pleasure of the belly: for it doth much ease it. Laurentius (*cap.* 8), Crato (*consil.* 21. *l.* 2) prescribes it once a day at least: where nature is defective, art must supply, by those lenitive electuaries, suppositories, condite prunes, turpentine, clisters, as shall be shewed. Prosper Calenus (*lib. de atrâ bile*) commends clisters, in hypochondriacall melancholy, still to be used as occasion serves.

[z]Tract. 6. contradict. 1. lib. 1. [a]Super omnia quotidianum leporem habuit, et pomis indulsit. [b]Annal. 6. Ridere solebat eos, qui post 30 ætatis annum, ad cognoscenda corpori suo noxia vel utilia, alicujus consilii indigerent. [c]A Lessio edit. 1614. [d]Ægyptii olim omnes morbos curabant vomitu et jejunio. Bohemus, lib. 1. cap. 5. [e]Cat. Major. Melior conditio senis viventis ex præscripto artis medicæ, quam adolescentis luxuriosi. [f]Debet per amœna exerceri, et loca viridia, excretis prius arte vel naturâ alvi excrementis.

[g] Peter Cnemander, in a consultation of his *pro hypochondriaco*, will have his patient continually loose, and to that end sets down there many forms of potions and clisters. Mercurialis (*consil.* 88), if this benefit come not of its own accord, prescribes [h] clisters in the first place: so doth Montanus, *consil.* 24. *consil.* 31. *et* 229: he commends turpentine to that purpose: the same he ingeminates, *consil.* 230, for an Italian abbot. 'Tis very good to wash his hands and face often, to shift his clothes, to have fair linnen about him, to be decently and comely attired; for *sordes vitiant*, nastiness defiles, and dejects any man that is so voluntarily, or compelled by want; it dulleth the spirits.

Bathes are either artificiall or naturall; both have their special uses in this malady, and (as [i] Alexander supposeth, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 16) yeeld as speedy a remedy, as any other physick whatsover. Aëtius would have them daily used, *assidua balnea*, *Tetra.* 2. *sec.* 2. *c.* 9. Galen crakes how many severall cures he hath performed in this kinde by use of bathes alone, and Rufus pills, moistning them which are otherwise dry. Rhasis makes it a principall cure (*tota cura sit in humectando*) to bathe and afterwards anoint with oyle. Jason Pratensis, Laurentius, *cap.* 8, and Montanus set down their peculiar formes of artificiall bathes. Crato (*consil.* 17. *lib.* 2) commends mallowes, camomile, violets, borage, to be boyled in it, and sometimes faire water alone; and in his following counsell, *balneum aquæ dulcis solum sæpissime profuisse compertum habemus.* So both Fuchsius, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 33. Frisimelica, 2. *consil.* 42. *in* Trincavellius. Some, beside hearbs, prescribe a rammes head and other things to be boyled. [j] Fernelius (*consil.* 44) *will have them used* 10 or 12 dayes together; to which he must enter fasting, and so continue in a temperate heat, and, after that, frictions all over the body. Lælius Eugubinus, *consil.* 142, and Christoph. Æreruus in a consultation of his, hold once or twice a week sufficient to bathe, the [k] *water to be warme, not hot, for fear of sweating.* Felix Plater (*observ. lib.* 1. for a melancholy lawyer) [l] *will have lotions of the head still joyned to these bathes, with a lee wherein capital hearbs have been boyled.* [m] Laurentius speaks of bathes of milk, which I finde approved by many others. And still, after bath, the body to be anointed with oyl of bitter almonds, of violets, new or fresh butter, [n] capons grease, especially the back bone, and then lotions of the head, embrocations, &c. These kinde of bathes have been in former times much frequented, and diversly varied, and are still in generall use in those eastern countries. The Romanes had their publick baths, very sumptuous and stupend, as those of Antoninus and Dioclesian. Plin. 36, saith there were an infinite number of them in Rome, and mightily frequented. Some bathed seven times a day, as Commodus the emperour is reported to have done: usually twice a day; and they were after anointed with most costly oyntments: rich women bathed themselves in milke, some in the milke of 500 she asses at once. We have many ruines of such bathes found in this iland, among those parietines and rubbish of old Romane townes. Lipsius (*de mag. Urb. Rom. l.* 3. *c.* 8), Rosinus, Scot of Antwerp, and other antiquaries, tell strange stories of their baths. Gillius (*l.* 4. *cap. ult. Topogr. Constant.*) reckons up 155 publicke [o] baths in Constantinople, of faire building: they are still [p] frequented in that citie by the Turkes of all sorts, men and women, and all over Greece and those hot countries; to absterge, belike, that ful-

[g] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de mel. Primum omnium operam dabis ut singulis diebus habeas beneficium ventris, semper cavendo ne alvus sit diutius astricta. [h] Si non sponte, clysteribus purgetur. [i] Balneorum usus dulcium, siquid aliud, ipsis opitulatur. Credo hæc dici cum aliquâ jactantiâ, inquit Montanus, consil. 26. [j] In quibus jejunus diu sedeat eo tempore, ne sudorem excitent aut manifestum temporem, sed quâdam refrigeratione humectent. [k] Aqua non sit calida, sed tepida, ne sudor sequatur. [l] Lotiones capitis ex lixivio, in quo herbas capitales coxerint. [m] Cap. 8. de mel. [n] Aut axungiâ pulli. Piso. [o] Thermæ. Nymphea. [p] Sandes, lib. 1. saith that women go twice a week to the baths at least.

someness of sweat, to which they are there subject. [q] Busbequius, in his epistles, is very copious in describing the manner of them, how their women go covered, a maid following with a box of oyntment to rub them. The richer sort have private baths in their houses; the poorer goe to the common, and are generally so curious in this behalf, they will not eat nor drink until they have bathed; before and after meals some, [r] *and will not make water (but they will wash their hands) or go to stool.* Leo Afer (*l.* 3) makes mention of 100 severall baths at Fez in Africke, most sumptuous, and such as have great revenues belonging to them. Buxtorf (*cap.* 14. *Synagog. Jud.*) speakes of many ceremonies amongst the Jews in this kind; they are very superstitious in their bathes, especially women.

Naturall bathes are praised by some, discommended by others; but it is in a divers respect. [s] Marcus de Oddis, *in Hyp. affect.* consulted about baths, condemns them for the heat of the liver, because they dry too fast; and yet by and by [t] in another counsell for the same disease, he approves them because they cleanse by reason of the sulphur, and would have their water to be drunk. Aretæus (c. 7) commends allome baths above the rest; and [u] Mercurialis (*consil.* 88) those of Luca in that hypochondriacall passion. *He would have his patient there 15 dayes together, and drink the water of them, and to be bucketed, or have the water powred on his head.* John Baptista Silvaticus (*cont.* 64) commends all the baths in Italy, and drinking of their water, whether they be iron, allome, sulphur: so doth [v] Hercules de Saxoniâ. But, in that they cause sweat, and dry so much, he confines himself to hypochondricall melancholy alone, excepting that of the head, and the other. Trincavellius (*consil.* 14. *lib.* 1) prefers those [w] Porrectan baths before the rest, because of the mixture of brasse, iron, allome; and, *consil.* 35. *l.* 3, for a melancholy lawyer and *consil.* 36, in that hypochondriacal passion, the [x] baths of Aquaria, and, 36 *consil.* the drinking of them. Frisimelica, consulted among the rest (in Trincavellius, *consil.* 42. *lib.* 2) preferres the waters of [y] Apona before all artificiall baths whatsoever in this disease, and would have one nine years affected with hypochondricall passions, flie to them, as an holy anchor. Of the same minde is Trincavellius himself there; and yet both put a hot liver in the same party for a cause, and send him to the waters of [z] S. Helen, which are much hotter. Montanus (*consil.* 230) magnifies the [a] Chalderinian Baths; and (*consil.* 237 *et* 239) he exhorteth to the same, but with this caution, [b] *that the liver be outwardly anointed with some coolers, that it be not overheated.* But these baths must be warily frequented by melancholy persons, or if used to such as are very cold of themselves; for, as Gabelius concludes of all Dutch baths, and especially those of Baden, *they are good for all cold diseases,* [c] *naught for cholerick, hot and dry, and all infirmities proceeding of choler, inflammations of the spleen and liver.* Our English baths, as they are hot, must needs incur the same censure: but D. Turner of old, and D. Jones, have written at large of them. Of cold baths I find little or no mention in any physician; some speak against them: [d] Cardan alone (out of Agathinus) commends *bathing in fresh rivers, and cold waters, and adviseth all such as mean to live long to use it; for it agrees with all ages and complexions, and*

[q] Epist. 3. [r] Nec alvum excernunt, quin aquam secum portent, quâ partes obscœnas lavent. Busbequius, ep. 3. Turciæ. [s] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de mel. Hypochon. si non adesset jecoris caliditas, thermas laudarem, et si non nimia humoris exsiccatio esset metuenda. [t] Fol. 141. [u] Thermas Lucenses adeat, ibique aquas ejus per 15 dies potet: et calidarum aquarum stillicidiis tum caput tum ventriculum de more subjiciat. [v] In panth. [w] Aquæ Porrectanæ. [x] Aquæ Aquariæ. [y] Ad aquas Aponenses, velut ad sacram anchoram, confugiat. [z] John Beauhinus (li. 3. ca. 14. hist. admir. fontis Bollensis in ducat. Wittemberg) laudat aquas Bollenses ad melancholicos morbos, mœrorem, fascinationem, aliaque animi pathemata. [a] Balnea Chalderina. [b] Hepar externe ungatur, ne calefiat. [c] Nocent calidis et siccis, cholericis, et omnibus morbis ex cholerâ, hepatis, splenisque affectionibus. [d] Lib de aquâ. Qui breve hoc vitæ curriculum cupiunt sani transigere, frigidis aquis sæpe lavare debent, nulli ætati cum sit incongrua, calidis imprimis utilis.

is most profitable for hot temperatures. As for sweating, urine, bloudletting by hæmrods, or otherwise, I shall elsewhere more opportunely speak of them.

Immoderate Venus, in excess, as it is a cause, or in defect; so moderately used, to some parties an only help, a present remedy. Peter Forestus calls it, *aptissimum remedium*, a most apposite *remedy*, [e] *remitting anger, and reason, that was otherwise bound.* Avicenna, (*Fen.* 3. 20), Oribasius (*med. collect. lib.* 6. *cap.* 37), contend, out of Ruffus and others, [f] *that many mad men, melancholy, and labouring of the falling sickness, have been cured by this alone.* Montaltus (*cap.* 27. *de melan.*) will have it drive away sorrow, and all illusions of the brain, to purge the heart and brain from ill smoakes and vapours that offend them; [g] *and if it be omitted, as Valescus supposeth, it makes the mind sad, the body dull and heavy.* Many other inconveniences are reckoned up by Mercatus, and by Rodericus a Castro, in their tracts *de melancholiâ virginum et monialium: ob seminis retentionem, sæviunt sæpe moniales et virgines;* but, as Platerus addes, *si nubant sanantur;* they rave single and pine away; much discontent; but marriage mends all. Marcellus Donatus (*lib.* 2. *med. hist. cap.* 1), tells a storie to confirm this, out of Alexander Benedictus, of a maid that was mad, *ob menses inhibitos: cum in officinam meritoriam incidisset, a quindecim viris eâdem nocte compressa, mensium largo profluvio, quod pluribus annis ante constiterat, non sine magno pudore, mane, menti restituta, discessit.* But this must be warily understood; for as Arnoldus objects, *lib.* 1. *breviar.* 18. *cap. quid coitus ad melancholicum succum?* What affinity have these two? [h] *except it be manifest that superabundance of seed or fulness of blood be a cause, or that love or an extraordinary desire of Venus, have gone before,* or that, as Lod. Mercatus excepts, they be very flatuous, and have been otherwise accustomed unto it. Montaltus (*cap.* 27) will not allow of moderate Venus to such as have the gout, palsie, epilepsie, melancholy, except they be very lusty and full of blood. [i] Ludovicus Antonius, *lib. med. miscel.* in his chapter of Venus, forbids it utterly to all wrestlers, ditchers, labouring men, &c. [j] Ficinus and [k] Marsilius Cognatus put Venus one of the five mortall enemies of a student: *it consumes the spirits and weakneth the brain.* Halyabbas the Arabian (*5 Theor. cap.* 36), and Jason Pratensis, make it the fountain of most diseases, [l] *but most pernicious to them who are cold and dry;* a melancholy man must not meddle with it, but in some cases. Plutarch, in his book *de san. tuend.* accounts of it as one of the three principall signs and preservers of health, temperance in this kinde: [m] *to rise with an appetite, to be ready to work, and abstain from venery, tria saluberrima,* are three most healthful things. We see their opposites, how pernicious they are to mankinde, as to all other creatures they bring death, and many ferall diseases: *Immodicis brevis est ætas et rara senectus.* Aristotle gives instance in sparrows, which are *parum vivices ob salacitatem* [n] short lived because of their salacity, which is very frequent, as Scoppius, *in Priapeis,* will better inform you. The extremes being both bad, [o] the *medium* is to be kept, which cannot easily be determined. Some are better able to sustain, such as are hot and moist, phlegmatick, as Hippocrates in-

[e] Solvit Venus rationis vim impeditam, ingentes iras remittit, &c. [f] Multi comitiales, melancholici, insani, hujus usu solo sanati. [g] Si omittatur coitus, contristat et plurimum gravat corpus et animum. [h] Nisi certo constet nimium semen aut sanguinem causam esse, aut amor præcesserit, aut, &c. [i] Athletis, arthriticis, podagricis nocet; nec opportuna prodest, nisi fortibus, et qui multo sanguine abundant. Idem Scaliger, exerc. 269. Turcis ideo luctatoribus prohibitum. [j] De sanit. tuend. lib. 1. [k] Lib. 1. ca. 7. Exhaurit enim spiritus, animumque debilitat. [l] Frigidis et siccis corporibus inimicissima. [m] Vesci intra satietatem, impigrum esse ad laborem, vitale semen conservare. [n] Nequitia est, quæ te non sinit esse senem. [o] Vide Montanum, Pet. Godefridum, Amorum lib. 2. cap. 6. Curiosum de his, nam et numerum definite Talmudistis, unicuique sciatis assignari suum tempus, &c.

sinuateth, some strong and lustie, well fed like [p] Hercules, [q] Proculus the emperour, lusty Lawrence, [r] *prostibulum feminæ*, Messalina the empress, that by philters, and such kinde of lascivious meats, use all means to [s] inable themselves, and brag of it in the end; *confodi multas enim, occidi vero paucas per ventrem vidisti*, as that Spanish [t] Celestina merrily said: others impotent, of a cold and dry constitution, cannot sustain those gymnicks without great hurt done to their own bodies; of which number (though they be very prone to it) are melancholy men for the most part.

MEMB. III.—*Ayr rectified. With a digression of the Ayr.*

As a long-winged hawk, when he is first whistled off the fist, mounts aloft, and for his pleasure fetcheth many a circuit in the ayr, still soaring higher and higher, till he be come to his full pitch, and in the end, when the game is sprung, comes down amain, and stoopes upon a sudden; so will I, having now come at last into these ample fields of ayre, wherein I may freely expatiate and exercise myself for my recreation, a while rove, wander round about the world, mount aloft to those æthereall orbs and celestiall spheres, and so descend to my former elements again: in which progress, I will first see whether that relation of the [u] Frier of Oxford be true, concerning those northern parts under the pole, (if I meet *obiter* with the wandering Jew, Elias Artifex, or Lucians Icaromenippus, they shall be my guides) whether there be such 4 Euripes, and a great rock of loadstones, which may cause the needle in the compass still to bend that way, and what should be the true cause of the variation of the compass, [v] is it a magneticall rock, or the pole-star, as Cardan will; or some other star in the bear, as Marsilius Ficinus; or a magneticall meridian, as Maurolicus; *vel situs in venâ terræ*, as Agricola; or the nearness of the next continent, as Cabeus will; or some other cause, as Scaliger, Cortesius, Conimbricenses, Peregrinus, contend; why at the Azores it looks directly north, otherwise not? In the Mediterranean or Levant (as some observe) it varies 7 grad. by and by 12, and then 22. In the Baltick Seas, near Rasceburg in Finland, the needle runs round, if any ships come that way, though [w] Martin Ridley write otherwise, that the needle near the pole will be hardly forced from his direction. 'Tis fit to be enquired whether certain rules may be made of it, as 11 *grad. Lond. variat. alibi* 36, *&c.* and, that which is more prodigious, the variation varies in the same place: now taken accurately, 'tis so much; after a few years, quite altered from that it was: till we have better intelligence, let our D. Gilbert and Nicholas [x] Cabeus the Jesuite, that have both written great volumes of this subject, satisfie these inquisitors. Whether the sea be open and navigable by the pole arctick, and which is the likeliest way, that of Bartison the Hollander, under the pole itself, which for some reasons I hold best; or by *fretum* Davies, or Nova Zembla. Whether [y] Hudsons discovery be true of a new found ocean, any likelihood of Buttons bay in 50 degrees, Hubberds hope in 60; that of *ut ultra* near Sir Thomas Roes welcome in north-west Fox, being that the sea ebbs and flows constantly there 15 foot in 12 hours; as our [z] new cards inform us that California is not a cape, but an iland, and the west-windes make the nepe tides equall to the spring, or that there be any probability to pass by the straights of Anian to China, by the promontory of Tabin. If there be, I shall soon perceive whether [a] Marcus Polus the Venetians nar-

[p] Thespiadas genuit. [q] Vide Lampridium, vit. ejus 4. [r] Et lassata viris, &c. [s] Vid. Mizald. cent. 8. 11. Lemnium, lib. 2. cap. 16. Catullum ad Hypsithillam, &c. Ovid. Eleg. lib. 3. et 6, &c. Quot itinera unâ nocte confecissent, tot coronas ludicro Deo puta Triphallo, Marsiæ, Hermæ, Priapo, donarent. Cingemus tibi mentulam coronis, &c. [t] Pornoboscodid. Gasp. Barthii. [u] Nich. de Lynna, cited by Mercator in his Map. [v] Mons. Sloto. Some call it the highest hill in the world, next Teneriffe in the Canaries, Lat. 81. [w] Cap. 26. in his Treatise of magneticke bodies. [x] Lege lib. 1. cap. 23. et 24. de magneticâ philosophiâ, et lib. 3. cap. 4. [y] 1612. [z] M. Brigs, his Map, and Northwest Fox. [a] Lib. 2. cap. 64. de nob. civitat. Quinsay, et cap. 10. de Cambalu.

ration be true or false, of that great city of Quinsay and Cambalu; whether there be any such places, or that, as [b] Matth. Riccius the Jesuite hath written, China and Cataia be all one, the great Cham of Tartary and the king of China be the same: Xuntain and Quinsay, and the city of Cambalu be that new Paquin, or such a wall 400 leagues long to part China from Tartary; [c] Presbyter John be in Asia or Africk: M. Polus Venetus puts him in Asia; [d] the most received opinion is, that he is emperour of the Abissines, which of old was Æthiopia, now Nubia, under the Æquator in Africk. Whether [e] Guinea be an iland or part of the continent, or that hungry [f] Spaniards discovery of Terra Australis Incognita, or Magellanica, be as true as that of Mercurius Britannicus, or his of Utopia, or his of Lucinia. And yet in likelihood it may be so; for, without all question, it being extended from the tropick of Capricorn to the circle Antarctick, and lying as it doth in the temperate Zone, cannot chuse but yeeld in time some flourishing kingdomes to suceeding ages, as America did unto the Spaniards. Shouten and Le Meir have done well in the discovery of the streights of Magellan, in finding a more convenient passage to *Mare Pacificum;* me thinks some of our modern Argonautes should prosequute the rest. As I go by Madagascar, I would see that great bird [g] Rucke, that can carry a man and horse or an elephant, with that Arabian Phœnix described by [h] Andricomius; see the pellicanes of Ægypt, those Scythian gryphes in Asia; and afterwards in Africk examine the fountains of Nilus, whether Herodotus, [i] Seneca, Plin. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. Strabo, *lib.* 5. give a true cause of his annuall flowing, [j] Pagaphetta discourse rightly of it, or of Niger and Senega: examine Cardan, [k] Scaligers reasons, and the rest. Is it from those Etesian winds, or melting of snow in the mountains under the Æquator, (for Jordan yearly overflows when the snow melts in mount Libanus) or from those great dropping perpetuall showres, which are so frequent to the inhabitants within the tropicks, when the sun is verticall, and cause such vast inundations in Senega, Maragnan, Orenoque, and the rest of those great rivers in *Zona Torrida*, which have commonly the same passions at set times; and by good husbandry and policy, hereafter no doubt may come to be as populous, as well tilled, as fruitfull as Ægypt it self, or Cauchinchina? I would observe all those motions of the sea, and from what cause they proceed: from the moon (as the vulgar hold) or earths motion, which Galileus, in the fourth dialogue of his systeme of the world, so eagerly proves, and firmly demonstrates; or winds, as [l] some will. Why in that quiet ocean of Zur, *in mari pacifico*, it is scarce perceived, in our British seas most violent, in the Mediterranean and Red Sea so violent and irregular, and diverse? Why the current in that Atlantick ocean should still be in some places from, in some again towards the north, and why they come sooner than go: and so from Moabar to Madagascar in that Indian ocean, the merchants come in three weeks, as [m] Scaliger discusseth, they return scarce in three moneths, with the same or like windes: the continuall current is from east to west. Whether Mount Athos, Pelion, Olympus, Ossa, Caucasus, Atlas, be so high as Pliny, Solinus, Mela relate, above clouds, meteors, *ubi nec auræ nec venti spirant*, (insomuch that they that ascend dy suddenly very often, the aire is so subtile) 1250 paces high, according to that measure of Dicæarchus, or 78 miles perpendicularly high, as Jacobus Mazonius, *sec.* 3. *et* 4. expounding that place of Aristotle about Mount Cau-

[b] Lib. 4. exped. ad Sinas, ca. 3. et lib. 5. c. 18. [c] M. Polus, in Asiâ, Presb. Joh. meminit. lib. 2. cap. 30. [d] Alluaresius et alii. [e] Lat. 10. gr. Aust. [f] Ferdinando de Quir, anno. 1612. [g] Alarum pennæ continent in longitudine 12 passus: elephantem in sublime tollere potest. Polus, l. 3. c. 40. [h] Lib. 2. Descript. terræ sanctæ. [i] Natur. quæst. lib. 4. cap. 2. [j] Lib. de reg. Congo. [k] Exercit. 47. [l] See M. Carpenter's Geography, lib. 2. cap. 6. et Bern. Telesius, lib. de mari. [m] Exercit. 52 de maris motu caussæ investigandæ: prima reciprocationis, secunda varietatis, tertia celeritatis, quarta cessationis, quinta privationis, sexta contrarietatis.

casus; and as [p]Blancanus the Jesuite contends out of Clavius and Nonius demonstrations *de Crepuscullis:* or rather 32 stadiums, as the most received opinion is; or 4 miles, which the height of no mountain doth perpendicularly exceed, and is equal to the greatest depths of the sea, which is, as Scaliger holds, 1580 paces (*Exer.* 38), others 100 paces. I would see those inner parts of America, whether there be any such great city of Manoa or Eldorado in that golden empire, where the highways are as much beaten (one reports) as between Madril or Valedolit in Spain: or any such Amazones as he relates, or gigantical Patagones in Chica; with that miraculous mountain [o]Ybouyapab in the northern Brasile, *cujus jugum sternitur in amœnissimam planitiem,* &c. or that of Pariacacca, so high elevated in Peru. [p]The pike of Teneriff how high is it? 79 miles, or 52, as Patricius holds, or 9 as Snellius demonstrates in his Eratosthenes: see that strang [q]Cirknickzerksey lake in Carniola, whose waters gush so fast out of the ground, that they will overtake a swift horseman, and by and by, with as incredible celerity, are supped up: which Lazius and Warnerus make an argument of the Argonautes sayling under ground. And that vast den or hole called [r]Esmellen in Muscovia, *quæ visitur horrendo hiatu,* &c. which, if any thing casually falling in, makes such a roaring noise, that no thunder, or ordnance, or warlike engine, can make the like. Such another is Gilbers cave in Lapland, with many the like. I would examine the Caspian sea, and see where and how it exonerates it self, after it hath taken in Volga, Iaxares, Oxus, and those great rivers; at the mouth of Oby, or where? What vent the Mexican lake hath, the Titicacan in Peru, or that circular pool in the vale of Terapeia, (of which Acosta, *l.* 3. *c.* 16) hot in a cold country, the spring of which boils up in the middle twenty foot square, and hath no vent but exhalation: and that of *Mare mortuum* in Palestina, of Thrasumene, at Perusium in Italy: the Mediterranean it self: for, from the ocean, at the straights of Gibraltar, there is a perpetuall current into the Levant, and so likewise by the Thracian Bosphorus out of the Euxine or Black sea, besides all those great rivers of Nilus, Padus, Rhodanus, &c., how is this water consumed? by the sun, or otherwise? I would find out, with Trajan, the fountaines of Danubius, of Ganges, Oxus, see those Egyptian pyramids, Trajans bridge, Grotta de Sibyllâ, Lucullus fish-ponds, the temple of Nidrose, &c. and, if I could, observe what becomes of swallowes, storkes, cranes, cuckowes, nightingales, redstarts, and many other kinde of singing birds, water-fowls, hawks, &c. some of them are onely seen in summer, some in winter; some are observed in the [s]snôw, and at no other times: each have their seasons. In winter, not a bird is in Muscovie to be found; but, at the spring, in an instant the woods and hedges are full of them, saith [t]Herbastein: hôw comes it to pass? do they sleep in winter, like Gesners Alpine mice? or do they lye hid (as [u]Olaus affirmes) *in the bottome of lakes and rivers,* spiritum continentes? *often so found by fishermen in Poland and Scandia, two together, mouth to mouth, wing to wing; and, when the spring comes, they revive again, or if they be brought into a stove, or by the fire side.* Or do they follow the sun, as Peter Martyr *legat. Babylonica, l.* 2) manifestly convicts, out of his own knowledge? for, when he was embassadour in Egypt, he saw swallowes, Spanish kites, [v]and many other such European birds, in December and January very familiarly flying, and in great abundance, about Alexandria, *ubi floridæ tunc arbores ac viridaria,* or lye they

[n] Lib. de explicatione locorum Mathem. Aristot. [o] Laët. lib. 17. cap. 18. descrip. occid. Ind. [p] Patritius saith 52 miles in heighth. [q] Luge alii vocant. Geor. Wernerus. Aquæ tantâ celeritate erumpunt et absorbentur, ut expedito equiti aditum intercludant. [r] Boissardus, de Magis, cap. de Pilapils. [s] In campis Lovicen. solum visuntur in nive; et ubinam vere, æstate, autumno se occultant? Hermes, Polit. l. 1. Jul. Bellius. [t] Statim ineunte vere sylvæ strepunt eorum cantilenis. Muscovit. comment. [u] Immergunt se fluminibus, lucubusque per hyemem totam, &c. [v] Cæterasque volucres Pontum hyeme advenient è nostris regionibus Europæis transvolantes.

hid in caves, rocks, and hollow trees, as most think, in deep tin-mines or sea-cliffes, [w]as Mr. Carew gives out? I conclude of them all, for my part, as [x]Munster doth of cranes and storks: whence they come, whither they goe, *incompertum adhuc*, as we yet know not. We see them here, some in summer, some in winter: *their coming and going is sure in the night: in the plains of Asia* (saith he) *the storkes meet on such a set day, he that comes last is torn in pieces; and so they get them gon.* Many strange places, Isthmi, Euripi, Chersonnesi, creekes, havens, promontories, straights, lakes, bathes, rockes, mountaines, places, and fields, where cities have bin ruined or swallowed, battels fought, creatures, sea-monsters, remora, &c. minerals, vegetals. Zoöphites were fit to be considered in such an expedition, and amongst the rest, that of [y]Herbastein his Tartar lambe, [z]Hector Boëthiu, goos-bearing tree in the Orchades, to which Cardan (*lib.* 7. *cap.* 36. *de rerum varietat.*) subscribes: [a]Vertomannus wonderfull palme, that [b]fly in Hispaniola, that shines like a torch in the night, that one may well see to write; those sphericall stones in Cuba which nature hath so made, and those like birds, beasts, fishes, crowns, swords, saws, pots, &c. usually found in the metall-mines in Saxony about Mansfield, and in Poland neer Nokow and Pallukie, as [c]Munster and others relate. Many rare creatures and novelties each part of the world affords: amongst the rest I would know for a certain whether there be any such men, as Leo Suavius in his comment on Paracelsus *de sanit. tuend.* and [d]Gaguinus records in his description of Muscovie, *that, in Lucomoria, a province in Russia, lye fast asleep as dead all winter, from the* 27 *November, like frogges and swallowes, benumbed with cold, but about the* 24 *of April in the spring they revive again, and goe about their business.* I would examine that demonstration of Alexander Picolomineus, whether the earths superficies be bigger than the seas; or that of Archimedes be true, the superficies of all water is even. Search the depth and see that variety of sea-monsters and fishes, mare-maids, sea-men, horses, &c. which it affords. Or whether that be true which Jordanus Brunus scoffes at, that, if God did not detain it, the sea would overflow the earth by reason of his higher site, and which Josephus Blancanus the Jesuite, in his interpretation on those mathematicall places of Aristotle, foolishly feares, and in a just tract proves by many circumstances, that in time the sea will waste away the land, and all the globe of the earth shall be covered with waters; *risum teneatis, amici?* what the sea takes away in one place, it adds in another. Mee thinks he might rather suspect the sea should in time be filled by land, trees grow up, carcasses, &c. that all-devouring fire, *omnia devorans et consumens*, will sooner cover and dry up the vast ocean with sands and ashes. I would examine the true seat of that terrestriall [e]Paradise, and where Ophir was, whence Solomon did fetch his gold; from Peruana, which some suppose, or that Aurea Chersonnesus, as Dominicus Niger, Arias Montanus, Goropius, and others, will. I would censure all Plinies, Solinus, Strabos, Sr. John Mandevils, Olaus Magnus, Marcus Polus lyes, correct those errors in navigation, reforme cosmographicall chartes, and rectifie longitudes, if it were possible; not by the compass, as srme dream, with Mark Ridley in his treatise of magneticall bodies, *cap.* 43:

[w] Survay of Cornwall. [x] Porro ciconiæ quonam e loco veniant, quo se conferant, incompertum, adhuc; agmen venientium, descendentium, ut gruum, venisse cernimus, nocturnis opinor temporibus. In patentibus Asiæ campis certo die congregant se, eam quæ novissime advenit lacerant, inde avolant. Cosmog. l. 4. c. 126. [y] Comment. Muscov. [z] Hist. Scot. l. 1. [a] Vertomannus, l. 5. c. 16. mentioneth a tree that bears fruits to eat, wood to burn, bark to make ropes, wine and water to drink, oyl and sugar, and leaves as tiles to cover houses, flowers for clothes, &c. [b] Animal insectum Cusino, ut quis legere vel scribere possit sine alterius ope luminis. [c] Cosmog. lib. 1. cap. 435. et lib. 3. cap. 1. Habent ollas a naturâ formatas, e terrâ extractas, similes illis a figulis factis, coronas, pisces aves, et omnes animantium species. [d] Ut solent hirundines et ranæ præ frigoris magnitudine mori, et postea, redeunte vere, 24 Aprilis revivi-scere. [e] Vid. Pererium, in Gen. Cor. a Lapide, et alios.

for, as Cabeus (*magnet. philos. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.) fully resolves, there is no hope thence: yet I would observe some better meanes to find them out.

I would have a convenient place to go down with Orpheus, Ulysses, Hercules, [f] Lucians Menippus, at St. Patrick's purgatory, at Trophonius den, Hecla in Island, Ætna in Sicily, to descend and see what is done in the bowels of the earth; do stones and metalls grow there still? how comes firre trees to be [g] digged out from tops of hills as in our mosses and marshes all over Europe? How come they to dig up fish bones, shells, beams, iron-works, many fathomes under ground, and anchors in mountains, far remote from all seas? [h] Anno 1460, at Berna in Switzerland, 50 fathom deep, a ship was dig'd out of a mountain, where they got metall ore, in which were 48 carcasses of men with other merchandise. That such things are ordinarily found in tops of hils, Aristotle insinuates in his meteors, [i] Pomponius Mela in his first book, *c. de Numidiâ;* and familiarly in the Alpes, saith [j] Blancanus the Jesuite, the like to be seen. Came this from earth-quakes, or from Noahs floud, as Christians suppose? or is there a vicissitude of sea and land? as Anaximenes held of old, the mountaines of Thessaly would become seas, and seas again mountaines. The whole world, belike, should be new moulded, when it seemed good to those all-commanding powers, and turned inside out, as we do hay-cocks in harvest, top to bottom, or bottom to top; or, as we turn apples to the fire, move the world upon his center; that which is under the Poles now, should be translated to the Æquinoctiall, and that which is under the torrid zone, to the circle Arctique and Antarctique another while, and so be reciprocally warmed by the sun; or, if the worlds be infinite, and every fixed star a sun, with his compassing planets (as Brunus and Campanella conclude), cast three or four worlds into one; or else, of our old world make three or four new, as it shall seem to them best. To proceed, if the earth be 25000 miles in [k] compass, its diameter is 7000 from us to our antipodes; and what shall be comprehended in all that space? What is the center of the earth? is it pure element onely, as Aristotle decrees, inhabited (as [l] Paracelsus thinks) with creatures, whose chaos is the earth: or with fairies, as the woods and water, (according to him) are with nymphes, or as the aire with spirits? Dionysiodorus, a mathematician in [m] Pliny, that sent a letter *ad superos* after he was dead from the center of the earth, to signifie what distance the same center was from the *superficies* of the same, viz. 42000 *stadiums*, might have done well to have satisfied all these doubts. Or is it the place of hell, as Virgil in his Æneïdes, Plato, Lucian, Dante, and others, poetically describe it, and as many of our divines think? In good earnest, Anthony Rusca, one of the society of that Ambrosian college in Millan, in his great volume *de Inferno, lib.* 1. *cap.* 47, is stiffe in this tenent: 'tis a corporeall fire tow, *cap.* 5. *l.* 2. as he there disputes. *Whatsoever philosophers write,* (saith [n] Surius) *there be certain mouthes of hell, and places appointed for the punishment of mens souls, as at Hecla in Island, where the ghosts of dead men are familiarly seen, and sometimes talk with the living. God would have such visible places, that mortal men might be certainly informed, that there be such punishments after death, and learn hence to fear God.* Kranzius (*Dan. hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24) subscribes to this opinion of Surius; so doth Colerus, *cap.* 12. *lib.* 12. *lib de immortal. animæ* (out of the authority, belike of St. Gregory, Durand, and

[f] In Necyomantiâ, Tom. 2. [g] Fracastorius, lib. de simp. Georgius Merula, lib. de mem. Julius Billius, &c. [h] Simlerus, Ortelius. Brachiis centum sub terrâ reperta est, in quâ quadraginta octo cadavera inerant, anchoræ, &c. [i] Pisces et conchæ in montibus reperiuntur. [j] Lib. de locis Mathemat. Aristot. [k] Or plain, as Patricius holds, which Austin, Lactantius, and some others, held of old as round as a trencher. [l] Ll. de Zilphis et Pygmæis. They penetrate the earth, as we do the aire. [m] Lib. 2. *c.* 112. [n] Commentar. ad annum 1537. Quidquid dicunt philosophi, quædam sunt Tartari ostia, et *loca y uniendis animis destinata,* ut Hecla mons, &c. ubi mortuorum spiritus visuntur, &c. voluit Deus *exstare talia loca, ut discant mortales.*

the rest of the schoolmen, who derive as much from Ætna in Sicily, Lipara, Hiera, and those sulphureous Vulcanian islands) making Terra del Fuego, and those frequent vulcanes in America, of which Acosta, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 24. that fearfull mount Hecklebirg in Norway, an especiall argument to prove it, [o]*where lamentable screeches and howlings are continually heard, which strike a terrour to the auditors; fiery chariots are commonly seen to bring in the souls of men in the likeness of crows, and divels ordinarily goe in and out.* Such another proofe is that place neer the pyramides in Egypt, by Cairo, as well to confirm this as the resurrection, mentioned by [p]Kornmannus, *mirac. mort. lib.* 1. *cap.* 38. Camerarius, *oper. suc. cap.* 37. Bredenbachius, *pereg. ter. sanct.* and some others, *where once a yeere dead bodies arise about March, and walk, and after a while hide themselves again: thousands of people come yearly to see them.* But these and such like testimonies others reject, as fables, illusions of spirits; and they will have no such locall known place, more than Styx or Phlegeton, Plutos court, or that poeticall *infernus*, where Homers soul was seen hanging on a tree, &c. to which they ferried over in Charons boat, or went down at Hermione in Greece, *compendiaria ad inferos via*, which is the shortest cut, (*quia nullum à mortuis naulum eo loci exposcunt*, saith [q]Gerbelius) and besides there were no fees to be paid. Well, then, is it hell, or purgatory, as Bellarmine; *Limbus patrum*, as Gallucius will, and as Rusca will (for they have made maps of it), [r]or Ignatius parler? Virgil, sometimes bishop of Saltburg (as Aventitus, anno 745, relates) by Bonifacius bishop of Mentz was therefore called in question, because he held *antipodes*, (which they made a doubt whether Christ died for), and so by that means took away the seat of hell, or so contracted it, that it could bear no proportion to heaven, and contradicted that opinion of Austin, Basil, Lactantius, that held the earth round as a trencher (whom Acosta and common experience more largely confute), but not as a ball; and Jerusalem, where Christ died, the middle of it; or Delos, as the fabulous Greeks fained; because, when Jupiter let two eagles loose, to fly from the worlds end east and west, they met at Delos. But the scruple of Bonifacius is now quite taken away by our latter divines; Franciscus Ribera (*in cap.* 14. *Apocalyps.*) will have hell a materiall and locall fire in the center of the earth, 200 Italian miles in diameter, as he defines it out of those words *Exivit sanguis de terrâ. . . . . .per stadia mille sexcenta, &c.* But Lessius (*lib.* 13. *de moribus divinis, cap.* 24) will have this locall hell far less, one Dutch mile in diameter, all filled with fire and brimstone; because, as he there demonstrates, that space, cubically multiplyed, will make a sphere able to hold eight hundred thousand millions of damned bodies (allowing each body six foot square); which will abundantly suffice, *cum certum sit, inquit, factâ subductione, non futuros centies mille milliones damnandorum.* But, if it be no materiall fire (as Sco-Thomas, Bonaventure, Soncinas, Vossius, and others argue it may be) there or elsewhere, as Keckerman disputes, *System. Theol.* for sure somewhere it is: *certum est alicubi, etsi definitus circulus non assignetur.* I will end the controversie in [s]Austin's words, *better doubt of things concealed, than to contend about uncertainties: where Abrahams bosome is, and hell fire,* [t]*vix à mansuetis, à contentiosis nunquam, invenitur;* scarce the meek, the contentious shall never finde. If it be solid earth, 'tis the fountain of metals, waters, which by his innate temper turns aire into water, which springs up in severall chinks, to moisten the earths *superficies*, and that in a tenfold proportion (as Aristotle holds;) or else these fountains come directly from the

[o] Ubi miserabiles ejulantium voces audiuntur, quæ auditoribus horrorem incutiunt haud vulgarem, &c. [p] Ex sepulcris apparent mense Martio, et rursus sub terram se abscondunt, &c. [q] Descript. Græc. lib. 6. de Pelop. [r] Conclave Ignatii. [s] Melius dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis, ubi flamma inferni, &c. [t] See Dr. Raynolds prælect. 55. in Apoc.

sea, by [u]secret passages, and so made fresh again, by running through the bowels of the earth; and are either thick, thin, hot, cold, as the matter or minerals are by which they pass; or, as Peter Martyr *Ocean. Decad. lib.* 9) and some others hold, from [v]abundance of rain that fals, or from that ambient heat and cold, which alters that inward heat, and so *per consequens* the generation of waters. Or else it may be full of winde, or sulphureous innate fire, as our meteorologists enform us, which, sometimes breaking out, causeth those horrible earth-quakes, which are so frequent in these dayes in Japan, China, and oftentimes swallow up whole cities. Let Lucians Menippus consult with or aske of Tiresias, if you will not beleeve philosophers: he shall cleare all your doubts when he makes a second voiage.

In the mean time let us consider of that which is *sub dio*, and finde out a true cause, if it be possible, of such accidents, meteors, alterations, as happen above the ground. Whence proceed that variety of manners, and a distinct character (as it were) to several nations? Some are wise, subtil, witty; others dull, sad, and heavy; some big, some little, as Tully *de Fato*, Plato in Timæo, Vegetius, and Bodine proves at large, *method. cap.* 5; some soft, and some hardy, barbarous, civill, black, dun, white: is it from the aire, from the soyle, influence of stars, or some other secret cause? Why doth Africa breed so many venemous beasts, Ireland none? Athen owles, Creet none? [w]Why hath Daulis and Thebes no swallowes (so Pausanias informeth us) as well as the rest of Greece? [x]Ithaca no hares, Pontus asses, Scythia swine? whence come this variety of complections, colours, plants, birds, beasts, [y]metals, peculiar almost to every place? Why so many thousand strange birds and beasts proper to America alone, as Acosta demands, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 36? were they created in the six dayes, or ever in Noahs Arke? if there, why are they not dispersed and found in other countries? It is a thing (saith he) hath long held me in suspence; no Greek, Latine, Hebrew, ever heard of them before, and yet as differing from our European animals, as an egg and a chesnut: and, which is more, kine, horses, sheep, &c. till the Spaniards brought them, were never heard of in those parts. How comes it to pass, that, in the same site, in one latitude, to such as are *periœci*, there should be such difference of soyle, complexion, colour, metall, aire, &c. The Spaniards are white, and so are Italians, when as the inhabitants about [z]*Caput bonæ Spei* are blackemores, and yet both alike distant from the æquator: nay, they that dwell in the same parallel line with these Negros, as about the straights of Magellan, are white coloured, and yet some in Presbyter Johns country in Æthiopia are dun; they in Zeilan and Malabar, parallel with them, again black: Manamotapa in Africk, and St. Thomas isle are extreme hot, both under the line, cole black their inhabitants, whereas in Peru they are quite opposite in colour, very temperate, or rather cold, and yet both alike elevated. Mosco, in 53 degrees of latitude, extreme cold, as those northern countries usually are, having one perpetual hard frost all winter long: and in 52 deg. lat. sometimes hard frost and snow all summer, as in Buttons bay, &c. or by fits; and yet [a]England neere the same latitude, and Ireland, very moist, warme, and more temperate in winter than Spain, Italy, or France. Is it the sea that

[u] As they come from the sea, so they return to the sea again by secret passages, as in all likelihood the Caspian sea vents itself into the Euxine or Ocean. [v] Seneca, quæst. lib. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, de caussis aquarum perpetuis. [w] In iis nec pullos hirundines excludunt, neque, &c. [x] Th. Ravennas, lib. de vit. hom. prorog. ca. ult. [y] At Quito in Peru, plus auri quam terræ foditur in aurifodinis. [z] Ad Caput bonæ Spei incolæ sunt nigerrimi. Si sol caussa, cur non Hispani et Itali æque nigri, in eâdem latitudine, æque distantes ab Æquatore, hi ad Austrum, illi ad Boream? qui sub Presbytero Johan. habitant, subfusci sunt, in Zeilan et Malabar nigri, æque distantes ab Æquatore, eodemque cœli parallelo: sed hoc magis mirari quis possit, in totâ Americâ nusquam nigros inveniri, præter paucos in loco Quareno illis dicto: quæ hujus coloris caussa efficiens, cœlive an terræ qualitas, an soli proprietas, aut ipsorum hominum innata ratio, aut omnia? Ortellius, in Africâ, Theat. [a] Regio quocunque anni tempore temperatissima. Ortel. Multas Galliæ et Italiæ regiones, molli tepore, et benignâ quâdam temperie, *prorsus antecellit.* Jovius.

causeth this difference, and the aire that comes from it? Why then is [b]Ister so cold neere the Euxine, Pontus, Bithynia, and all Thrace? *frigidas regiones* Maginus calls them; and yet their latitude is but 42, which should be hot. [c]Quevira, or Nova Albion in America, bordering on the sea, was so cold in July, that our [d]Englishmen could hardly endure it. At Noremberga, in 45 lat. all the sea is frozen ice, and yet in a more southern latitude than ours. New England, and the island of Cambriall Colchos, which that noble gentleman M[r]. Vaughan, or Orpheus Junior, describes in his Golden Fleece, is in the same latitude with little Britaine in France; and yet their winter begins not till January, their spring till May; which search he accounts worthy of an astrologer: is this from the easterly winds, or melting of ice and snow dissolved within the circle arctick; or that the aire, being thick, is longer before it be warm by the sun beams, and, once heated, like an oven, will keep it self from cold? Our climes breed lice: [e]Hungary and Ireland *male audiunt* in this kinde; come to the Azores, by a secret vertue of that aire they are instantly consumed, and all our European vermine almost, saith Ortelius. Egypt is watred with Nilus not far from the sea; and yet there it seldome or never rains: Rhodes, an iland of the same nature, yeelds not a cloud: and yet our ilands ever dropping and inclining to rain. The Atlantick ocean is still subject to storms, but in Del Zur, or *Mari pacifico*, seldome or never any. Is it from topick stars, *apertio portarum*, in the dodecatemories or constellations, the moons mansions, such aspects of planets, such winds, or dissolving ayre, or thick ayre, which causeth this and the like differences of heat and cold? Bodin relates of a Portugal embassadour, that, coming from [f]Lisbon to [g]Dantzick in Spruce, found greater heat there than at any time at home. Don Garcia de Sylvia, legat to Philip 3 king of Spain, residing at Spahan in Persia, 1619, in his letter to the marquess of Bedmar, makes mention of greater cold in Spahan, whose lat. is 31 gr. than ever he felt in Spain, or any part of Europe. The torrid zone was by our predecessors held to be inhabitable, but by our modern travellers found to be most temperate, bedewed with frequent rains, and moistening showers, the brise and cooling blasts in some parts, as [h]Acosta describes, most pleasant and fertile. Arica in Chili is by report one of the sweetest places that ever the sun shined on, *Olympus terræ*, an heaven on earth: how incomparably do some extoll Mexico in Nova Hispania, Peru, Brasile, &c.? in some again hard, dry, sandy, barren, a very desert, and still in the same latitude. Many times we finde great diversity of aire in the same [i]country, by reason of the site to seas, hills, or dales, want of water, nature of soil, and the like; as, in Spain, Arragon is *aspera et sicca*, harsh and evill inhabited; Estramadura is dry, sandy, barren most part, extreme hot by reason of his plains, Andaluzia another paradise, Valence a most pleasant aire, and continually green; so is it about [j]Granado, on the one side fertile plains, on the other, continuall snow to be seen all summer long on the hill tops. That their houses in the Alpes are three quarters of the yeer covered with snow, who knows not? That Tenariffa is so cold at the top, extreme hot at the bottome: Mons Atlas in Africk, Libanus in Palæstina, with many such, *tantos inter ardores fidos nivibus*, [k]Tacitus calls them, and Radzivilius (*epist.* 2. *fol.* 27) yeelds it to be far hotter there than in any part of Italy: 'tis true; but they are highly elevated, near the middle region, and therefore cold, *ob paucam solarium radiorum refractionem*, as Serrarius answers, *com. in* 3. *cap. Josua*, *quæst.* 5. Abulensis, *quæst.* 37. In the heat of summer, in the kings palace in Escu-

[b] Lat. 45 Danubii. [c] Quevira, lat. 40. [d] In Sir Fra. Drakes voiage. [e] Lansius, orat. contra Hungaros. [f] Lisbon, lat. 38. [g] Dantzick, lat. 54. [h] De nat. novi orbis, lib. 1, cap. 9. Suavissimus omnium locus, &c. [i] The same variety of weather Lod. Guicciardine observes betwixt Liege and Aix not far distant. Descript. Belg. [j] Magin. Quadus. [k] Hist. lib. 5.

riall, the aire is most temperate, by reason of a cold blast which comes from the snowie mountains of Sierra de Cadamara hard by, when as in Toledo it is very hot: so in all other countries. The causes of these alterations are commonly by reason of their neerness (I say) to the middle region: but this diversity of aire, in places equally site, elevated, and distant from the pole, can hardly be satisfied with that diversity of plants, birds, beasts, which is so familiar with us. With Indians, every where, the sun is equally distant, the same verticall stars, the same irradiations of planets, aspects alike, the same neerness of seas, the same superficies, the same soyl, or not much different. Under the Æquator it self, amongst the Sierras, Andes, Lanes, as Herrera, Laët, and [l]Acosta contend, there is *tam mirabilis et inopinata varietas*, such variety of weather, *ut merito exerceat ingenia*, that no philosophy can yet finde out the true cause of it. When I consider how temperate it is in one place, saith [m]Acosta, within the tropick of Capricorn, as about La-Plate, and yet hard by at Potosa, in that same altitude, mountainous alike, extreme cold; extreme hot in Brasile, &c. *hic ego*, saith Acosta, *philosophiam Aristotelis meteorologicam vehementer irrisi, cum, &c.* when the sun comes neerest to them, they have great tempests, storms, thunder and lightning, great store of rain, snow, and the foulest weather; when the run is verticall, their rivers over-flow, the morning fair and hot, noon day cold and moist: all which is opposite to us. How comes it to pass? Scaliger (*poëtices l.* 3. *c.* 16) discourseth thus of this subject. How comes, or wherefore is this *temeraria siderum dispositio*, this rash placing of stars, or, as Epicurus will, *fortuita*, or accidentall? Why are some big, some little? why are they so confusedly, unequally site in the heavens, and set so much out of order? In all other things, Nature is equall, proportionable, and constant; there be *justæ dimensiones, et prudens partium dispositio*, as in the fabrick of man, his eyes, ears, nose, face, members are correspondent; *cur non idem cœlo, opere omnium pulcherrimo?* Why are the heavens so irregular, *neque paribus molibus, neque paribus intervallis?* whence is this difference? *Diversos* (he concludes) *efficere locorum Genios*, to make diversity of countries, soils, maners, customs, characters and constitutions among us, *ut quantum vicinia ad charitatem addat, sidera distrahant ad perniciem*; and so by this means *fluvio vel monte distincti sunt dissimiles*, the same places almost shall be distinguished in maners. But this reason is weak, and most unsufficient. The fixed stars are removed, since Ptolomies times, 26 gr. from the first of Aries; and if the earth be immovable, as their site varies, so should countries vary, and divers alterations would follow. But this we perceive not; as, in Tullies time, with us in Britain, *cœlum visu fœdum, et in quo facile generantur nubes, &c.* 'tis so still. Wherefore Bodine (*Theat. nat. lib.* 2) and some others will have these alterations and effects immediately to proceed from those genii, spirits, angels, which rule and domineer in severall places; they cause storms, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, ruins, tempests, great winds, floods, &c. The philosophers of Conimbra will refer this diversity to the influence of that *empyrean* heaven: for some say the *excentricity* of the sun is come neerer to the earth than in Ptolemies time; the vertue therefore of all the vegetals is decayed; [n]men grow less, &c. There are that observe new motions of the heavens, new stars, *palantia sidera*, comets, clouds, (call them what you will) like those Medicean, Burbonian, Austrian planets lately detected, which do not decay, but come and go, rise higher and lower, hide and shew themselves amongst the fixed stars, amongst the planets, above and beneath the moon, at set times, now neerer, now farther off, together, asunder; as he that plaies upon a sagbut, but pulling it up and down, alters his tones and

[l] Lib. 11. cap. 7. [m] Lib. 2. cap. 9. Cur Potosa et Plata, urbes in tam tenui intervallo, utraque montosa, &c. [n] Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos.

tunes, do they their stations and places, though to us undiscerned; and from those motions proceed (as they conceive) divers alterations. Clavius conjectures otherwise: but they be but conjectures. About Damascus in Cœle-Syria is a [o]paradise, by reason of the plenty of waters; *in promptu caussa est;* and the desarts of Arabia barren, because of rockes, rolling seas of sands, and dry mountaines; *quod inaquosa,* (saith Adricomius) *montes habens asperos, saxosos, præcipites, horroris et mortis speciem præ se ferentes,* uninhabitable therefore of men, birds, beasts, void of all greene trees, plants and fruits, a vast rocky horrid wilderness, which by no art can be manured; 'tis evident. Bohemia is cold, for that it lyes all along to the north. But why should it be so hot in Egypt, or there never rain? Why should those [p]Etesian and north-eastern winds blow continually and constantly so long together, in some places, at set times, one way still, in the dog-dayes only: here perpetual drought, there dropping showres; here foggy mists, there a pleasant aire; here [q]terrible thunder and lightning at such set seasons, here frozen seas all the yeare, there open in the same latitude, to the rest no such thing, nay quite opposite is to be found? Sometimes (as in [r]Peru) on the one side of the mountaines it is hot, on the other cold, here snow, there winde, with infinite such. Fromundus, in his Meteors, will excuse or salve all this by the suns motion: but when there is such diversity to such as *periæci,* or very neare site, how can that position hold?

Who can give a reason of this diversity of meteors? that it should rain [s]stones, frogs, mice, &c. rats, which they call *lemmer* in Norway, and are manifestly observed (as [t]Munster writes) by the inhabitants, to descend and fall with some fæculent showres, and, like so many locusts, consume all that is green. Leo Afer speaks as much of locusts; about Fez in Barbary there be infinite swarmes in their fields upon a sudden: so at Arles in France, 1553, the like happened by the same mischief; all their grass and fruits were devoured; *magnâ incolarum admiratione et consternatione* (as Valleriola, *obser. med. lib.* 1. *obser.* 1. relates) *cœlum subito obumbrabant, &c.* he concludes, [u]it could not be from naturall causes; they cannot imagine whence they come, but from heaven. Are these and such creatures, corn, wood, stones, worms, wooll, blood, &c. lifted up into the middle region by the sun beams, as [v]Paracelsus the physician disputes, and hence let fall with showres, or there ingendred? [w]Cornelius Gemma is of that opinion, they are there conceived by celestiall influences: others suppose they are immediately from God, or prodigies raised by art and illusions of spirits, which are princes of the ayre; to whom Bodin (*lib.* 2. *Theat. Nat.*) subscribes. In fine, of meteors in generall, Aristotles reasons are exploded by Bernardinus Telesius, by Paracelsus, his principles confuted, and other causes assigned, sal, sulphur, mercury, in which his disciples are so expert, that they can alter elements, and separate at their pleasure, make perpetuall motions, not as Cardan, Tasneir, Peregrinus, by some magneticall vertue, but by mixture of elements; imitate thunder, like Salmoneus, snow, hail, the seas ebbing and flowing, give life to creatures (as they say) without generation, and what not? P. Nonius Saluciensis, and Kepler, take upon them to demonstrate that no meteors, cloudes, fogges, [x]vapours, arise higher than 50 or 80 miles, and all the rest to be purer aire or element of fire: which [y]Cardan, [z]Tycho, and [a]John Pena manifestly confute by refractions, and many other arguments, there is no such element as fire at all. If, as Tycho proves, the moon be

[o] Nav. 1. 1. c. 5. [p] Strabo. [q] As under the æquator in many parts, showres here at such a time, windes at such a time, the brise they call it. [r] Ferd. Cortesius, lib. Novus orbis inscript. [s] Lapidati m est. Livie. [t] Cosmog. lib. 4. ca. 22. Hæ tempestatibus decidunt è nubibus fæculentis, depascuntur que more locustarum omnia virentia. [u] Hort. Genial. An à terrâ sursum rapiuntur à solo, iterum que cum pluvils præcipitantur? &c. [v] Tam ominosus proventus in naturales caussas referri vix potest. [w] Cosmog. c. 6. [x] Cardan saith vapours rise 288 miles from the earth, Eratosthenes 48 miles. [y] De subtil. l. 2. [z] In progymnas. [a] Præfat. ad Euclid. Catop.

distant from us 50 and 60 semi-diameters of the earth: and as Peter Nonius will have it, the aire be so august, what proportion is there betwixt the other three elements and it? to what use serves it? it is full of spirits which inhabit it, as the Paracelsians and Platonists hold, the higher the more noble, [b]full of birds, or a meer *vacuum* to no purpose? It is much controverted betwixt Tycho Brahe and Christopher Rotman the Lantsgrave of Hessias mathematician, in their Astronomicall Epistles, whether it be the same *diaphanum*, cleerness, matter of aire and heavens, or two distinct essences? Christopher Rotman, John Pena, Jordanus Brunus, with many other mathematicians, contend it is the same, and one matter throughout, saving that the higher still, the purer it is, and more subtile; as they finde by experience in the top of some hills in [c]America: if a man ascend, he faints instantly for want of thicker ayre to refrigerate the heart. Acosta (*l.* 3. *c.* 9) calls this mountain Periacaca in Peru: it makes men cast and vomit, he saith, that climb it, as some other of those Andes do in the desarts of Chila for 500 miles together, and, for extremity of cold, to lose their fingers and toes. Tycho will have two distinct matters of heaven and ayre; but to say truth, with some small qualification, they have one and the self same opinion about the essence and matter of heavens; that it is not hard and impenetrable, as Peripateticks hold, transparent, of a *quinta essentia*, [d]*but that it is penetrable and soft as the ayre it self is, and that the planets move in it, as birds in the ayre, fishes in the sea.* This they prove by motion of comets, and otherwise (though Claremontius in his Antitycho stifly oppose) which are not generated, as Aristotle teacheth, in the aeriall region, of an hot and dry exhalation, and so consumed; but, as Anaxagoras and Democritus held of old, of a celestiall matter: and as [e]Tycho, [f]Helisæus Rœslin, Thaddeus Haggesius, Pena, Rotman, Fracastorius, demonstrate by their progress, parallaxes, refractions, motions of the planets, (which enterfeire and cut one anothers orbs, now higher, and then lower, as ♂, amongst the rest, which sometimes, as [g]Kepler confirms by his own and Tychos accurate observations, comes nearer the earth than the ☉, and is again eftsoons aloft in Jupiters orbe) and [h]other sufficient reasons, far above the moon: exploding in the mean time that element of fire, those fictitious first watry movers, those heavens I mean above the firmament, which Delrio, Lodovicus Imola, Patricius, and many of the fathers, affirm; those monstrous orbes of eccentricks, and *eccentre epicycles deserentes;* which howsoever Ptolomy, Alhasen, Vitellio, Purbachius, Maginus, Clavius, and many of their associates stiffly maintain to be reall orbes, excentrick, concentrick, circles æquant, &c. are absurd and ridiculous. For who is so mad to think, that there should be so many circles, like subordinate wheels in a clock, all impenetrable and hard, as they fain, adde and substract at their pleasure? [i]Maginus makes eleven heavens subdivided into their orbes and circles, and all too little to serve those particular appearances: Fracastorius, 72 homocentricks: Tycho Brahe, Nicholas Ramerus, Helisæus Rœslin, have peculiar hypotheses of their own inventions; and they be but inventions, as most of them acknowledge, as we admit of æquators, tropicks, colures, circles, arctique and antarctique, for doctrines sake (though Ramus thinks them all unnecessary) they will have them supposed onely for method and order. Tycho hath fained I know not how many subdivisions of epicycles in epicycles, &c. to

[b] Manucodiatæ, birds that live continually in the ayre, and are never seen on ground but dead. See Ulysses Aldrovand. Ornithol. Scal. exerc. cap. 229. [c] Laët. descrip. Amer. [d] Epist. lib. 1. p. 83. Ex quibus constat nec diversa aëris et ætheris diaphana esse, nec refractiones aliunde quam a crasso aëre caussari.—Non dura aut impervia, sed liquida, subtilis, motuique planetarum facile cedens. [e] In Progymn. lib. 2. exemplis quinque. [f] In Theoriâ novâ Met. cœlestium, 1578. [g] Epit. Astron. lib. 4. [h] Multa sane hinc consequuntur absurda, et si nihil aliud, tot cometæ in æthere animadversi, qui nullius orbis ductum comitantur, id ipsum sufficienter refellunt. Tycho, astr. epist. pag. 107. [i] In Theoricis *planetarum, three* above the firmament, which all wise men reject.

calculate and express the moons motion: but, when all is done, as a supposition, and no otherwise; not (as he holds) hard, impenetrable, subtile, transparent, &c. or making musick, as Pythagoras maintained of old, and Robert Constantine of late, but still quiet, liquid, open, &c.

If the heavens then be penetrable, as these men deliver, and no lets, it were not amiss, in this aereall progress, to make wings, and fly up; which that Turk, in Busbequius, made his fellow-citizens in Constantinople beleeve he would perform, and some new-fangled wits, me thinks, should some time or other finde out: or if that may not be, yet with a Galilies glass, or Icaromenippus wings in Lucian, command the spheres and heavens, and see what is done amongst them: whether there be generation and corruption, as some think, by reason of æthereall comets, that in Cassiopea 1572, that in Cygno 1600, that in Sagittarius, 1604, and many like, which by no means Jul. Cæsar la Galla, that Italian philosopher, (in his physicall disputation with Galileus, *de phænomenis in orbe Lunæ, cap.* 9) will admit: or that they were created *ab initio*, and shew themselves at set times; and, as [j] Helisæus Rœslin contends, have poles, axeltrees, circles of their own, and regular motions. For *non pereunt, sed minuuntur et disparent*, [k] Blancanus holds; they come and go by fits, casting their tailes still from the sun: some of them, as a burning glass projects the sun beams from it; though not alwaies neither; for sometimes a comet casts his taile from Venus, as Tycho observes; and, as [l] Helisæus Rœslin of some others, from the moon, with little stars about them, *ad stuporem astronomorum; cum multis aliis in cœlo miraculis*, all which argue, with those Medicean, Austrian, and Burbonian stars, that the heaven of the planets is indistinct, pure and open, in which the planets move *certis legibus ac metis*. Examine likewise, *an cœlum sit coloratum?* Whether the stars be of that bigness, distance, as astronomers relate, so many in [m] number, 1026, or 1725, as J. Bayerus; or, as some Rabbins, 29000 myriades; or, as Galilie discovers by his glasses, infinite, and that *via lactea*, a confused light of small stars, like so many nailes in a door: or all in a row, like those 12000 isles of the Maldives, in the Indie ocean? whether the least visible star in the eighth sphere be 18 times bigger than the earth; and, as Tycho calculates, 14000 semidiameters distant from it? Whether they be thicker parts of the orbes, as Aristotle delivers; or so many habitable worlds, as Democritus? whether they have light of their own, or from the sun, or give light round, as Patritius discourseth? *An æque distent à centro mundi?* Whether light be of their essence; and that light be a substance or an accident? whether they be hot by themselves or by accident cause heat? whether there be such a precision of the æquinoxes, as Copernicus holds, or that the eighth sphere move? *An bene philosophentur R. Bacon, et J. Dee, Aphorism. de multiplicatione specierum?* Whether there be any such images ascending with each degree of the Zodiack in the east, as Aliacensis feignes? *An aqua super cœlum?* as Patritius and the Schoolmen will, a crystalline [n] watry heaven, which is [o] certainly to be understood of that in the middle region? for otherwise, if at Noahs floud the water came from thence, it must be above an hundred yeeres falling down to us, as [p] some calculate. Besides, *an terra sit animata?* which some so confidently beleeve, with Orpheus, Hermes, Averroes, from which all other souls of men, beasts, divels, plants, fishes, &c. are derived, and into which again, after some revolutions, as Plato in his Timæus, Plotinus in his Enneades, more largely discusse, they return (See Chalcidius

[j] Theor. nova. cœlest. Meteor. [k] Lib. de fabricâ mundi. [l] Lib. de Cometis. [m] An sit crux et nubecula in cœlis ad Polum Antarcticum, quod ex Corsalio refert Patritius. [n] Gilbertus Origanus. [o] See this discussed in Sir Walter Raleighs history, in Zanch. ad Casman. [p] Vid. Fromundum, de Meteoris, lib. 5. artic. 5. et Lansbergium.

Jennius, Platos commentators) as all philosophical matter, *in materiam im.* Keplerus, Patritius, and some other neotericks have in part revived pinion: and that every star in heaven hath a soul, angel, or intelligence imate or move it, &c. or to omit all smaller controversies, as matters of noment, and examine that main paradox, of the earths motion, now so in question: Aristarchus Samius, Pythagoras maintained it of old, ocritus, and many of their schollers. Didacus Astunica, Anthony Fasca-, a Carmelite, and some other commentators, will have Job to insinuate ich, *cap.* 9. *ver.* 4. *Qui commovet terram de loco suo, &c.* and that this lace of Scripture makes more for the earths motion, than all the other against it; whom Pineda confutes, most contradict. Howsoever, it is ed since by Copernicus, not as a truth, but a supposition, as he confesseth lf in the Preface to Pope Nicholas, but now maintained in good earnest Calcagninus, Telesius, Kepler, Rotman, Gilbert, Digges, Galileus, Campa-, and especially by [r] Lansbergius, *naturæ rationi, et. veritati consenta-*, by Origanus, and some [s] others of his followers. For, if the earth be enter of the world, stand still, and the heavens move, as the most received on is, which they call *inordinatam cœli dispositionem*, though stifly main-d by Tycho, Ptolomæus, and their adherents, *quis ille furor?* &c. what is that, saith [t] Dr. Gilbert, *satis animose*, as Cabeus notes, that shall drive eavens about with such incomprehensible celerity in 24 hours, when as point of the firmament, and in the æquator, must needs move (so [u] Clavius lates) 176660 in one 246th part of an houre: and an arrow out of a bow goe seven times about the earth, whilest a man can say an *Ave Maria*, if ep the same space, or compass the earth 1884 times in an houre; which is *humanam cogitationem*, beyond human conceit: *Ocyor et jaculo, et s æquante sagittâ.* A man could not ride so much ground, going 40 a day, in 2904 yeeres, as the firmament goes in 24 houres; or so much 3 yeeres, as the said firmament in one minute; *quod incredibile videtur:* the [v] pole star, which to our thinking scarce moveth out of his place, goeth ger circuit than the sun, whose diameter is much larger than the diameter ie heaven of the sun, and 20000 semidiameters of the earth from us, with est of the fixed stars, as Tycho proves. To avoid therefore these impossi-es, they ascribe a triple motion to the earth, the sun immovable in the r of the whole world, the earth center of the moon, alone, above ☿ ♀, beneath ♄, ♃, ♂, (or, as [w] Origanus and others wil, one single mo-of the earth, still placed in the center of the world, which is more pro-e) a single motion to the firmament, which moves in 30 or 26 thousand s; and so the planets, Saturne in 30 yeeres absolves his sole and proper on, Jupiter in 12, Mars in 3, &c. and so salve all appearances better than way whatsoever: calculate all motions, be they in *longum* or *latum*, t, stationary, retrogade, ascent or descent, without epicycles, intricate, ntricks, &c. *rectius commodiusque per unicum motum terræ*, saith Lans-ius, much more certain than by those Alphonsine, or any such tables, h are grounded from those other suppositions. And 'tis true, they say, rding to optick principles, the visible appearances of the planets do so ed answer to their magnitudes and orbes, and come neerest to mathe-call observations, and precedent calculations; there is no repugnancy to iicall axiomes, because no penetration of orbes: but then, between the re of Saturne and the firmament, there is such an incredible and vast [x] space,

culiari libello. [r] Comment. in motum terræ Middlebergi, 1630. 4. [s] Peculiari libello. [t] See rpenters Geogr. cap. 4. lib. 1. Campanella et Origanus præf. Ephemer. where Scripture places are red. [u] De Magnete. Comment. in 2. cap. sphær. Jo. de Sacr. Bosc. [v] Dist. 3. gr. 1. a [w] Præf. Ephem. [x] Which may be full of planets, perhaps, to us unseen, as those about r, &c.

or distance (7000000 semidiameters of the earth, as Tycho calculates) void of stars: and besides, they do so inhance the bigness of the stars, enlarge their circuit, to salve those ordinary objections of parallaxes and retrogradations of the fixed stars, that alteration of the poles, elevation in severall places or latitude of cities here on earth (for, say they, if a mans eye were in the firmament, he should not at all discern that great annuall motion of the earth, but it would still appear *punctum indivisibile*, and seem to be fixed in one place, of the same bigness) that it is quite opposite to reason, to natural philosophy, and all out as absurd as disproportionall (so some will), as prodigious, as that of the suns swift motion of heavens. But *hoc posito*, to grant this their tenent of the earths motion; if the earth move, it is a planet and shines to them in the moon, and to the other planetary inhabitants, as the moon and they do to us upon the earth: but shine she doth, as Galilie, [y] Kepler, and others prove; and then, *per consequens*, the rest of the planets are inhabited, as well as the moon; which he grants in his dissertation with Galilies Nuncius Sidereus, [z] *that there be Joviall and Saturnine inhabitants*, &c. and those severall planets have their severall moons about them, as the earth hath hers, as Galileus hath already evinced by his glasses; [a] four about Jupiter, two about Saturne (though Sitius the Florentine, Fortunius, Licetus, and Jul. Cæsar la Galla cavill at it): yet Kepler, the emperours mathematician, confirmes out of his experience, that he saw as much by the same help, and more about Mars, Venus; and the rest they hope to find out, peradventure even amongst the fixed stars, which Brunus and Brutius have already averred. Then (I say) the earth and they be planets alike, inhabited alike, moved about the sun, the common center of the world alike: and it may be, those two green children which [b] Nubrigensis speaks of in his time, that fell from heaven, came from thence; and that famous stone that fell from heaven, in Aristotles time, olymp. 84. *anno tertio, ad Capuæ Fluenta*, recorded by Laertius and others, or Ancile or buckler in Numas time, recorded by Festus. We may likewise insert with Campanella and Brunus, that which Pythagoras, Aristarchus Samius, Heraclitus, Epicurus, Melissus, Democritus, Leucippus, maintained in their ages, there be [c] *infinite worlds*, and infinite earths or systemes, *in infinito æthere*; which [d] Eusebius collects out of their tenents, because infinite stars and planets like unto this of ours, which some stick not still to maintain and publikely to defend; *sperabundus expecto innumerabilium mundorum in æterninate peramhulationem &c.* (Nic. Hill Londinensis *philos. Epicur.*) For if the firmament be of such an incomparable bigness, as these Copernicall giants will have it, *infinitum, aut infinito proximum*, so vast and full of innumerable stars, as being infinite in extent, one above another, some higher, some lower, some neerer, some farther off, and so far asunder, and those so huge and great; insomuch, that, if the whole sphere of Saturn, and all that is included in it, *totum aggregatum* (as Fromundus of Lovain in his tract *de immobilitate terræ* argues) *evehatur inter stellas, videri à nobis non poterit, tam immanis est distantia inter tellurem et fixas; sed instar puncti &c.* If our world be small in respect, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds, those infinite stars visible in the firmament to be so many suns, with particular fixed centers; to have likewise their subordinate planets, as the sun hath his dancing still round him? which cardinall Cusanus,

[y] Luna circumterrestris planeta quum sit, consentaneum est esse in lunâ viventes creaturas; et singulis planetarum globis sui serviunt circulatores; ex quâ consideratione de eorum incolis summâ probabilitate concludimus, quod et Tychoni Braheo, è solâ consideratione vastitatis eorum, visum fuit. Kepl. dissert. cum nun. sid. f. 29. [z] Temperare non possum quin ex inventis tuis hoc moneam, veri non absimile, non tam in Lunâ, sed etiam in Jove, et reliquis planetis incolas esse. Kepl. fo. 26. Si non sint accolæ in Jovis globo, qui notent admirandam hanc varietatem oculis, cui bono quatuor illi planetæ Jovem circumcursitant? [a] Some of those above Jupiter I have seen myself by the help of a glass 8 foot long. [b] Rerum Angl. l. 1. c. 27. de viridibus pueris. [c] Infiniti alii mundi, vel, ut Brunus, terræ huic nostræ similes. [d] Libro cont. philos. cap. 29.

Walkarinus, Brunus, and some others, have held, and some still maintain. *Animæ Aristotelismo innutritæ, et minutis speculationibus assuetæ, secus forsan, &c.* Though they seem close to us, they are infinitely distant, and so *per consequens*, there are infinite habitable worlds: what hinders? Why should not an infinite cause (as God is) produce infinite effects? as Nic. Hill (*Democrit. philos.*) disputes: Kepler (I confess) will by no means admit of Brunus infinite worlds, or that the fixed stars should be so many suns, with their compassing planets; yet the said [e]Kepler, betwixt jest and earnest, in his Perspectives, Lunar Geography, [f]*et Somnio suo, Dissertat. cum nunc. sider.* seems in part to agree with this, and partly to contradict. For the planets, he yeelds them to be inhabited; he doubts of the stars: and so doth Tycho in his Astronomicall Epistles, out of a consideration of their vastity and greatness, break out into some such like speeches, that he will never beleeve those great and huge bodies were made to no other use than this that we perceive, to illuminate the earth, a point insensible, in respect of the whole. But who shall dwell in these vast bodies, earths, worlds, [g]*if they be inhabited? rationall creatures?* as Kepler demands; *or have they souls to be saved? or do they inhabit a better part of the world than we do? are we or they lords of the world? and how are all things made for man? Difficile est nodum hunc expedire, eo quod nondum omnia, quæ huc pertinent, exploratu habemus;* 'tis hard to determin; this only he proves, that we are in *præcipuo mundi sinu*, in the best place, best world, neerest the heart of the sun. [h]Thomas Campanella, a Calabrian monk, (in his second book *de sensu rerum, cap.* 4) subscribes to this of Keplerus; that they are inhabited he certainly supposeth, but with what kind of creatures, he cannot say; he labours to prove it by all means: and that there are infinite worlds, having made an apologie for Galileus, and dedicates this tenent of his to Cardinall Cajetanus. Others freely speak, mutter, and would perswade the world (as [i]Marinus Marcenus complaines) that our modern divines are too severe and rigid against mathematicians; ignorant and peevish, in not admitting their true demonstrations and certain observations, that they tyrannize over art, science, and all philosophy, in suppressing their labours, (saith Pomponatius) forbidding them to write, to speak a truth, all to maintain their superstition, and for their profits sake. As for those places of Scripture which oppugne it, they will have spoken *ad captum vulgi*, and if rightly understood, and favorably interpreted, not at all against it: and as Otho Casman (*Astrol. cap.* 1. *part.* 1) notes, many great divines, besides Porphyrius, Proclus, Simplicius, and those heathen philosophers, *doctrinâ et ætate venerandi, Mosis Genesin mundanam popularis nescio cujus ruditatis, quæ longe absit a verâ philosophorum eruditione, insimulant:* for Moses makes mention of but two planets, ☉, and ☾. no 4 elements, &c. Reade more in him, in [j]Grossius and Junius. But to proceed, these and such like insolent and bold attempts, prodigious paradoxes, inferences must needs follow, if it once be granted, which Rotman, Kepler, Gilbert, Diggeus, Origanus, Galileus, and others maintain of the earths motion, that tis a planet, and shines as the moon doth, which containes in it [k]*both land and sea as the moon doth:* for so they finde by their glasses that *maculæ in facie Lunæ, the brighter parts are earth, the duskie sea*, which Thales, Plutarch, and Pythagoras, formerly

[e] Kepler, fol. 2. dissert. Quid impedit quin credamus ex his initiis, plures alios mundos detegendos, vel (ut Democrito placuit) infinitos? [f] Lege somnium Kepleri, edit. 1635. [g] Quid igitur inquies, si sint in cœlo plures globi, similes nostræ telluris? an cum illis certabimus, quis meliorem mundi plagam teneat? Si nobiliores illorum globi, nos non sumus creaturarum rationalium nobilissimi: quomodo igitur omnia propter hominem? quomodo nos domini operum Dei? Kepler. fol. 29. [h] Francofort. quarto, 1620. ibid. 40. 1622. [i] Præfat. in Commeut. in Genesin. Modo suadent theologos summâ ignoratione versari, veras scientias admittere nolle, et tyrannidem exercere, ut eos falsis dogmatibus, superstitionibus, et religione catholicâ detineant. [j] Theat. Biblico. [k] His argu*mentis plane* satisfecisti; do maculas in lunâ esse maria; do lucidas partes esse terram. Kepler, *fol. 16.*

taught; and manifestly discern hills and dales, and such like concavities, if we may subscribe to and beleeve Galilies observations. But to avoid these paradoxies of the earth's motion (which the church of Rome hath lately [l]condemned as hereticall, as appeares by Blancanus and Fromundus writings), our latter mathematicians have rolled all the stones that may be stirred; and, to salve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the world, out of their own Dædalean heads. Fracastorius will have the earth stand still, as before; and to avoid that supposition of eccentricks and epicycles, he has coined 72 homocentricks, to salve all appearances. Nicholas Ramerus will have the earth the center of the world, but moveable, and the eighth sphere immoveable, the five upper planets to move about the sun, the sun and moon about the earth. Of which orbes, [m]Tycho Brahe puts the earth the center immoveable, the stars immoveable, the rest with Ramerus, the planets without orbes to wander in the aire, keep time and distance, true motion, according to that virtue which God had given them. [n]Helisæus, Rœslin censureth both, with Copernicus (whose hypothesis *de terræ motu*, Philippus Lansbergius hath lately vindicated, and demonstrated with solid arguments in a just volume, Jansonius Cæsius hath illustrated in a sphere). The said Johannes Lansbergius, 1633, hath since defended his assertion against all the cavills and calumnies of Fromundus his Anti-Aristarchus, Baptista Morinus, and Petrus Bartholinus: Fromundus, 1634, hath written against him again, J. Rosseus of Aberdine, &c. (sound drummes and trumpets) whilest Rœslin (I say) censures all, and Ptolomæus himself as unsufficient: one offends against naturall philosopky, another against optick principles, a third against mathematicall, as not answering to astronomicall observations: one puts a great space betwixt Saturnus orbe and the eighth sphere, another too narrow. In his own hypothesis he makes the earth, as before, the universall center, the sun to the five upper planets: to the eighth sphere he ascribes diurnall motion, eccentricks and epicycles to the seven planets, which hath been formerly exploded; and so, (*Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria corrunt*) as a tinker stops one hole and makes two, he corrects them, and doth worse himself; reformes some, and marres all. In the mean time, the world is tossed in a blanket amongst them; they hoyse the earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures. One saith the sun stands; another, he moves; a third comes in taking them all at rebound; and, lest there should any paradox be wanting, he [o]findes certain spots and cloudes in the sun, by the help of glasses, which multiply (saith Keplerus) a thing seen a thousand times bigger *in plano*, and make it come 32 times neerer to the eye of the beholder: but see the demonstration of this glass in [p]Tarde, by means of which, the sun must turn round upon his own center, or they about the sun. Fabricius puts only three, and those in the sun: Apelles, 15, and those without the sun, floating like the Cyanean isles in the Euxine sea. [q]Tarde the Frenchman hath observed 33, and those neither spots nor clouds, as Galileus (*Epist. ad Velserum*) supposeth, but planets concentrick with the sun, and not far from him, with regular motions. [r]Christopher Schemer a German Suisser Jesuit, Ursica Rosa, divides them *in maculas et faculas*, and will have them to be fixed *in solis superficie*, and to absolve their periodicall and regular motion in 27 or 28 dayes; holding withall the rotation of the sun upon his center: and are all so confident, that they have made skemes and tables of their motions The [s]Hollander, in his *dissertatiuncula cum Apelle*, censures all; and thus they disagree amongst themselves, old and new, irre-

[l] Anno 1616. [m] In Hypothes. de mundo, Edit. 1597. [n] Lugduni 1633. [o] Jo. Fabricius, de maculis in sole, Witeb. 1611. [p] In Burbonils sideribus. [q] Lib. de Burbonils sid. Stellæ sunt erraticæ, quæ propriis orbibus feruntur, non longe a sole dissitis, sed juxa solem. [r] Braccini, fol. 1630. lib. 4. cap. 52, 55, 59, &c. [s] Lugdun. Bat. An. 1612.

concileable in their opinions; thus Aristarchus, thus Hipparchus, thus Ptolomæus, thus Albateginus, thus Alfraganus, thus Tycho, thus Ramerus, thus Rœslinus, thus Fracastorius, thus Copernicus and his adherents, thus Clavius and Maginus, &c. with their followers, vary and determine of these celestiall orbs and bodies: and so, whilest these men contend about the sun and moon, like the philosophers in Lucian, it is to be feared the sun and moon will hide themselves, and be as much offended as [t]shee was with those, and send another message to Jupiter, by some new fangled Icaromenippus, to make an end of all those curious controversies, and scatter them abroad.

But why should the sun and moon be angry, or take exceptions at mathematicians and philosophers, when as the like measure is offered unto God himself, by a company of theologasters? They are not contented to see the sun and moon, measure their site and biggest distance in a glass, calculate their motions, or visit the moon in a poeticall fiction, or a dream, as he saith: [u]*audax facinus et memorabile nunc incipiam, neque hoc sæculo usurpatum prius: quid in Lunæ regno hac nocte gestum sit, exponam, et quo nemo unquam nisi somniando pervenit*, but he and Menippus: or as [v]Peter Cuneus *bonâ fide agam: nihil eorum quæ scripturus sum, verum esse scitote, &c. quæ nec facta, nec futura sunt, dicam*, [w]*styli tantum et ingenii caussâ:* not in jest, but in good earnest, these gyganticall Cyclopes will transcend spheres, heaven, stars, into that empyrean heaven; soare higher yet, and see what God himself doth. The Jewish Thalmudists take upon them to determine how God spends his whole time, sometimes playing with Leviathan, sometime over-seeing the world, &c. like Lucians Jupiter, that spent much of the year in painting butter-flies wings, and seeing who offered sacrifice; telling the houres when it should rain, how much snow should fall in such a place, which way the winde should stand in Greece, which way in Africk. In the Turks Alcoran, Mahomet is taken up to heaven, upon a Pegasus sent a purpose for him, as he lay in bed with his wife, and, after some conference with God, is set on ground again. The pagans paint him and mangle him after a thousand fashions; our hereticks, schismaticks, and some schoolmen, come not far behind: some paint him in the habit of an old man, and make maps of heaven, number the angels, tell their severall [x]names, offices: some deny God and his providence; some take his office out of his hand, will [y]binde and loose in heaven, release, pardon, forgive, and be quarter-master with him; some call his godhead in question, his power and attributes, his mercy, justice, providence; they will know with [z]Cæcilius, why good and bad are punished together, war, fires, plagues, infest all alike, why wicked men flourish, good are poor, in prison, sick, and ill at ease. Why doth he suffer so much mischief and evill to be done, if he be [a]able to help? why doth he not assist good, or resist bad, reform our wills, if he be not the author of sin, and let such enormities be committed, unworthy of his knowledge, wisdome, government, mercy, and providence? why lets he all things be done by fortune and chance? Others as prodigiously enquire after his omnipotency, *an possit plures similes creare Deos? an ex scarabæo Deum? &c. et quo demum ruetis, sacrificuli?* Some, by visions and revelations, take upon them to be familiar with God, and to be of privie counsell with him; they will tell how many, and who, shall be saved, when the world shall come to an end, what year,

[t] Ne se subducant, et relictâ statione decessum parent, ut curiositatis finem faciant. [u] Hercules, tuam fidem! Satyra Menip. edit. 1608. [v] Sardi venales. Satyr Menip. an 1612. [w] Puteani Comus sic incipit, or as Lipsius Satyre in a dream. [x] Trithemius, l. de 7. secundis. [y] They have fetched Trajanus soul out of hell, and canonize for saints whom they list. [z] In Minutius. Sine delectu tempestates tangunt loca sacra et profana; bonorum et malorum fata juxta; nullo ordine res fiunt: soluta legibus fortuna dominatur. [a] Vel malus vel impotens, qui peccatum permittit, &c. unde hæc *superstitio?*

what moneth, and whatsoever else God hath reserved unto himself, and to his angels. Some again, curious phantasticks, will know more than this, and enquire, with [b]Epicurus, what God did before the world was made? was he idle? where did he bide? what did he make the world of? why did he then make it, and not before? If he made it new, or to have an end, how is he unchangeable, infinite? &c. Some will dispute, cavill, and object, as Julian did of old, whom Cyrill confutes, as Simon Magus is fained to do, in that [c]dialogue betwixt him and Peter: and Ammonius the philosopher, in that dialogicall disputation with Zacharias the Christian. If God be infinitely and only good, why should he alter or destroy the world? if he confound that which is good, how shall himself continue good? if he pull it down because it is evill, how shall he be free from the evill, that made it evill? &c. with many such absurd and brainsick questions, intricacies, froth of humane wit, and excrements of curiosity, &c. which, as our Saviour told his inquisitive disciples, are not fit for them to know. But hoo! I am now gone quite out of sight: I am almost giddy with roving about: I could have ranged farther yet; but I am an infant, and not [d]able to dive into these profundities, or sound these depths; not able to understand, much less to discuss. I leave the contemplation of these things to stronger wits, that have better ability, and happier leisure, to wade into such philosophicall mysteries: for put case I were as able as willing, yet what can one man do? I will conclude with [e]Scaliger, *Nequaquam nos homines sumus, sed partes hominis: ex omnibus aliquid fieri potest, idque non magnum; ex singulis fere nihil.* Besides (as Nazianzen hath it) *Deus latere nos multa voluit:* and with Seneca, (*cap.* 35. *de Cometis*) *Quid miramur tam rara mundi spectacula non teneri certis legibus, nondum intelligi? multæ sunt gentes, quæ tantum de facie sciunt cœlum: veniet tempus fortasse, quo ista, quæ nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat longioris ævi diligentiâ: una ætas non sufficit: posteri, &c.* when God sees his time, he will reveal these mysteries to mortall men, and shew that to some few at last, which he hath concealed so long. For I am of [f]his mind, that Columbus did not find out America by chance, but God directed him at that time to discover it: it was contingent to him, but necessary to God; he reveals and conceals, to whom and when he will: and, which [g]one said of history and records of former times, *God in his providence, to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps up all things in uncertainty, bars us from long antiquity, and bounds our search within the compass of some few ages.* Many good things are lost, which our predecessors made use of, as Pancirolla will better enform you; many new things are daily invented, to the publike good; so kingdomes, men, and knowledge, ebbe and flow, are hid and revealed: and, when you have all done, as the preacher concluded, *Nihil est sub sole novum.* But my melancholy spaniels quest, my game is sprung, and I must suddenly come down and follow.

Jason Pratensis, in his book *de morbis capitis*, and chapter of Melancholy, hath these words out of Galen, [h]*Let them come to me to know what meat and drink they shall use; and, besides that, I will teach them what temper of ambient aire they shall make choice of, what wind, what countries they shall chuse, and what avoid.* Out of which lines of his, thus much we may gather, that, to this cure of melancholy, amongst other things, the rectification of aire is necessarily required. This is performed, either in reforming

[b] Quid fecit Deus ante mundum creatum? ubi vixit otiosus à suo subjecto, &c. [c] Lib. 3. recog. Pet. cap. 3. Peter answers by the simile of an egge-shell, which is cunningly made, yet of necessity to be broken; so is the world, &c. that the excellent state of heaven might be made manifest. [d] Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus. [e] Exercit. 184. [f] Lact. descrip. occid. Indiæ. [g] Daniel, principio historiæ. [h] Veniant ad me, auditurі quo esculento, quo item poculento uti debeant, et præter alimentum ipsum, potumque, ventos ipsos docebo, item aëris ambientis temperiem, insuper regiones quas eligere, quas vitare, ex usu sit.

naturall or artificiall aire. Naturall is that which is in our election to chuse or avoid: and 'tis either generall, to countries, provinces; particular, to cities, towns, villages, or private houses. What harm those extremities of heat or cold do in this malady, I have formerly shewed: the *medium* must needs be good, where the aire is temperate, serene, quiet, free from bogs, fens, mists, all manner of putrefaction, contagious and filthy noisom smels. The [i]Egyptians by all geographers are commended to be *hilares*, a conceited and merry nation; which I can ascribe to no other cause than the serenity of their aire. They that live in the Orchades are registred by [j]Hector Boëthius and [k]Cardan to be fair of complexion, long-lived, most healthfull, free from all manner of infirmities of body and mind, by reason of a sharp purifying aire, which comes from the sea. The Bœotians in Greece were dull and heavy, *crassi Bœoti*, by reason of a foggy aire in which they lived, ([l] *Bœotûm in crasso jurares aëre natum.*) Attica most acute, pleasant, and refined. The clime changeth not so much customes, manners, wits (as Aristotle, *Polit. lib.* 6. *cap.* 4. Vegetius, Plato, Bodine, *method. hist. cap.* 5. hath proved at large) as constitutions of their bodies, and temperature it self. In all particular provinces we see it confirmed by experience; as the aire is, so are the inhabitants, dull, heavy, witty, subtle, neat, cleanly, clownish, sick, and sound. In [m]Perigort in France, the aire is subtile, healthfull, seldome any plague or contagious disease, but hilly and barren; the men, sound, nimble, and lusty; but in some parts of Quienne full of moores and marishes, the people dull, heavy, and subject to many infirmities. Who sees not a great difference betwixt Surry, Sussex, and Rumny marsh, the wolds in Lincolnshire, and the fens? He, therefore, that loves his health, if his ability will give him leave, must often shift places, and make choice of such as are wholsome, pleasant, and convenient: there is nothing better than the change of aire in this malady, and, generally for health, to wander up and down, as those, [n]Tartari Zamolhenses, that live in hords, and take opportunity of times, places, seasons. The kings of Persia had their summer and winter houses; in winter at Sardis, in summer at Susa; now at Persepolis, then at Pasargada. Cyrus lived seven cold months at Babylon, three at Susa, two at Ecbatana, saith [o]Xenophon, and had by that means a perpetual spring. The great Turk sojourns sometimes at Constantinople, sometimes at Adrianople, &c. The kings of Spain have their Escuriall in heat of summer, [p]Madritte for an wholesome seat, Villadolitte a pleasant site, &c. variety of *secessus*, as all princes and great men have, and their severall progresses to this purpose. Lucullus the Roman had his house at Rome, at Baiæ, &c. [q]When Cn. Pompeius, Marcus Cicero, (saith Plutarch) and many noble men, in the summer came to see him, at supper Pompeius jested with him, that it was an elegant and pleasant village, full of windows, galleries, and all offices fit for a summer house; but, in his judgment, very unfit for winter: Lucullus made answer, that the lord of the house had wit like a crane, that changeth her country with the season; he had other houses furnished and built for that purpose, all out as commodious as this. So Tully had his Tusculane, Plinius his Lauretan village, and every gentleman of any fashion in our times hath the like. The [r]bishop of Exeter, had 14 severall houses all furnished, in times past. In Italy, though they bide in cities in winter, which is more gentleman-like, all the summer they come abroad to their country-houses, to recreate themselves. Our gentry in England live most part in the country (except it be some few castles), build-

[i] Leo Afer, Maginus, &c. [j] Lib. 1. Scot. Hist. [k] Lib. 1. de rer. var. [l] Horat. [m] Maginus. [n] Haitonus, de Tartaris. [o] Cyropæd. li. 8. Perpetuum inde ver. [p] The aire so clear, it never breeds the plague. [q] Leander Albertus, in Campaniâ, è Plutarcho, vitâ Lucullî. Cum Cn. Pompeius, Marcus Cicero, multique nobiles viri L. Lucullum æstivo tempore convenissent, Pompeius inter cœnandum familiariter jocatus est, eam villam inprimis sibi sumtuosam et elegantem videri, fenestris, porticibus, &c. *Godwin, vita Jo. Voysye al. Harman.*

ing still in bottoms (saith [s] Jovius) or neer woods, *coronâ arborum virentium:* you shall know a village by a tuft of trees at or about it, to avoid those strong winds wherewith the island is infested, and cold winter blasts. Some discommend moted houses, as unwholesome, (so Camden saith of [t] Ew-elme, that it was therefore unfrequented, *ob stagni vicini halitus*) and all such places as be neer lakes or rivers. But I am of opinion, that these inconveniences will be mitigated, or easily corrected, by good fires, as [u] one reports of Venice, that *graveolentia* and fog of the moors is sufficiently qualified by those innumerable smoaks. Nay more, [v] Thomas Philol. Ravennas, a great physician, contends that the Venetians are generally longer lived than any city in Europe, and live, many of them, 120 years. But it is not water simply that so much offends, as the slime and noisome smels that accompany such overflowed places, which is but at some few seasons after a floud, and is sufficiently recompensed with sweet smels and aspects in summer, (*Ver pingit vario gemmantia prata colore*) and many other commodities of pleasure and profit; or else may be corrected by the site, if it be somewhat remote from the water, as Lindly, [w] Orton *super montem*, [x] Drayton, or a little more elevated, though neerer, as [y] Caucut, as [z] Amington, [a] Polesworth, [b] Weddington, (to insist in such places best to me known) upon the river of Anker in Warwickshire, [c] Swarston, and [d] Drakesley upon Trent. Or howsoever, they be unseasonable in winter, or at some times, they have their good use in summer. If so be that their means be so slender, as they may not admit of any such variety, but must determine once for all, and make one house serve each season, I know no men that have given better rules in this behalf, than our husbandry writers. [e] Cato and Columella prescribe a good house to stand by a navigable river, good high-waies, neer some city and in a good soile; but that is more for commodity than health.

The best soile commonly yeelds the worst aire: a dry sandy plat is fittest to build upon, and such as is rather hilly than plain, full of downes, a cotswold country, as being most commodious for hawking, hunting, wood, waters, and all manner of pleasures. Perigot in France is barren, yet, by reason of the excellency of the aire, and such pleasures that it affords, much inhabited by the nobility; as Noremberg in Germany, Toledo in Spain. Our countryman Tusser will tell us so much, that the fieldone is for profit, the woodland for pleasure and health, the one commonly a deep clay, therefore noisome in winter, and subject to bad high-waies: the other a dry sand. Provision may be had elsewhere, and our townes are generally bigger in the woodland than fieldone, more frequent and populous, and gentlemen more delight to dwell in such places. Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire (where I was once a grammar schollar) may be a sufficient witness, which stands, as Camden notes, *loco ingrato et sterili*, but in an excellent aire, and full of all manner of pleasures. [f] Wadley in Barkshire is situate in a vale, though not so fertil a soile as some vales afford, yet a most commodious site, wholsome, in a delicious aire, a rich and pleasant seat. So Segrave in Leicestershire (which towne [g] I am now bound to remember) is sited in a champian, at the edge of the wolds, and more barren than the villages about it; yet no place likely yeelds a better aire. And he that built that faire house, [h] Wollerton in Nottinghamshire, is much to be commended, (though the tract be sandy and barren about it) for making choice of such a place. Constantine *lib.* 2.

[s] Descript. Brit. [t] In Oxfordshire, [u] Leander Albertus. [v] Cap. 21. de vit. hom. prorog. [w] The possession of Robert Bradshaw, Esq. [x] Of George Purefey, Esq. [y] The possession of William Purefey, Esq. [z] The seat of Sir John Reppington, Kt. [a] Sir Henry Goodieres, lately deceased. [b] The dwelling-house of Hum. Adderly, Esq. [c] Sir John Harpars, lately deceased. [d] Sir George Greselles, Kt. [e] Lib. 1. cap. 2. [f] The seat of G. Purefey, Esq. [g] For I am now incumbent of that rectory, presented thereto by my right honorable patron, the Lord Berkly. [h] Sir Francis Willoughby.

de agricult.) praiseth mountaines, hilly, steep places, above the rest by sea side, and such as look toward the [l]north upon some great river, as rmack in Darbishire on the Trent, environed with hils, open only to the h, like Mount Edgemond in Cornwall, which M[r]. [k]Carew so much admires in excellent seat: such as is the generall site of Bohemia: *serenat Boreas;* north wind clarifies; [l]*but neer lakes or marishes, in holes, obscure places,* *the south and west, he utterly disproves:* those winds are unwholsome, ifying, and make men subject to diseases. The best building for health, rding to him, is in [m]*high places, and in an excellent prospect,* like that of deston in Oxfordshire (which place I must, *honoris ergo*, mention) is lately fairly [n]built in a good aire, good prospect, good soile, both for profit and sure, not so easily to be matched. P. Crescentius (in his *lib.* 1. *de Agric.* 5) is very copious in this subject, how a house should be wholsomely sited, good coast, good aire, wind, &c. Varro (*de re rust. lib.* 1. *cap.* 12) [o]forlakes and rivers, marish and manured grounds: they cause a bad aire, s diseases, hard to be cured: [p]*if it be so that he cannot help it, better, as dviseth, sell thy house and land, than lose thine health.* He that respects this in chusing of his seat, or building his house, is *mente captus*, mad, to saith, *and his dwelling next to hell it self*, according to Columella; he mends, in conclusion, the middle of a hill, upon a descent. Baptista Porta, *llæ*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 22) censures Varro, Cato, Columella, and those ancient icks, approving many things, disallowing some, and will by all means have front of an house stand to the south, which how it may be good in Italy hotter climes, I know not; in our northern countries I am sure it is best. hanus a Frenchman (*prædio rustic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4) subscribes to this, apring especially the descent of an hill south or south east, with trees to the h, so that it be well watered; a condition, in all sites, which must not be tted, as Herbastein inculcates, *lib.* 1. Julius Cæsar Claudinus, a phyn, *consult.* 24 for a nobleman in Poland, melancholy given, adviseth him well in a house inclining to the [r]east, and [s]by all means to provide the be cleer and sweet; which Montanus (*consil.* 229) counselleth the earle Monfort his patient—to inhabit a pleasant house, and in a good aire. If e so the naturall site may not be altered of our city, town, village, yet by icial means it may be helped. In hot countries, therefore, they make streets of their cities very narrow, all over Spain, Africk, Italy, Greece, many cities of France, in Languedock especially, and Provence, those hern parts: Monpelier, the habitation and university of physicians, is so t, with high houses, narrow streets, to divert the suns scalding rayes, ch Tacitus commends, (*lib.* 15. *Annal.*) as most agreeing to their health, *cause the height of buildings, and narrowness of streets, keep away the beams.* Some cities use galleries, or arched cloysters towards the street, Damascus, Bologna, Padua, Berna in Switzerland, Westchester with us, vell to avoid tempests, as the suns scorching heat. They build on high in hot countries, for more aire; or to the sea side, as Baiæ, Naples, &c. ur northern coasts we are opposite; we commend straight, broad, open, streets, as most befitting and agreeing to our clime. We build in bot-

ontani et maritimi salubriores, acclives, et ad Boream vergentes. [j]The dwelling of Sir To. et, Knight Baronet. [k] In his Survay of Cornwall, book 2. [l] Prope paludes, stagna, et loca va, vel ad Austrum, vel ad Occidentem inclinatæ, domus sunt morbosæ. [m] Oportet igitur ad item domus in altioribus ædificare, et ad speculationem. [n] By John Bancroft, Dr. of Divinity, my lam tutor in Christ Church, Oxon, now the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Oxon, who built this for himself and his successors. [o] Hyeme erit vehementer frigida, et æstate non salubris: paludes faciunt crassum aërem, et difficiles morbos. [p] Vendas quot assibus possis, et, si nequeas, relinquas. l. cap. 2. In Orco habitat. [r] Aurora Musis amica. Vitruv. [s] Ædes Orientem spectantes obilissimus inhabitet, et curet ut sit aër clarus, lucidus, odoriferus. Eligat habitationem optimo jucundam. [t] Quoniam angustæ itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde solis calorem tunt.

tomes for warmth: and that site of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea, (which Vitruvius so much discommends, magnificently built with fair houses, *sed imprudenter positam*, unadvisedly sited, because it lay along to the south, and when the south wind blew, the people were all sick) would make an excellent site in our northern climes.

Of that artificiall site of houses I have sufficiently discoursed: if the site of the dwelling may not be altered, yet there is much in choice of such a chamber or room, in opportune opening and shutting of windowes, excluding forrain aire and winds, and walking abroad at convenient times. [u]Crato, a German, commends east and south site (disallowing cold aire and northern winds in this case, rainy weather and misty dayes) free from putrefaction, fens, bogs, and muckhills. If the aire be such, open no windowes; come not abroad. Montanus will have his patient not to [v]stir at all, if the wind be big or tempestuous, as most part in March it is with us; or in cloudy, louring, dark dayes, as in November, which we commonly call the black moneth: or stormy, let the wind stand how it will; *consil.* 27 and 30, he must not [w]*open a casement in bad weather*, or in a boisterous season; *consil.* 299, he especially forbids us to open windows to a south wind. The best site for chamber windows, in my judgement, are north, east, south: and which is the worst, west. Levinus Lemnius (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. *de occult. nat. mir.*) attributes so much to aire, and rectifying of wind and windowes, that he holds it alone sufficient to make a man sick or well; to alter body and minde. [x]*A cleer air cheares up the spirits, exhilarates the minde; a thick, black, misty, tempestuous, contracts, overthrows.* Great heed is therefore to be taken at what times we walke, how we place our windows, lights, and houses, how we let in or exclude this ambient aire. The Egyptians, to avoid immoderate heat, make their windows on the top of the house, like chimnies, with two tunnells to draw a through aire. In Spain they commonly make great opposite windows without glass, still shutting those which are next to the sun. So likewise in Turkey and Italy (Venice excepted, which brags of her stately glazed palaces) they use paper windows to like purpose; and lye *sub dio*, in the top of their flat-roofed houses, so sleeping under the canopy of heaven. In some parts of [y]Italy they have windmills, to draw a cooling aire out of hollow caves, and disperse the same through all the chambers of their palaces, to refresh them; as at Costoza the house of Cæsareo Trento, a gentleman of Vicenza, and elsewhere. Many excellent means are invented to correct nature by art. If none of these courses help, the best way is to make artificiall aire, which howsoever is profitable and good, still to be made hot and moist, and to be seasoned with sweet perfumes, [z]pleasant and lightsome as may be: to have roses, violets, and sweet smelling flowers ever in their windows, posies in their hand. Laurentius commends water-lillies, a vessell of warm water to evaporate in the room, which will make a more delightsome perfume, if there be added orange flowers, pils of citrons, rosemary, cloves, bayes, rose-water, rose-vinegar, belzoin, ladanum, styrax, and such like gums, which make a pleasant and acceptable perfume. [a]Bessardus Bisantinus prefers the smoak of juniper to melancholy persons, which is in great request with us at Oxford, to sweeten our chambers. [b]Guianerius prescribes the aire to be moistened with water, and sweet herbs boiled in it, vine and sallow-leaves, &c. [c]to besprinkle the

[u] Consil. 21. li. 2. Frigidus aër, nubilosus, densus, vitandus, æque ac venti septemtrionales, &c. [v] Consil. 24. [w] Fenestram non aperiat. [x] Discutit sol horrorem crassi spiritûs, mentem exhilarat; non enim tam corpora, quam et animi, mutationem inde subeunt, pro cœli et ventorum ratione, et sani aliter affecti sunt cœlo nubilo, aliter sereno. De naturâ ventorum, see Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 26, 27, 28. Strabo, li. 7. &c. [y] Fines Morison, part. 1. c. 4. [z] Altomarus, cap. 7. Bruel. Aër sit lucidus, bene olens, humidus. Montaltus idem. ca. 36. Olfactus rerum suavium. Laurentius, c. 8. [a] Ant. Philos. cap. de melanc. [b] Tract. 15. c. 9. Ex redolentibus herbis et foliis vitis viniferæ, salicis, &c. [c] Pavimentum aceto et aquâ rosaceâ irrorare, Laurent. c. 8.

ground and posts with rose-water, rose-vinegar, which Avicenna much approves. Of colours it is good to behold green, red, yellow, and white, and by all means to have light enough with windows in the day, wax candles in the night, neat chambers, good fires in winter, merry companions; for, though melancholy persons love to be darke and alone, yet darkness is a great encreaser of the humour.

Although our ordinary aire be good by nature or art, yet it is not amiss, as I have said, still to alter it; no better physick for a melancholy man than change of aire and variety of places, to travel abroad and see fashions. [d]Leo Afer speakes of many of his countrymen so cured, without all other physick: amongst the Negroes, *there is such an excellent aire, that if any of them be sick elsewhere, and brought thither, he is instantly recovered; of which he was often an eye-witness.* [e]Lipsius, Zuinger, and some other, adde as much of ordinary travell. No man, saith Lipsius, in an epistle to Phil. Lanoius, a noble friend of his, now ready to make a voyage, [f]*can be such a stock or stone, whom that pleasant speculation of countries, cities, towns, rivers, will not affect.* [g]Seneca the phillosopher was infinitely taken with the sight of Scipio Africanus house, near Linternum, to view those old buildings, cisterns, bathes, tombs, &c. And how was [h]Tully pleased with the sight of Athens, to behold those ancient and faire buildings, with a remembrance of their worthy inhabitants. Paulus Æmilius, that renowned Roman captain, after he had conquered Perseus the last king of Macedonia, and now made an end of his tedious wars, though he had been long absent from Rome, and much there desired, about the beginning of autumne (as [i]Livy describes it) made a pleasant peregrination all over Greece, accompanied with his son Scipio, and Athenæus, the brother of king Eumenes, leaving the charge of his army with Sulpitius Gallus. By Thessaly he went to Delphos, thence to Megaris, Aulis, Athens, Argos, Lacedæmon, Megalopolis, &c. He took great content, exceeding delight, in that his voyage: as who doth not that shall attempt the like, though his travell be *ad jactationem magis quam ad usum reipub.* (as [j]one well observes) to cracke, gaze, see fine sights and fashions, spend time, rather than for his own or publike good? (as it is to many gallants that travel out their best daies, together with their means, manners, honesty, religion) yet it availeth howsoever. For peregrination charmes our senses with such unspeakable and sweet variety, [k]that some count him unhappy that never travelled, a kinde of prisoner, and pity his case, that from his cradle to his old age beholds the same still; still, still the same, the same: insomuch that [l]Rhasis (*cont. lib.* 1. *Tract.* 2.) doth not only commend but enjoyn travell, and such variety of objects, to a melancholy man, *and to lye in diverse innes, to be drawn into severall companies.* Montaltus (*cap.* 36) and many neotericks are of the same minde. Celsus adviseth him, therefore, that will continue his health, to have *varium vitæ genus*, diversity of callings, occupations, to be busied about, [m]*sometimes to live in the city, sometimes in the countrey; now to study or work, to be intent, then again to hawk or hunt, swim, run, ride, or exercise himself.* A good prospect alone will ease melancholy, as Gomesius contends, *lib.* 2. *c.* 7. *de Sale.* The citizens of [n]Barcino, saith he, otherwise penned in, melancholy, and stirring little abroad, are much delighted with that pleasant prospect their city hath into the sea, which, like that of old Athens, besides Ægina, Salamina, and many pleasant islands, had all the variety of delicious objects: so are those Neapolitanes,

[d] Lib. 1. cap. de morb. Afrorum. In Nigritarum regione tanta aëris temperies, ut siquis alibi morbosus eo advehatur, optimæ statim sanitati restituatur; quod multis accidisse ipse meis oculis vidi. [e] Lib. de peregrinat. [f] Epist. 2. cen. 1. Nec quisquam tam lapis aut frutex, quem non titillat amœna illa, variaque spectio locorum, urbium, gentium, &c. [g] Epist. 86. [h] 2 lib. de legibus. [i] Lib. 45. [j] Keckerman, præfat. polit. [k] Fines Morison, c. 3. part. 1. [l] Mutatio de loco in locum, itinera et viagia longa et indeterminata, et hospitare in diversis diversoriis. [m] Modo rurí esse, modo in urbe, sæpius in agro venari, &c. [n] *In Catalonia* in Spaine.

and inhabitants of Genua, to see the ships, boats, and passengers, go by, out of their windows, their whole cities being sited on the side of an hill, like Pera by Constantinople, so that each house almost hath a free prospect to the sea, as some part of London to the Thames: or to have a free prospect all over the city at once, as at Granado in Spain, and Fez in Africk, the river running betwixt two declining hills, the steepness causeth each house almost as well to oversee, as to be overseen of the rest. Every country is full of such [o] delightsome prospects, as well within land as by sea, as Hermon and [p] Rama in Palæstina, Colalto in Italy, the top of Taygetus, or Acrocorinthus, that old decayed castle in Corinth, from which Peloponnesus, Greece, the Ionian and Ægæan seas, were *semel et simul*, at one view to be taken. In Egypt the square top of the great Pyramis 300 yards in height, and so the sultans palace in Grand Cairo, the country being plain, hath a marvellous faire prospect, as well over Nilus, as that great city, five Italian miles long, and two broad, by the river side: from mount Sion in Jerusalem the holy land is of all sides to be seen. Such high places are infinite: with us, those of the best note are Glassenbury tower, Bever castle, Rodway Grange, [q] Walsby in Lincolnshire, where I lately received a real kindness by the munificence of the right honourable my noble lady and patroness, the Lady Frances countess dowager of Exeter; and two amongst the rest, which I may not omit for vicinities sake, Oldbury in the confines of Warwickshire, where I have often looked about me with great delight, at the foot of which hill [r] I was born; and Hanbury in Staffordshire, contiguous to which is Falde a pleasant village, and an ancient patrimony belonging to our family, now in the possession of mine elder brother William Burton, esquire. [s] Barclay the Scot commends that of Greenwich tower for one of the best prospects in Europe, to see London on the one side, the Thames, ships, and pleasant meadows, on the other. There be those that say as much and more of St. Marks steeple in Venice. Yet these are too great a distance; some are especially affected with such objects as be near, to see passengers go by in some great rode way, or boats in a river, *in subjectum forum despicere*, to oversee a fair, a market-place, or out of a pleasant window into some thorough-fare street to behold a continual concourse, a promiscuous route, coming and going, or a multitude of spectators at a theater, a maske, or some such like shew. But I rove: the sum is this, that variety of actions, objects, aire, places, are excellent good in this infirmity, and all others, good for man, good for beast. [t] Constantine the emperour (*lib.* 18. *cap.* 13. *ex Leontio*) *holds it an only cure for rotten sheep, and any manner of sicke cattel.* Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, that great doctor, at the latter end of many of his consultations, (as commonly he doth set down what success his physik had) in melancholy most especially approves of this above all other remedies whatsoever, as appears, *consult.* 69, *consult.* 229, *&c.* [u] *Many other things helped; but change of aire was that which wrought the cure, and did most good.*

Memb. IV.—*Exercise rectified of Body and Minde.*

To that great inconvenience, which comes on the one side by immoderate and unseasonable exercise, too much solitariness and idleness on the other, must be opposed, as an antidote, a moderate and seasonable use of it, and that both of body and minde, as a most materiall circumstance, much conducing to this cure, and to the generall preservation of our health. The

[o] Laudaturque domus, longos quæ prospicit agros. [p] Many towns there are of that name, saith Adricomius, all high-sited. [q] Lately resigned for some speciall reasons. [r] At Lindley in Lecestershire, the possession and dwelling place of Ralph Burton, Esquire, my late deceased father. [s] In Icon animorum. [t] Ægrotantes oves in alium locum transportandæ sunt, ut alium aërem et aquam participantes, coalescant et corroborentur. [u] Alia utilia; sed ex mutatione aëris potissimum curatus.

heavens themselves run continually round; the sun riseth and sets; the moon increaseth and decreaseth; stars and planets keep their constant motions; the aire is still tossed by the winds: the waters eb and flow, to their conservation no doubt, to teach us that we should ever be in action. For which cause Hierom prescribes Rusticus the monk, that he be alwayes occupied about some business or other, [v] *that the devill do not find him idle.* [w] Seneca would have a man do something, though it be to no purpose. [x] Xenophon wisheth one rather to play at tables, dice, or make a jester of himself (though he might be far better imployed) than do nothing. The [y] Ægyptians of old, and many flourishing commonwealths since, have enjoyned labour and exercise to all sorts of men, to be of some vocation and calling, and to give an account of their time, to prevent those grievous mischiefs that come by idleness; *for, as fodder, whip, and burthen, belong to the asse, so meat, correction, and worke, unto the servant,* Ecclus. 33. 23. The Turks injoyn all men whatsoever, of what degree, to be of some trade or other: the grand Signior himself is not excused. [z] *In our memory* (saith Sabellicus) *Mahomet the Turke, he that conquered Greece, at that very time when he heard ambassadours of other princes, did either carve or cut wooden spoones, or frame something upon a table.* [a] This present sultan makes notches for bows. The Jews are most severe in this examination of time. All wel-governed places, towns, families, and every discreet person will be a law unto himself. But, amongst us, the badge of gentry is idleness: to be of no calling, not to labour (for that's derogatory to their birth), to be a meer spectator, a drone, *fruges consumere natus,* to have no necessary employment to busie himself about in church and commonwealth (some few governers exempted), *but to rise to eat,* &c. to spend his dayes in hawking, hunting, &c. and such like disports and recreations ([b] which our casuists tax), are the sole exercise almost and ordinary actions of our nobility, and in which they are too immoderate. And thence it comes to pass, that in city and country so many grievances of body and mind, and this ferall disease of melancholy so frequently rageth, and now domineers almost all over Europe amongst our great ones. They know not how to spend their times (disports excepted, which are all their business), what to do, or otherwise how to bestow themselves; like our modern Frenchmen, that had rather lose a pound of blood in a single combate, than a drop of sweat in any honest labour. Every man almost hath something or other to employ himself about, some vocation, some trade: but they do all by ministers and servants: *ad otia duntaxat se natos existimant, imo ad sui ipsius plerumque et aliorum perniciem,* [c] as one freely taxeth such kinde of men: they are all for pastimes; 'tis all their study; all their invention tends to this alone, to drive away time, as if they were born, some of them, to no other ends. Therefore to correct and avoid these errors and inconveniences, our divines, physicians, and politicians, so much labour, and so seriously exhort: and for this disease in particular, [d] *there can be no better cure than continuall business,* as Rhasis holds, *to have some employment or other, which may set their minde aworke, and distract their cogitations.* Riches may not easily be had without labour and industry, nor learning without study; neither can our health be improved without bodily exercise. If it be of the body, Guianerius allowes that exer-

[v] Ne te dæmon otiosum inveniat. [w] Præstat aliud agere quam nihil. [x] Lib. 3. de dictis Socratis. Qui tesseris et risus excitando vacant, aliquid faciunt, etsi liceret his meliora agere. [y] Amasis compelled every man once a year to tell how he lived. [z] Nostrâ memoriâ Mahometus Othomanus, qui Græciæ imperium subvertit, cum oratorum postulata audiret exterarum gentium, cochlearia lignea assidue cælabat, aut aliquid in tabulâ affingebat. [a] Sands, fol. 37. of his voyage to Jerusalem. [b] Perkins cases of conscience, l. 3. c. 4. q. 3. [c] Luscinius Grunnio. [d] Non est cura melior quam injungere iis necessaria, et opportuna; operum administratio illis magnum sanitatis incrementum, et quæ repleant animos eorum, et *incutiant ils diversas cogitationes.* Cont. 1. tract. 9.

cise, which is gentle, [e]*and still after those ordinary frications*, which must be used every morning. Montaltus (*cap.* 26) and Jason Pratensis use almost the same words, highly commending exercise, if it be moderate: *a wonderful help, so used*, Crato calls it, *and a great means to preserve our health, as adding strength to the whole body, increasing naturall heat, by means of which, the nutriment is well concocted in the stomacke, liver, and veines, few or no crudities left, is happily distributed over all the body.* Besides, it expells excrements by sweat, and other insensible vapours: in so much that [f]Galen prefers exercise before all physick, rectification of diet, or any regimen in what kinde soever; 'tis Natures physician. [g]Fulgentius (out of Gordonius, *de conserv. vit. hom lib.* 1. *cap.* 7) tearms exercise *a spur of a dull sleepy nature, the comforter of the members, cure of infirmity, death of diseases, destruction of all mischiefes and vices.* The fittest time for exercise is a little before dinner, a little before supper, [h]or at any time when the body is empty. Montanus (*consil.* 31) prescribes it every morning to his patient, and that, as [i]Calenus addes, *after he hath done his ordinary needs, rubbed his body, washed his hands and face, combed his head, and gargarised.* What kinde of exercise he should use, Galen tells us, *lib.* 2. *et* 3. *de sanit. tuend.* and in what measure, [j]*till the* body *be ready to sweat*, and roused up, *ad ruborem*, some say, *non ad sudorem*, lest it should dry the body too much; others injoyn those wholesome businesses, as to dig so long in his garden, to hold the plough, and the like. Some prescribe frequent and violent labour and exercises, as sawing every day, so long together, (*epid.* 6. Hippocrates confounds them) but that is in some cases, to some peculiar men; [k]the most forbid, and will by no means have it go farther than a beginning sweat, as being [l]perilous if it exceed.

Of these labours, exercises, and recreations, which are likewise included, some properly belong to the body, some to the mind, some more easie, some hard, some with delight, some without, some within doors, some naturall, some are artificiall. Amongst bodily exercises, Galen commends *ludum parvæ pilæ*, to play at ball: be it with the hand or racket, in tenniscourts, or otherwise, it exerciseth each part of the body, and doth much good, so that they sweat not too much. It was in great request of old amongst the Greeks, Romanes, Barbarians, mentioned by Homer, Herodotus, and Plinius. Some write that Aganella, a fair maide of Corcyra, was the inventer of it; for she presented the first ball that ever was made, to Nausica, the daughter of king Alcinous, and taught her how to use it.

The ordinary sports which are used abroad, are hawking, hunting: *hilares venandi labores*, [m]one calls them, because they recreate body and minde; [n]another, [o]*the best exercise that is, by which alone many have been* [p]*freed from all ferall diseases.* Hegesippus (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 37) relates of Herod, that he was eased of a grievous melancholy by that means. Plato (7 *de leg.*) highly magnifies it, dividing it into three parts, by land, water, ayre. Xenophon (in *Cyropæd.*) graces it with a great name, *Deorum munus*, the gift of the gods, a princely sport, which they have ever used, saith Langius, (*epist.* 59. *lib.* 2) as well for health as pleasure, and do at this day, it being the sole

[e] Ante exercitium, leves toto corpore frictiones conveniunt. Ad hunc morbum exercitationes, quum recte et suo tempore fiunt, mirifice conducunt, et sanitatem tuentur, &c. [f] Lib. 1. de san. tuend. [g] Exercitium naturæ dormientis stimulatio, membrorum solatium, morborum medela, fuga vitiorum, medicina languorum, destructio omnium malorum. Crato. [h] Alimentis in ventriculo probe concoctis. [i] Jejuno ventre, vesicâ et alvo ab excrementis purgato, fricatis membris, lotis manibus et oculis, &c. Lib. de atrâ bile. [j] Quousque corpus universum intumescat, et floridum appareat, sudoremque, &c. [k] Omnino sudorem vitent. cap. 7. lib. 1. Valescus de Tar. [l] Exercitium si excedat, valde periculosum. Sallust. Salvianus, de remed. lib. 2. cap. 1. [m] Camden in Staffordshire. [n] Fridevallius, lib. 1. cap. 2. Optima omnium exercitationum: multi ab hac solummodo morbis liberati. [o] Josephus Quercetanus, dial. polit. sect. 2. cap. 11. Inter omnia exercitia præstantiæ laudem meretur. [p] Chiron in monte Pelio, præceptor heroum, eos a morbis animi venationibus et puris cibis tuebatur. M. Tyrius.

almost and ordinary sport of our noblemen in Europe, and elsewhere all over the world. Bohemus (*de mor. gent. lib.* 3. *cap.* 12) stiles it therefore *studium nobilium; communiter venantur, quod sibi solis licere contendunt;* 'tis all their study, their exercise, ordinary business, all their talk: and indeed some dote too much after it; they can do nothing else, discourse of naught else. Paulas Jovius (*descr. Brit.*) doth in some sort tax our [q] *English nobility for it, for living in the country so much, and too frequent use of it, as if they had no other means but hawking and hunting to approve themselves gentlemen with.*

Hawking comes neer to hunting, the one in the aire, as the other on the earth, a sport as much affected as the other, by some preferred. [r] It was never heard of amongst the Romans, invented some 1200 years since, and first mentioned by Firmicus, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 8. The Greek emperours began it, and now nothing so frequent: he is nobody, that in the season hath not a hawke on his fist: a great art, and [s] many books written of it. It is a wonder to hear [t] what is related of the Turkes officers in this behalf, how many thousand men are employed about it, how many hawks of all sorts, how much revenewes consumed on that only disport, how much time is spent at Adrianople alone every year to that purpose. The [u] Persian kings hawk after butterflies with sparrows, made to that use, and stares; lesser hawks for lesser games they have, and bigger for the rest, that they may produce their sport to all seasons. The Muscovian emperours reclaime eagles to fly at hindes, foxes, &c. and such a one was sent for a present to [v] Queen Elizabeth; some reclaime ravens, castrils, pies, &c. and man them for their pleasures.

Fowling is more troublesome, but all out as delightsome to some sorts of men, be it with guns, lime, nets, glades, ginnes, strings, baits, pitfalls, pipes, calls, stawking-horses, setting-doggs, coy-ducks, &c. or otherwise. Some much delight to take larks with day-nets, small birds with chaffe-nets, plovers, partridge, herons, snite, &c. Henry the third, king of Castile, (as Mariana the Jesuite reports of him, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 7) was much affected [w] *with catching of quailes:* and many gentlemen take a singular pleasure at morning and evening to go abroad with their quaile-pipes, and will take any paines to satisfie their delight in that kinde. The [x] Italians have gardens fitted to such use, with nets, bushes, glades, sparing no cost or industry, and are very much affected with the sport. Tycho Brahe, that great astronomer, in the Chorography of his Isle of Huena, and castle of Uraniburge, puts down his nets, and manner of catching small birds as an ornament, and a recreation, wherein he himself was sometimes employed.

Fishing is a kinde of hunting by water, be it with nets, weeles, baits, angling or otherwise, and yeelds all out as much pleasure to some men, as dogs or hawks, [y] *when they draw their fish upon the bank*, saith Nic. Henselius, *Silesiographiæ cap.* 3, speaking of that extraordinary delight his countrymen took in fishing, and in making of pooles. James Dubravius, that Moravian, in his book *de pisc.* telleth, how travelling by the highway side in Silesia, he found a nobleman [z] *booted up to the groines*, wading himself, pulling the nets, and labouring as much as any fisherman of them all: and when some belike objected to him the baseness of his office, he excused himself, [a] *that if other men might hunt hares why should not he hunt carpes?* Many gentlemen in

[q] Nobilitas omnis fere urbes fastidit, castellis et liberiore cœlo gaudet, generisque dignitatem unâ maxime venatione et falconum aucupiis tuetur. [r] Jos. Scaliger, comment. in Cirin. fol. 344. Salmuth, 23 de Nov. repert. com. in Pancir. [s] Demetrius Constantinop. de re accipitrariâ liber, a P. Gillar Latine redditus. Ælius. epist. Aquilæ, Symmachi, et Theodotionis ad Ptolemæum, &c. [t] Lonicerus, Geffreus, Jovius. [u] S. Antony Sherlies relations. [v] Haclult. [w] Coturnicum aucupio. [x] Fines Morison, part. 3. c. 8. [y] Non majorem voluptatem animo capiunt, quam qui feras insectantur, aut missis canibus comprehendunt, quum retia trahentes, squamosas pecudes in ripas adducunt. [z] More piscatorum cruribus ocreatus. [a] Si principibus venatio leporis non sit inhonesta, nescio quomodo piscatio cyprinorum videri debeat pudenda.

like sort, with us, will wade up to the arm-holes, upon such occasions, and voluntarily undertake that to satisfie their pleasure, which a poor man for a good stipend would scarce be hired to undergo. Plutarch, in his book *de soler. animal.* speaks against all fishing, [b]*as a filthy, base, illiberall imployment, having neither wit nor perspicacity in it, nor worth the labour.* But he that shall consider the variety of baits, for all seasons, and pretty devices which our anglers have invented, peculiar lines, false flies, severall sleights, &c. will say, that it deserves like commendation, requires as much study and perspicacity as the rest, and is to be preferred before many of them; because hawking and hunting are very laborious, much riding, and many dangers accompany them; but this is still and quiet: and if so be the angler catch no fish, yet he hath a wholesome walk to the brook side, pleasant shade, by the sweet silver streams; he hath good aire, and sweet smels of fine fresh meadow flowers; he hears the melodious harmony of birds; he sees the swans, herons, ducks, water-hens, cootes, &c. and many other fowle, with their brood, which he thinketh better than the noise of hounds, or blast of hornes, and all the sport that they can make.

Many other sports and recreations there be, much in use, as ringing, bowling, shooting, which Askam commends in a just volume, and hath in former times been injoyned by statute, as a defensive exercise, and an [c] honour to our land, as well may witness our victories in France; keelpins, tronks, coits, pitching bars, hurling, wrestling, leaping, running, fencing, mustring, swimming, wasters, foiles, foot-ball, balown, quintans, &c. and many such, which are the common recreations of the country folks; riding of great horses, running at rings, tilts and turnaments, horse-races, wilde-goose chases, which are the disports of greater men, and good in themselves, though many gentlemen, by that means, gallop quite out of their fortunes.

But the most pleasant of all outward pastimes is that of [d] Aretæus, *deambulatio per amœna loca*, to make a petty progress, a merry journey now and then with some good companions, to visit friend, see cities, castles, towns.

> [e] Visere sæpe amnes nitidos, peramœnaque Tempe,
> Et placidas summis sectari in montibus auras:
>
> To see the pleasant fields, the crystall fountains,
> And take the gentle aire amongst the mountains:

[f] to walk amongst orchards, gardens, bowers, mounts, and arbours, artificiall wildernesses, green thickets, arches, groves, lawns, rivulets, fountains and such like pleasant places, like that Antiochian Daphne, brooks, pooles, fish-ponds, betwixt wood and water, in a fair meadow, by a river side, [g] *ubi variæ avium cantationes, florum colores, pratorum frutices, &c.* to disport in some pleasant plain, park, run up a steep hill sometimes, or sit in a shady seat, must needs be a delectable recreation. *Hortus principis et domus ad delectationem facta, cum sylvâ, monte, et piscinâ, vulgo La Montagna:* the princes garden at Ferrara, [h] Schottus highly magnifies, with the groves, mountaines, ponds, for a delectable prospect: he was much affected with it: a Persian paradise, or pleasant parke, could not be more delectable in his sight. S. Bernard, in the description of his monastery, is almost ravished with the pleasures of it. *A sick* [i] *man* (saith he) *sits upon a green bank; and, when the dog-star parcheth the plaines, and dries up rivers, he lies in a shadie bowre,* Fronde sub arboreâ ferventia temperat astra, *and feeds his eyes with variety of objects, hearbs, trees:*

[b] Omnino turpis piscatio, nullo studio digna, illiberalis credita est, quod nullum habet ingenium, nullam perspicaciam. [c] Præcipua hinc Anglis gloria, crebræ victoriæ partæ. Jovius. [d] Cap. 7. [e] Fracastorius. [f] Ambulationes subdiales, quas hortenses aurœ ministrant, sub fornice viridi, pampinis virentibus concamerată. [g] Theophylact. [h] Itinerar. Ital. [i] Sedet ægrotus cæspite viridi; et cum inclementia remicularis terras excoquit, et siccat flumina, ipse securus sedet sub arboreâ fronde, et, ad doloris sui solatium, naribus suis gramineas redolet species; pascit oculos herbarum amœna viriditas; aures suavi modulamine demulcet pictarum concentus avium, &c. Deus bone! quanta pauperibus procuras solatia!

and to comfort his misery, he receives many delightsome smels and fits his ears with that sweet and various harmony of birdes. Good God! (saith he) *what a company of pleasures hast thou made for man!* He that should be admitted on a sudden to the sight of such a palace as that of Escuriall in Spain, or to that which the Moores built at Granado, Fountenblewe in France, the Turkes gardens in his seraglio, wherein all manner of birds and beasts are kept for pleasure, wolves, bears, lynces, tygers, lyons, elephants, &c. or upon the banks of that Thracian Bosphorus: the popes Belvedere in Rome [j] as pleasing as those *horti pensiles* in Babylon, or that Indian kings delightsome garden in [k] Ælian; or [l] those famous gardens of the Lord Cantelow in France, could not choose, though he were never so ill apaid, but be much recreated for the time; or many of our noblemens gardens at home. To take a boat in a pleasant evening, and with musick [m] to row upon the waters, which Plutarch so much applaudes, Ælian admires, upon the river Peneus, in those Thessalian fields beset with green bayes, where birds so sweetly sing, that passengers, enchanted as it were with their heavenly musick, *omnium laborum et curarum obliviscantur*, forget forthwith all labours, care and grief; or in a gundilo through the grand canale in Venice, to see those goodly palaces, must needs refresh and give content to a melancholy dull spirit. Or to see the inner roomes of a fair-built and sumptuous ædifice, as that of the Persian kings so much renowned by Diodorus and Curtius, in which all was almost beaten gold [n] chaires, stooles, thrones, tabernacles, and pillars of gold, plane trees, and vines of gold, grapes of precious stones, all the other ornaments of pure gold,

(° Fulget gemma toris, et iaspide fulva supellex;
Strata micant Tyrio——)

with sweet odours and perfumes, generous wines, opiparous fare, &c. besides the gallantest young men, the fairest [p] virgins, *puellæ scitulæ ministrantes*, the rarest beauties the world could afford, and those set out with costly and curious attires, *ad stuporem usque spectantium*, with exquisite musick, as in [q] Trimalchions house, in every chamber, sweet voices ever sounding day and night, *incomparabilis luxus*, all delights and pleasures in each kinde which to please the senses could possibly be devised or had, *convivæ coronati, deliciis ebrii, &c.* Telemachus in Homer is brought in as one ravished almost, at the sight of that magnificent palace, and rich furniture of Menelaus, when he beheld

[r] Æris fulgorem, et resonantia tecta corusco
Auro, atque electro nitido, sectoque elephanto,
Argentoque simul. Talis Jovis ardua sedes,
Aulaque Cœlicolûm stellans splendiscit Olympo.

Such glittering of gold and brightest brass to shine,
Cleer amber, silver pure, and ivory so fine:
Jupiters lofty palace, where the gods do dwell,
Was even such a one, and did it not excell.

It will *laxare animos*, refresh the soule of man, to see fair-built cities, streets, theaters, temples, obelisks, &c. The temple of Jerusalem was so fairly built of white marble, with so many pyramids covered with gold; *tectumque templi, fulvo coruscans auro, nimio suo fulgore obcæcabat oculos itinerantium*, was so glorious and so glistered afar off, that the spectators might not well abide the sight of it. But the inner parts were all so curiously set out with cedar, gold, jewels, &c. (as he said of Cleopatras palace in Egypt, ——[s] *Crassumque trabes absconderat aurum*) that the beholders were amazed. What so pleasant as to see some pageant or sight go by, as at coronations, weddings, and such like solemnities; — to see an embassadour or a prince met, received, entertained with masks, shewes, fireworks, &c. — to see two kings fight in single combat, as Porus and Alex-

[j] Diod. Siculus, lib. 2. [k] Lib. 13. de animal. cap. 13. [l] Pet. Gillius. Paul. Hentzerus, Itinerar. Italiæ, 1617. Jod. Sincerus, Itinerar. Galliæ, 1617. Simp. lib. 1. quæst. 4. [m] Jucundissima deambulatio juxta mare, et navigatio prope terram.—In utrâque fluminis ripâ. [n] Aurei panes, aurea opsonia, via margarituum aceto subacta, &c. [o] Lucan. [p] 300 pellices, pocillatores, et pincernæ innumeri, ueri loti purpurâ induti, &c. ex omnium pulchritudine delecti. [q] Ubi omnia cantu strepunt. [r] Odyss. [s] Lucan l. 8.

ander, Canutus and Edmond Ironside, Scanderbeg and Ferat Bassa the Turke, when not honour alone but life it self was at stake, (as the [t] poet of Hector,

——————nec enim pro tergore tauri,
Pro bove nec certamen erat, quæ præmia cursûs
Esse solent, sed pro magni vitâque animâque
Hectoris);——

to behold a battle fought, like that of Cressy, or Agencourt, or Poictiers, *quo nescio* (saith Froissard) *an vetustas ullam proferre possit clariorem*;—to see one of Cæsars triumphs in old Rome revived, or the like;—to bee present at an interview, [u] as that famous of Henry the 8th, and Francis the first, so much renowned all over Europe: *ubi tanto arraratu* (saith Hubertus Vellius) *tamque triumphali pompâ ambo reges cum eorum conjugibus coiére, ut nulla unquam ætas tam celebria festa viderit aut audierit*, no age ever saw the like. So infinitely pleasant are such shews, to the sight of which often times they will come hundreths of miles, give any mony for a place, and remember many years after with singular delight. Bodine, when he was embassador in England, said he saw the noblemen go in their robes to the parliament house, *summâ cum jucunditate vidimus*; he was much affected with the sight of it. Pomponius Columna, saith Jovius in his life, saw 13 Frenchmen, and so many Italians, once fight for a whole army: *quod jucundissimum spectaculum in vitâ dicit suâ*, the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life. Who would not have been affected with such a spectacle? Or that single combat of [v] Breaute the Frenchman, and Anthony Schets a Dutchman, before the walls of Sylvaducis, in Brabant, anno 1600. They were 22 horse on the one side, as many on the other, which, like Livies Horatii, Torquati, and Corvini, fought for their own glory and countries honour, in the sight and view of their whole city and army. [w] When Julius Cæsar warred about the bankes of Rhene, there came a barbarian prince to see him and the Roman army; and when he had beheld Cæsar a good while, [x] *I see the gods now*, (saith he) *which before I heard of, nec feliciorem ullam vitæ meæ aut optavi aut sensi diem*: it was the happiest day that ever he had in his life. Such a sight alone were able of it self to drive away melancholy; if not for ever, yet it must needs expell it for a time. Radzivilius was much taken with the bassas palace in Cairo; and, amongst many other objects which that place afforded, with that solemnity of cutting the bankes of Nilus, by Imbram Bassa, when it overflowed, besides two or three hundred guilded gallies on the water, he saw two millions of men gathered together on the land, with turbants as white as snow; and twas a goodly sight. The very reading of feasts, triumphs, interviews, nuptials, tilts, turnaments, combats, and monomachies, is most acceptable and pleasant. [y] Franciscus Modius hath made a large collection of such solemnities in two great tomes, which who so will may peruse. The inspection alone of those curious iconographies of temples and palaces, as that of the Lateran church in Albertus Durer, that of the temple of Jerusalem in [z] Josephus, Adricomius, and Villalpandus: that of the Escuriall in Guadas, of Diana at Ephesus in Pliny, Neros golden palace in Rome, [a] Justinians in Constantinople, that Peruvian Ingos in [b] Cusco, *ut non ab hominibus, sed à dæmoniis, constructum videatur*; S. Marks in Venice by Ignatius, with many such; *priscorum artificum opera* (saith that [c] interpreter of Pausanias) the rare workmanship of those ancient Greeks, in theaters, obelisks, temples, statues, gold, silver, ivory, marble images, *non minore ferme, quum leguntur, quam quum cernuntur, animum delectatione complent*, affect one as much by reading almost, as by sight.

The country hath his recreations, the city his severall gymnicks and exer-

[t] Iliad. 10. [u] Betwixt Ardes and Guines, 1519. [v] Senertius, in delicils, fol. 487. Veteri Horatiorum exemplo, virtute et successu admirabili, cæsis hostibus 17 in conspectu patriæ, &c. [w] Paterculus, vol. post. [x] Quos antea audivi, inquit, hodie vidi Deos. [y] Pandectæ Triumph. fol. [z] Lib. 6. cap. 14. de bello Jud. [a] Procopius. [b] Laët. lib. 10. Amer. descript. [c] Romulus Amaseus, præfat. Pausan.

cises, may-games, feasts, wakes, and merry meetings, to solace themselves. The very being in the country, that life it self, is a sufficient recreation to some men, to enjoy such pleasures, as those old patriarcks did. Dioclesian the emperour was so much affected with it, that he gave over his scepter, and turned gardiner. Constantine wrote 20 books of husbandry. Lysander, when embassadours came to see him, bragged of nothing more, than of his orchard: *hi sunt ordines mei.* What shall I say of Cincinnatus, Cato, Tully, and many such? how they have been pleased with it, to prune, plant, inoculate, and graft, to shew so many severall kindes of pears, apples, plums, peaches, &c.

[d] Nunc captare feras laqueo, nunc fallere visco,
Atque etiam magnos canibus circumdare saltus,
Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres.

Sometimes with traps deceive, with line and string
To catch wild birds and beasts, encompassing
The grove with dogs, and out of bushes firing.

——— et nidos avium scrutari, &c.

Jucundus, in his preface to Cato, Varro, Columella, &c. put out by him, confesseth of himself, that he was mightily delighted with these husbandry studies, and took extraordinary pleasure in them. If the theorick or speculation can so much affect, what shall the place and exercise it self, the practick part, do? The same confession I find in Herbastein, Porta, Camerarius, and many others, which have written of that subject. If my testimony were ought worth, I could say as much of myself; I am *vere Saturninus;* no man ever took more delight in springs, woods, groves, gardens, walks, fishponds, rivers, &c. But

Tantalus à labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina;

and so do I: *velle licet; potiri non licet.*

Every palace, every city almost, hath his peculiar walkes, cloysters, tarraces, groves, theaters, pageants, games, and severall recreations; every country, some professed gymnicks, to exhilarate their minds, and exercise their bodyes. The [e] Greeks had their Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean games, in honour of Neptune, Jupiter, Apollo; Athens, hers; some for honour, garlands, crowns; for [f] beauty, dancing, running, leaping, like our silver games. The [g] Romanes had their feasts (as the Athenians and Lacedæmonians held their publike banquets *in Prytanco, Panathenæis, Thesmophoriis, Phiditiis*), plays, naumachies, places for sea-fights, [h] theaters, amphitheaters able to contain 70000 men, wherein they had severall delightsome shews to exhilarate the people; [i] gladiators, combats of men with themselves, with wild beasts, and wild beasts one with another, like our bull-baitings, or bear-baitings (in which many countrymen and citizens amongst us so much delight and so frequently use), dancers on ropes, juglers, wrestlers, comedies, tragedies, publikely exhibited at the emperours and cities charge, and that with incredible cost and magnificence. In the Low-countries, (as [j] Meteran relates) before these wars, they had many solemn feasts, playes, challenges, artillery gardens, colleges of rimers, rhetoricians, poets: and to this day, such places are curiously maintained in Amsterdam, as appears by that description of Isaacus Pontanus, *rerum Amstelrod. lib.* 2. *cap.* 25. So likewise not long since at Friburg in Germany, as is evident by that relation of [k] Neander, they had *ludos septennales,* solemn playes every seven years, which Bocerus one of their own poets hath elegantly described:

At nunc magnifico spectacula structa paratu
Quid memorem, veteri non concessura Quirino
Ludorum pompâ, &c.

[d] Virg. 1. Geor. [e] Boterus. lib. 3. polit. cap. 1. [f] See Athenæus, dipnoso. [g] Ludi votivi, sacri, ludicri, Megalenses, Cereales, Florales, Martiales, &c. Rosinus, 5. 12. [h] See Lipsius, Amphitheatrum. Rosinus, lib. 5. Meursius de ludis Græcorum. [i] 1500 men at once, tigers, lions, elephants, horses, dogs, beares, &c. [j] Lib. ult. et l. 1. ad finem. Consuetudine non minus laudabili, quam veteri, contubernia rhetorum, rhythmicorum in urbibus et municipiis; certisque diebus exercebant se sagittarii, gladiatores, &c. Alia ingenii, animique exercitia, quorum præcipuum studium, *principem populum* tragœdiis, comœdiis, fabulis scenicis, aliisque id genus ludis recreare. [k] Orbis *terræ descript. part.* 3.

In Italy they have solemn declamations of certain select young gentlemen in Florence (like those reciters in old Rome), and publike theaters in most of their cities for stage-players and others, to exercise and recreate themselves. All seasons almost, all places, have their severall pastimes; some in sommer, some in winter; some abroad, some within; some of the body, some of the minde; and divers men have divers recreations, and exercises. Domitian the emperour was much delighted with catching flies; Augustus to play with nuts amongst children; [l] Alexander Severus was often pleased to play with whelps and young pigs. [m] Adrian was so wholly enamoured with dogs and horses, that he bestowed monuments and tombes on them, and buried them in graves. In fowle weather, or when they can use no other convenient sports, by reason of the time, as we do cock-fighting to avoide idleness I think, (though some be more seriously taken with it, spend much time, cost and charges, and are too solicitous about it.) [n] Severus used partridges and quailes, as many Frenchmen do still, and to keep birds in cages, with which he was much pleased, when at any time he had leisure from publike cares and businesses. He had (said Lampridius) tame pheasants, ducks, partridges, peacocks, and some 20000 ringdoves and pigeons. Busbequius, the emperors orator, when he lay in Constantinople, and could not stir much abroad, kept for his recreation, busying himself to see them fed, almost all manner of strange birds and beasts; this was something, though not to exercise his body, yet to refresh his minde. Conradus Gesner, at Zurick in Switzerland, kept so likewise for his pleasure a great company of wilde beasts, and (as he saith) took great delight to see them eat their meat. Turkie gentlewomen, that are perpetuall prisoners, still mewed up according to the custome of the place, have little else besides their household business, or to play with their children, to drive away time, but to dally with their cats, which they have *in deliciis*, as many of our ladies and gentlewomen use monkies and little doggs. The ordinary recreations which we have in winter, and in most solitary times busie our minds with, are cardes, tables and dice, shovelboard, chesse-play, the philosophers game, small trunks, shuttlecock, balliards, musick, masks, singing, dancing, ulegames, frolicks, jests, riddles, catches, purposes, questions, and commands, [o] merry tales of errant knights, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfes, theeves, cheaters, witches, fayries, goblins, friers, &c. such as the old women told Psyche in [p] Apuleius, Bocace novels, and the rest, *quarum auditione, pueri, delectantur, senes narratione*, which some delight to hear, some to tell; all are well pleased with. Amaranthus the philosopher met Hermocles, Diophantus, and Philolaus, his companions, one day busily discoursing about Epicurus and Democritus tenents, very solicitous which was most probable, and came nearest to truth. To put them out of that surly controversie, and to refresh their spirits, he told them a pleasant tale of Stratocles the physicians wedding, and of all the particulars, the company, the chear, the musick, &c. for he was new come from it; with which relation they were so much delighted, that Philolaus wished a blessing to his heart, and many a good wedding, [q] many such merry meetings might he be at, *to please himself with the sight, and others with the narration of it.* Newes are generally welcome to all our ears; *avide audimus; aures enim hominum novitate lævantur*, ([r] as Pliny observes,) we long after rumour, to hear and listen to it; [s] *densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.* We are most part too inquisitive and apt to hearken after newes,

[l] Lampridius. [m] Spartian. [n] Delectatus lusu catulorum, porcellorum, ut perdices inter se pugnarent, aut ut aves parvulæ sursum et deorsum volitarent, his maxime delectatus, ut solicitudines publicas sublevaret. [o] Brumales læte ut possint producere noctes. [p] Mile s. 4. [q] O Dii! simbillibus sæpe convivils date ut ipse videndo delectetur, et postmodum narrando delectet. Theod. prodromus Amorum, dial. interpret. Gilberto Gaulinio. [r] Epist. lib. 8. Ruffino. [s] Hor.

which Cæsar in his [t]Commentaries observes of the old Gaules; they would be enquiring of every carrier and passenger, what they had heard or seen, what newes abroad?

——quid toto fiat in orbe,
Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, secreta novercæ,
Et pueri, quis amet, &c.

as at an ordinary with us, bakehouse, or barbers shop. When that great Gonsalva was upon some displeasure confined by king Ferdinand to the city of Loxa in Andalusia, the onely comfort (saith [u]Jovius) he had to ease his melancholy thoughts, was to hear newes, and to listen after those ordinary occurrents, which were brought him, *cum primis*, by letters or otherwise out of the remotest parts of Europe. Some mens whole delight is to take tobacco, and drink all day long in a tavern or alehouse, to discourse, sing, jest, roare, talk of a cock and bull over a pot, &c. or, when three or four good companions meet, tell old stories by the fire side, or in the sun, as old folkes usually do, *quæ aprici meminêre senes*, remembring afresh and with pleasure ancient matters, and such like accidents, which happened in their younger yeares. Others best pastime is to game; nothing to them so pleasant. [v]*Hic Veneri indulget, hunc decoquit alea.*——Many too nicely take exceptions at cardes, [w]tables, and dice, and such mixt lusorious lots (whom Gataker well confutes), which, though they be honest recreations in themselves, yet may justly be otherwise excepted at, as they are often abused, and forbidden as things most pernicious; *insanam rem et damnosam*, [x]Lemnius calls it: *for, most part, in these kind of disports, 'tis not art or skill, but subtilty, cunnycatching, knavery, chance and fortune, carries all away:* 'tis *ambulatoria pecunia*,

——puncto mobilis horæ
Permutat dominos, et cedit in altera jura.

They labour, most part, not to pass their time in honest disport, but for filthy lucre, and covetousness of money. *In fœdissimum lucrum et avaritiam hominum convertitur*, as Daneus observes. *Fons fraudum et maleficiorum*, 'tis the fountain of cosenage and villany: [y]*a thing so common all over Europe at this day, and so generally abused, that many men are utterly undone by it*, their means spent, patrimonies consumed, they and their posterity beggered; besides swearing, wrangling, drinking, loss of time, and such inconveniences, which are ordinary concomitants; [z]*for when once they have got a haunt of such companies, and habit of gaming, they can hardly be drawn from it; but, as an itch, it will tickle them; and, as it is with whoremasters, once entered, they cannot easily leave it off: vexat mentes insana cupido*, they are mad upon their sport. And in conclusion (which Charles the Seventh, that good French king, published in an edict against gamesters) *unde piæ et hilaris vitæ suffugium sibi suisque liberis, totique familiæ, &c.* that which was once their livelihood, should have maintained wife, children, family, is now spent and gone; *mœror et egestas*, &c. sorrow and beggery succeeds. So good things may be abused; and that which was first invented to [a]refresh mens weary spirits when they come from other labours and studies, to exhilarate the minde, to entertain time and company, tedious otherwise in those long solitary winter nights, and keep them from worse matters, an honest exercise is contrarily perverted.

[t] Lib. 4. Gallicæ consuetudinis est, ut viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant, et quid quisque eorum de quâque re audierit aut cognôrit, quærant. [u] Vitæ ejus, lib. ult. [v] Juven. [w] They account them unlawful, because sortilegious. [x] Instit. c. 44. In his ludis plerumque non ars aut peritia viget, sed fraus, fallacia, dolus, astutia, casus, fortuna, temeritas, locum habent, non ratio, consilium, sapientia, &c. [y] Abusus tam frequens hodie in Europâ, ut plerique crebro harum usu patrimonium profundant, exhaustisque facultatibus, ad inopiam rediguntur. [z] Ubi semel prurigo ista animum occupat, ægre discuti potest; sollicitantibus undique ejusdem farinæ hominibus, damnosas illas voluptates repetunt; quod et scortatoribus insinitum, &c. [a] Instituitur ista exercitatio, non lucri, *sed* valetudinis et oblectamenti ratione, et quo animus defatigatus respiret, novasque vires ad subeundos *labores denuo concipiat.*

Chesse-play is a good and witty exercise of the mind, for some kind of men, and fit for such melancholy (Rhasis holds) as are idle, and have extravagant impertinent thoughts, or troubled with cares; nothing better to distract their mind, and alter their meditations; invented (some say) by the [b]generall of an army in a famine, to keep souldiers from mutiny: but if it proceed from over much study, in such a case it may do more harm than good; it is a game too troublesome for some mens braines, too full of anxiety, all out as bad as study; besides, it is a testy cholerick game, and very offensive to him that loseth the mate. [c]William the Conqueror, in his younger yeares playing at chesse with the prince of France, (Dauphine was not annexed to that crown in those dayes) losing a mate, knocked the chesse-board about his pate, which was a cause afterward of much enmity betwixt them. For some such reason it is, belike, that Patritius (in his 3 book, *Tit.* 12. *de reg. instit.*) forbids his prince to play at chesse: hawking and hunting, riding, &c. he will allow; and this to other men, but by no means to him. In Muscovy, where they live in stoves and hot houses all winter long, come seldome or little abroad, it is again very necessary, and therefore in those parts, (saith [d]Herbastein) much used. At Fessa in Africk, where the like inconvenience of keeping within doors is through heat, it is very laudable; and (as [e]Leo Afer relates) as much frequented: a sport fit for idle gentlemen, souldiers in garrison, and courtiers that have nought but love matters to busie themselves about, but not altogether so convenient for such as are students. The like I may say of Cl. Bruxers philosophy game, D. Fulkes *Metromachia* and his *Ouranomachia*, with the rest of those intricate astrologicall and geometricall fictions, for such especially as are mathematically given; and the rest of those curious games.

Dancing, singing, masking, mumming, stage-plaies, howsoever they be heavily censured by some severe Catoes, yet, if opportunely and soberly used, may justly be approved. *Melius est fodere, quam saltare*, saith Austin: but what is that, if they delight in it? [f]*Nemo saltat sobrius.* But in what kinde of dance? I know these sports have many oppugners, whole volumes writ against them: when as all they say (if duly considered) is but *ignoratio elenchi*; and some again, because they are now cold and wayward, past themselves, cavel at all youthfull sports in others, as he did in the comedy; they think them *illico nasci senes, &c.* Some, out of præposterous zeal, object many times triviall arguments, and, because of some abuse, will quite take away the good use, as if they should forbid wine, because it makes men drunk; but, in my judgement, they are too stern: there *is a time for all things, a time to mourne, a time to dance* (Eccles. 3. 4); *a time to embrace, a time not to embrace* (vers. 5); *and nothing better than that a man should rejoyce in his own works* (vers. 22). For my part, I will subscribe to the *kings declaration*, and was ever of that mind, those May-games, wakes, and Whitsonales, &c. if they be not at unseasonable hours, may justly be permitted. Let them freely feast, sing, and dance, have their poppet-playes, hobby-horses, tabers, crouds, bag-pipes, &c. play at ball, and barley-breaks, and what sports and recreations, they like best. In Franconia, a province of Germany, (saith [g]Aubanus Bohemus) the old folks, after evening prayer, went to the ale-house, the younger sort to dance: and, to say truth with [h]Sarisburiensis, *satius fuerat sic otiari, quam turpius occupari*, better do so than worse, as without question otherwise (such is the corruption of mans nature) many of them will do. For that cause, playes, masks, jesters, gladi-

[b] Latrunculorum ludus inventus est à duce, ut, cum miles intolerabili fame laboraret, altero die edens, altero iudens, famis obliviscereture. Bellonius. See more of this game in Daniel Souters Palamedes, vel de variis ludis, l. 3. [c] D. Hayward, in vitâ ejus. [d] Muscovit. commentariuno. [e] Inter cives Fessanos latrunculorum ludus est usitatissimus. lib. 3. de Africâ. [f] Tullius. [g] De mor. gent. [h] Polycrat. l. 1. cap. 8.

ators, tumblers, juglers, &c. and all that crew is admitted and winked at: [j] *tota jocularium scena procedit, et ideo spectacula admissa sunt, et infinita tyrocinia vanitatum, ut his occupentur, qui perniciosius otiari solent:* that they might be busied about such toyes, that would otherwise more perniciously be idle. So that, as [g] Tacitus said of the astrologers in Rome, we may say of them, *genus hominum est, quod in civitate nostrâ et vitabitur semper et retinebitur;* they are a deboshed company, most part, still spoken against, as well they deserve some of them, (for I so relish and distinguish them as fidlers, and musicians) and yet ever retained. *Evil is not to be done* (I confess), *that good may come out of it:* but this is evil *per accidens*, and, in a qualified sense, to avoide a greater inconvenience, may justly be tolerated. Sr Thomas Moore, in his Utopian Commonwealth, [k] *as he will have none idle, so will he have no man labour over hard, to be toiled out like an horse: 'tis more than slavish infelicity, the life of most of our hired servants, and tradesmen elsewhere* (excepting his Utopians): *but half the day allotted for work, and half for honest recreation, or whatsoever imployment they shall think fit for themselves.* If one half-day in the week were allowed to our household servants for their merry meetings, by their hard masters, or in a year some feasts, like those Roman Saturnals, I think they would labour harder all the rest of their time, and both parties be better pleased: but this needs not (you will say); for some of them do nought but loyter all the week long.

This, which I aim at, is for such as are *fracti animis*, troubled in mind, to ease them, over-toiled on the one part, to refresh: over idle on the other, to keep themselves busied. And to this purpose, as any labour or imployment will serve to the one, any honest recreation will conduce to the other, so that it be moderate and sparing, as the use of meat and drink; not to spend all their life in gaming, playing, and pastimes, as too many gentlemen do; but to revive our bodies and recreate our souls with honest sports: of which as there be divers sorts, and peculiar to severall callings, ages, sexes, conditions, so there be proper for severall seasons, and those of distinct natures, to fit that variety of humors which is amongst them, that if one will not, another may: some in summer, some in winter, some gentle, some more violent, some for the mind alone, some for the body and mind: (as, to some, it is both business and a pleasant recreation to oversee workmen of all sorts, husbandry, cattle, horse, &c. to build, plot, project, to make models, cast up accompts, &c.) some without, some within doors: new, old, &c. as the season serveth, and as men are inclined. It is reported of Philippus Bonus, that good duke of Burgundy, (by Lodovicus Vives, in *Epist.* and Pont. [l] Heuter in his history) that the said duke, at the marriage of Eleonora, sister to the king of Portugal, at Bruges in Flanders, which was solemnized in the deep of winter, when as by reason of unseasonable weather he could neither hawk nor hunt, and was now tired with cards, dice, &c., and such other domestical sports, or to see ladies dance, with some of his courtiers, he would in the evening walk disguised all about the town. It so fortuned as he was walking late one night, he found a country fellow dead drunk, snorting on a bulk: [m] he caused his followers to bring him to his palace, and there stripping him of his old cloaths, and attiring him after the court fashion, when he waked, he and they were all ready to attend upon his excellency, perswading him he was some great duke. The poor fellow, admiring how he came there, was served in state all the day long; after supper he saw them dance, heard musick, and the rest of those

[j] Polycrat. Sarisburiensis. [g] Hist. lib. 1. [k] Nemo desidet otiosus; ita nemo asinino more ad seram noctem laborat; nam ea plusquam servilis ærumna, quæ opificum vita est, exceptis Utopiensibus, qui diem in 24 horas dividunt, 12 duntaxat operi deputant, reliquum somno et cibo cujusque arbitrio permittitur. [l] Rerum Burgund. lib. 4. [m] Jussit hominem deferri ad palatium, et [illegible] collocari, &c. Mirari *homo, ubi se eo loci videt.*

court-like pleasures: but late at night, when he was well tipled, and again fast asleep, they put on his old robes, and so conveighed him to the place where they first found him. Now the fellow had not made them so good sport the day before, as he did when he returned to himself: all the jest was, to see how he [n]looked upon it. In conclusion, after some little admiration, the poor man told his friends he had seen a vision, constantly believed it, would not otherwise be perswaded; and so the jest ended. [o]Antiochus Epiphanes would often disguise himself, steal from his court, and go into merchants, goldsmiths, and other tradesmens shops, sit and talk with them, and sometimes ride, or walke alone, and fall aboord with any tinker, clowne, serving man, carrier, or whomsoever he met first. Sometimes he did *ex insperato* give a poor fellow money, to see how he would look, or on set purpose lose his purse as he went, to watch who found it, and withall how he would be affected; and with such objects he was much delighted. Many such tricks are ordinarily put in practice by great men, to exhilarate themselves and others; all which are harmless jests, and have their good uses.

But, amongst those exercises, or recreations of the minde within doors, there is none so generall, so aptly to be applyed to all sorts of men, so fit and proper to expell idleness and melancholy, as that of study. *Studia senectutem oblectant, adolescentiam alunt, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium et solatium præbent, domi delectant, &c.* find the rest in Tully *pro Archiâ Poëtâ.* What so full of content, as to read, walke, and see mappes, pictures, statues, jewels, marbles, which some so much magnifie, as those that Phidias made of old, so exquisite and pleasing to be beheld, that (as [p]Chrysostome thinketh) *if any man be sickly, troubled in minde, or that cannot sleep for griefe, and shall but stand over against one of Phidias images, he will forget all care, or whatsoever else may molest him, in an instant?* There be those as much taken with Michael Angelos, Raphael d'Urbinos, Francesco Francias pieces, and many of those Italian and Dutch painters, which were excellent in their ages; and esteem of it as a most pleasing sight, to view those neat architectures, devices, scutchions, coats of armes, read such bookes, to peruse old coynes of severall sorts in a fair gallery; artificiall works, perspective glasses, old reliques, Roman antiquities, variety of colours. A good picture is *falsa veritas, et muta poësis:* and though (as [q]Vives saith) *artificialia delectant, sed mox fastidimus,* artificiall toyes please but for a time; yet who is he that will not be moved with them for the present? When Achilles was tormented and sad for the loss of his dear friend Patroclus, his mother Thetis brought him a most elaborate and curious buckler made by Vulcan, in which were engraven sun, moon, stars, planets, sea, land, men, fighting, running, riding, women scolding, hils, dales, towns, castles, brooks, rivers, trees, &c. with many pretty landskips, and perspective pieces; with sight of which he was infinitely delighted, and much eased of his grief.

> [r]Continuo eo spectaculo captus, delenito mœrore,
> Oblectabatur, in manibus tenens Dei splendida dona.

Who will not be affected so in like case, or to see those welfurnished cloisters and galleries of those Roman cardinals, so richly stored with all modern pictures, old statues and antiquities? *Cum se spectando recreet simul et legendo,* to see their pictures alone, and read the description, as [s]Boissardus well addes, whom will it not affect? which Bozius, Pomponius Lætus, Marlianus, Schottus, Cavelerius, Ligorius, &c. and he himself hath well performed of late. Or in

[n]Quid interest, inquit Lodovicus Vives, (epist. ad Francisc. Barducem) inter diem illius et nostros aliquot annos? nihil penitus, nisi quod, &c. [o]Hen. Stephan. præfat. Herodoti. [p]Orat. 12. Siquis animo fuerit afflictus aut æger, nec somnum admittens, is mihi videtur, è regione stans talis imaginis, oblitisci omnium posse, quæ humanæ vitæ atrocia et difficilia accidere solent. [q]De animâ. [r]Iliad. 19. [s]Topogr. Rom. part. 1.

some princes cabinets, like that of the great dukes in Florence, of Felix Platerus in Brasil, or noblemens houses, to see such variety of attires, faces, so many, so rare, and such exquisite peeces, of men, birds, beasts, &c. to see those excellent landskips, Dutch-works, and curious cuts of Sadlier of Prage, Albertus Durer, Goltzius, Urintes, &c. such pleasant peeces of perspective, Indian pictures made of feathers, China works, frames, thaumaturgical motions, exotick toyes, &c. Who is he that is now wholly overcome with idleness, or otherwise involved in a labyrinth of worldly cares, troubles, and discontents, that will not be much lightned in his mind by reading of some inticing story, true or fained, where, as in a glass, he shall observe what our forefathers have done, the beginnings, ruins, fals, periods of common-wealths, private mens actions displayed to the life, &c.? [t]Plutarch therefore cals them *secundas mensas et bellaria*, the second course and junkets, because they were usually read at noblemens feasts. Who is not earnestly affected with a passionate speech, well penned, an elegant poem, or some pleasant bewitching discourse, like that of [u]Heliodorus, *ubi oblectatio quædam placide fluit, cum hilaritate conjuncta?* Julian the Apostate was so taken with an oration of Libanius the sophister, that, as he confesseth, he could not be quiet till he had read it all out. *Legi orationem tuam magnâ ex parte, hesternâ die ante prandium: pransus vero sine ullâ intermissione totam absolvi. O argumenta! O compositionem!* I may say the same of this or that pleasing tract, which will draw his attention along with it. To most kind of men it is an extraordinary delight to study. For what a world of books offers itself, in all subjects, arts, and sciences, to the sweet content and capacity of the reader? In arithmetick, geometry, perspective, optick, astronomy, architecture, *sculpturâ*, *picturâ*, of which so many and such elaborate treatises are of late written: in mechanicks and their mysteries, military matters, navigation, [v]riding of horses, [w]fencing, swimming, gardening, planting, great tomes of husbandry, cookery, faulconry, hunting, fishing, fowling, &c. with exquisite pictures of all sports, games, and what not? In musick, metaphysicks, natural and moral philosophy, philologie, in policy, heraldry, genealogy, chronology, &c. they afford great tomes, or those studies of [x]antiquity, &c. *et [y]quid subtilius arithmeticis inventionibus? quid jucundius musicis rationibus? quid divinius astronomicis? quid rectius geometricis demonstrationibus?* What so sure, what so pleasant? He that shall but see that geometrical tower of Garezenda at Bologne in Italy, the steeple and clock at Strasborough, will admire the effects of art, or that engine of Archimedes to remove the earth itself, if he had but a place to fasten his instrument: *Archimedis cochlea*, and rare devises to corrivate waters, musick instruments, and trisyllable echoes again, again, and again repeated, with miriades of such. What vast tomes are extant in law, physick, and divinity, for profit, pleasure, practice, speculation, in verse or prose, &c.? their names alone are the subject of whole volumes: we have thousands of authors of all sorts, many great libraries full well furnished, like so many dishes of meat, served out for several palates; and he is a very block that is affected with none of them. Some take an infinite delight to study the very languages wherein these books are written, Hebrew, Greek, Syriack, Chalde, Arabick, &c. Me thinks it would well please any man to look upon a geographical map, ([z]*suavi animum delectatione allicere, ob incredibilem rerum varietatem et jucunditatem, et ad pleniorem sui cognitionem excitare*) chorographical, topographical delineations; to behold, as it were all the remote

[t]Quod heroum convivils legi solitæ. [u]Melanethon, de Heliodoro. [v]Pluvines. [w]Thibault. [x]As, in travelling, the rest go forward and look before them, an antiquary alone looks round about him, seeing things past, &c. hath a compleat horizon. Janus Bifrons. [y]Cardan. [z]Rondius, præfat. *Mercatoris.*

provinces, towns, cities of the world, and never to go forth of the limits of his study; to measure, by the scale and compasse, their extent, distance, examine their site. Charles the great (as Platina writes) had three fair silver tables, in one of which superficies was a large map of Constantinople, in the second Rome neatly engraved, in the third an exquisite description of the whole world; and much delight he took in them. What greater pleasure can there now be, than to view those elaborate maps of Ortelius, [a]Mercator, Hondius, &c. to peruse those books of cities, put out by Braunus, and Hogenbergius? to read those exquisite descriptions of Maginus, Munster, Herrera, Laet, Merula, Boterus, Leander Albertus, Camden, Leo Afer, Adricomius, Nic. Gerbelius, &c.? those famous expeditions of Christoph. Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Marcus Polus the Venetian, Lod. Vertomannus, Aloysius Cadamustus, &c.? those accurate diaries of Portugals, Hollanders, of Bartison, Oliver à Nort, &c. Hacluits voyages, Pet. Martyrs, Decades, Benzo, Lerius, Linschotens relations, those Hodœporicons of Jod. à Meggen, Brocarde the monke, Bredenbachius, Jo. Dublinius, Sands, &c. to Jerusalem, Egypt, and other remote places of the world? those pleasant itineraries of Paulus Hentzerus, Jodocus Sincerus, Dux Polonus, &c. to read Bellonius observations, P. Gillius his survayes; those parts of America, set out, and curiously cut in pictures, by Fratres à Bry. To see a well cut herbal, hearbs, trees, flowers, plants, all vegetals, expressed in their proper colours to the life, as that of Matthiolus upon Dioscorides, Delacampius, Lobel, Bauhinus, and that last voluminous and mighty herbal of Besler of Noremberge, wherein almost every plant is to his own bignesse. To see birds, beasts, and fishes of the sea, spiders, gnats, serpents, flies, &c. all creatures set out by the same art, and truly expressed in lively colours, with an exact description of their natures, virtues, qualities, &c. as hath been accurately performed by Ælian, Gesner, Ulysses Aldrovandus, Bellonus, Rondoletius, Hippolytus Salvianus, &c. [b]*Arcana cœli, naturæ secreta, ordinem universi scire, majoris felicitatis et dulcedinis est, quam cogitatione quis assequi possit, aut mortalis sperare.* What more pleasing studies can there be than the mathematicks, theorick, or practick parts? as to survay land, make maps, models, dials, &c. with which I was ever much delighted my self. *Talis est mathematum pulchritudo,* (saith [c]Plutarch) *ut his indignum sit divitiarum phaleras istas et bullas et puellaria spectacula comparari;* such is the excellency of these studies, that all those ornaments and childish bubbles of wealth are not worthy to be compared to them: *crede mihi,* ([d]saith one) *exstingui dulce erit mathematicarum artium studio;* I could even live and die with such meditations, [e]and take more delight, true content of mind in them, than thou hast in all thy wealth and sport, how rich soever thou art. And, as [f]Cardan well seconds me, *honorificum magis est et gloriosum hæc intelligere, quam provinciis præesse, formosum aut ditem juvenem esse.* The like pleasure there is in all other studies, to such as are truly addicted to them: [g]*ea suavitas,* (one holds) *ut, cum quis ea degustaverit, quasi poculis Circeis captus, non possit unquam ab illis divelli;* the like sweetnesse, which, as Circes cup, bewitcheth a student, he cannot leave off, as well may witnesse those many laborious houres, dayes, and nights, spent in the voluminous treatises written by them; the same content. [h]Julius Scaliger was so much affected with poetry, that he brake out into a pathetical protestation, he had rather be the author of 12 verses in Lucian, or such an ode in [i]Horace, than emperour of Germany. [j]Nicholas Gerbelius, that good old man, was so much ravished with a few Greek

[a] Atlas Geog. [b] Cardan. [c] Lib. de cupid. divitiarum. [d] Leon. Diggs. præfat. ad perpet. prognost. [e] Plus capio voluptatis, &c. [f] In Hyperchen. divis. 3. [g] Cardan. præfat. rerum variet. [h] Poëtices lib. [i] Lib. 3. Ode 9. Donec gratus eram tibi. &c. [j] De Peloponnes. lib. 6. descrip. Græc.

authors restored to light, with hope and desire of enjoying the rest, that he exclaims forthwith, *Arabibus atque Indis omnibus erimus ditiores*, we shall be richer than all the Arabick or Indian princes; of such [k]esteem they were with him, incomparable worth and value. Seneca prefers Zeno and Chrysippus, two doting Stoicks, (he was so much enamoured on their works) before any prince or general of an army; and Orontius the mathematician so far admires Archimedes, that he cals him, *divinum et homine majorem*, a petty god, more than a man; and well he might, for ought I see, if you respect fame or worth. Pindarus of Thebes is as much renowned for his poems, as Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Hercules, or Bacchus, his fellow citizens, for their warlike actions; *et si famam respicias, non pauciores Aristotelis quam Alexandri meminerunt:* (as Cardan notes) Aristotle is more known than Alexander; for we have a bare relation of Alexanders deeds; but Aristotle *totus vivit in monumentis*, is whole in his works: yet I stand not upon this; the delight is it, which I aim at; so great pleasure, such sweet content there is in study. [l]King James, 1605, when he came to see our university of Oxford, and, amongst other ædifices, now went to view that famous library, renewed by S[r]. Thomas Bodley, in imitation of Alexander, at his departure brake out into that noble speech, If I were not a king, I would be a university man: [m]*and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would desire to have no other prison than that library, and to be chained together with so many good authors, et mortuis magistris.* So sweet is the delight of study, the more learning they have, (as he that hath a dropsie, the more he drinks, the thirstier he is) the more they covet to learn; and the last day is *prioris discipulus;* harsh at first learning is; *radices amaræ*, but *fructus dulces*, according to that of Isocrates, pleasant at last; the longer they live, the more they are enamoured of the Muses. Heinsius, the keeper of the library at Leiden in Holland, was mewed up in it all the year long; and that which to thy thinking should have bred a loathing, caused in him a greater liking. [n]*I no sooner* (saith he) *come into the library, but I bolt the door to me, excluding lust, ambition, avarice, and all such vices, whose nurse is Idlenesse the mother of Ignorance, and Melancholy her self; and in the very lap of eternity, amongst so many divine souls, I take my seat, with so lofty a spirit and sweet content, that I pitty all our great ones, and rich men, that know not this happinesse.* I am not ignorant in the mean time (notwithstanding this which I have said) how barbarously and basely for the most part our ruder gentry esteem of libraries and books, how they neglect and contemn so great a treasure, so inestimable a benefit, as Æsop's cock did the jewel he found in the dunghil; and all through error, ignorance, and want of education. And 'tis a wonder withal to observe how much they will vainly cast away in unnecessary expences, *quot modis pereant* (saith [o]Erasmus) *magnatibus pecuniæ, quantum absumant alea, scorta, compotationes, profectiones non necessariæ, pompæ, bella quæsita, ambitio, colax, morio, ludio, &c.* what in hawkes, hounds, lawsuits, vain building, gurmundizing, drinking, sports, playes, pastimes, &c. If a well-minded man to the Muses would sue to some of them for an exhibition, to the farther maintenance or inlargement of such a work, be it college, lecture, library, or whatsoever else may tend to the advancement of learning, they are so unwilling, so averse, they had rather see these which are already with such cost and care erected, utterly

[k] Quos si integros haberemus, Dii boni! quas opes, quos thesauros teneremus! [l] Isaack Wake, musæ regnantes. [m] Si unquam mihi in fatis sit, ut captivus ducar, si mihi daretur optio, hoc cuperem carcere concludi, his catenis illigari, cum hisce captivis concatenatis ætatem agere. [n] Epist. Primiero. Plerumque in quâ simul ac pedem posui, foribus pessulum obdo; ambitionem autem, amorem, libidinem, &c. excludo, quorum parens est ignavia, imperitia nutrix; et in ipso æternitatis gremio, inter tot illustres animas sedem mihi sumo, cum ingenti quidem animo, ut subinde magnatum me misereat, qui felicitatem hanc ignorant. [o] *Chil. 2. Cent.* 1. adag. 1.

ruined, demolished, or otherwise employed; for they repine, many, and grudge at such gifts and revenews so bestowed: and therefore it were in vain, as Erasmus well notes, *vel ab his, vel à negotiatoribus qui se Mammonæ dediderunt, improbum fortasse tale officium exigere*, to solicite or aske any thing of such men (that are, likely, damn'd to riches) to this purpose. For my part, I pity these men; *stultos jubeo esse libenter;* let them go as they are, in the catalogue of Ignoramus. How much, on the other side, are we all bound, that are schollers, to those munificent Ptolemies, bountifull Mæcenates, heroicall patrons, divine spirits, ——[o] *qui nobis hæc otia fecerunt: namque erit ille mihi semper Deus* —— that have provided for us so many well furnished libraries, as well in our publike acadamies in most cities, as in our private colleges? How shall I remember [p] S^r. Thomas Bodley, amongst the rest, [q] Otho Nicholson, and the right reverend John Williams lord bishop of Lincolne, (with many other pious acts) who, besides that at S^t. Johns college in Cambridge, that in Westminster, is now likewise in *fieri* with a library at Lincolne (a noble president for all corporate towns and cities to imitate) *O quem te memorem, vir illustrissime? quibus elogiis?* but to my taske again.

Whosoever he is, therefore, that is overrun with solitariness, or carried away with pleasing melancholy and vain conceits, and for want of imployment knows not how to spend his time, or crucified with worldly care, I can prescribe him no better remedy than this of study, to compose himself to the learning of some art or science; provided alwayes that his malady proceed not from overmuch study; for in such cases he addes fuell to the fire; and nothing can be more pernicious. Let him take heed he do not overstretch his wits, and make a skeleton of himself; or such inamoratoes as read nothing but play-books, idle poems, jests, Amadis de Gaul, the Knight of the Sun, the Seven Champions, Palmerin de Oliva, Huon of Burdeaux, &c. Such many times prove in the end as mad as Don Quixot. Study is only prescribed to those that are otherwise idle, troubled in minde, or carried headlong with vain thoughts and imaginations, to distract their cogitations, (although variety of study, or some serious subject, would do the former no harm) and divert their continuall meditations another way. Nothing in this case better than study; *semper aliquid memoriter ediscant*, saith Piso; let them learn something without book, transcribe, translate, &c. read the scriptures, which Hyperius (*lib.* 1. *de quotid. script. lec. fol.* 77) holds available of itself: [r] *the mind is erected thereby from all worldly cares, and hath much quiet and tranquillity:* for, as [s] Austin well hath it, 'tis *scientia scientiarum, omni melle dulcior, omni pane suavior, omni vino hilarior:* 'tis the best *nepenthes*, surest cordiall, sweetest alterative, present'st diverter: for neither, as [t] Chrysostome well adds, *those boughs and leaves of trees which are plashed for cattle to stand under, in the heat of the day, in summer, so much refresh them with their acceptable shade, as the reading of the scripture doth recreate and comfort a distressed soul, in sorrow and affliction.* Paul bids *pray continually; quod cibus corpori, lectio animæ facit*, saith Seneca; as meat is to the body, such is reading to the soul. [u] *To be at leasure without books is another hell, and to be buried alive.* [v] Cardan cals a library the physick of the soul; [w] *divine authors fortifie the mind, make men bold and constant; and* (as Hyperius adds) *godly conference will not permit the mind to be tortured with absurd cogitations.*

[o] Virg. eclog. 1. [p] Founder of our publike library in Oxon. [q] Ours in Christ-church, Oxon. [r] Animus levatur inde à curis, multâ quiete et tranquillitate fruens. [s] Ser. 38. ad Fratres Erem. [t] Hom. 4. de pœnitentiâ. Nam neque arborum comæ, pro pecorum tugurils fractæ, meridie per æstatem optabilem exhibentes umbram, oves ita reficiunt, ac scripturarum lectio afflictas angore animas solatur et recreat. [u] Otium sine literis mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura. Seneca. [v] Cap. 99. l. 57. de rer. var. [w] Fortem reddunt animum et constantem; et pium colloquium non permittit animum absurdâ cogitatione torqueri.

Rhasis injoynes continuall conference to such melancholy men, perpetuall discourse of some history, tale, poem, news, &c. *alternos sermones edere ac bibere, æque jucundum quam cibus, sive, potus*, which feeds the minde, as meat and drink doth the body, and pleaseth as much: and therefore the said Rhasis, not without good cause, would have some body still talke seriously, or dispute with them, and sometimes [x] *to cavil and wrangle* (so that it break not out to a violent perturbation); *for such altercation is like stirring of a dead fire, to make it burn afresh:* it whets a dull spirit, *and will not suffer the minde to be drowned in those profound cogitations, which melancholy men are commonly troubled with.* [y] Ferdinand and Alphonsus, kings of Arragon and Sicily, were both cured by reading the history, one of Curtius, the other of Livy, when no prescribed physick would take place. [z] Camerarius relates as much of Laurence Medices. Heathen philosophers are so full of divine precepts in this kinde, that, as some think, they alone are able to settle a distressed mind,—([a] *Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem, &c.*) Epictetus, Plutarch and Seneca. *Qualis ille! quæ tela*, saith Lipsius, *adversus omnes animi casus, administrat, et ipsam mortem! quomodo vitia eripit, infert virtutes!* when I read Seneca, [b] *me thinks I am beyond all humane fortunes, on the top of an hill above mortalitie.* Plutarch saith as much of Homer; for which cause, belike, Niceratus, in Xenophon, was made by his parents to con Homers Iliads and Odysses without book, *ut in virum bonum evaderet*, as well to make him a good and honest man, as to avoid idleness. If this comfort may be got by philosophy, what shall be had from divinity? What shall Austin, Cyprian, Gregory, Bernards divine meditations, afford us?

> Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
> Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicunt.

Nay what shall the scripture it self, which is like an apothecaries shop wherein are all remedies for all infirmities of minde, purgatives, cordials, alteratives, corroboratives, lenitives, &c.? *Every disease of the soul*, saith [c] Austin, *hath a peculiar medicine in the scripture; this onely is required, that the sick man take the potion which God hath already tempered.* [d] Gregory calls it *a glass wherein we may see all our infirmities; ignitum colloquium*, Psalm 119. 140; [e] Origen, a charme. And therefore Hierome prescribes Rusticus the monke, [f] *continually to read the scripture, and to meditate on that which he hath read; for, as mastication is to meat, so is meditation on that which we read.* I would, for these causes, wish him that is melancholy, to use both humane and divine authors, voluntarily to impose some taske upon himself, to divert his melancholy thoughts; to study the art of memory, Cosmus Rosselius, Pet. Ravennas, Scenkelius detectus, or practise brachygraphy, &c. that will ask a great deale of attention: or let him demonstrate a proposition in Euclide in his five last books, extract a square root, or studie algebra; than which, as [g] Clavius holds, *in all humane disciplines, nothing can be more excellent and pleasant, so abtruse and recondite, so bewitching, so miraculous, so ravishing, so easie withall, and full of delight, omnem humanum captum superare videtur.* By this means you may define *ex ungue leonem*, as the diverbe is, by his thumb alone the

[x] Altercationibus utantur, quæ non permittunt animum submergi profundis cogitationibus, de quibus otiose cogitat, et tristatur in iis. [y] Bodin. præfat. ad meth. hist. [z] Operum subcis. cap. 15. [a] Hor. [b] Fatendum est, cacumine Olympi constitutus mihi videor, supra ventos et procellas, et omnes res humanas. [c] In Ps. 36. Omnis morbus animi in scripturâ habet medicinam; tantum opus est, ut qui sit æger, non recuset potionem quam Deus temperavit. [d] In moral. speculum quo nos intueri possimus. [e] Hom. 28. Ut incantatione virus fugatur, ita lectione malum. [f] Iterum atque iterum moneo, ut animam sacræ scripturæ lectione occupes. Masticat divinum pabulum meditatio. [g] Ad. 2. definit. 2. elem. In disciplinis humanis nihil præstantius reperitur: quippe *miracula* quædam numerorum eruit tam abstrusa et recondita, tantâ p[i] facilitate et voluptate, *ut, &c.*

bigness of Hercules, or the true dimensions of the great [h] Colossus, Solomons temple, and Domitians amphitheater, out of a little part. By this art you may contemplate the variation of the 23 letters, which may be so infinitely varied, that the words complicated and deduced thence will not be contained within the compass of the firmament; ten words may be varied 40320 severall wayes: by this art may you examine how many men may stand one by another in the whole superficies of the earth: some say 148456800000000, *assignando singulis passum quadratum*; how many men, supposing all the world as habitable as France, as fruitfull, and so long lived, may be born in 60000 years; and so you may demonstrate with, [i] Archimedes, how many sands the mass of the whole world might contain, if all sandy, if you did but first know how much a small cube as big as a mustard-seed might hold; with infinite such. But, in all nature, what is there so stupend as to calculate and examine the motion of the planets, their magnitudes, apogeums, perigeums, excentricities, how far distant from the earth, the bigness, thickness, compass of the firmament, each star, with their diameters and circumference, apparent *area*, *superficies*, by those curious helps of glasses, astrolabes, sextants, quadrants, of which Tycho Brahe in his mechanicks, opticks, (divine opticks), arithmetick, geometry, and such like arts and instruments? What so intricate, and pleasing withall, as to peruse and practise Heron Alexandrinus works, *de spiritalibus*, *de machinis bellicis*, *de machinâ se movente*, *Jordani Nemorarii de ponderibus proposit* 13. that pleasant tract of Machometes Bragdedinus *de superficierum divisionibus*, Apollonius Conicks, or Commandinus labours in that kinde, *de centro gravitatis*, with many such geometricall theorems and problems? Those rare instruments and mechanical inventions of Jac. Bessonus, and Cardan to this purpose, with many such experiments intimated long since by Roger Bacon in his tract *de* [k] *Secretis artis et naturæ*, as to make a chariot to move *sine animali*, diving boats, to walk on the water by art, and to fly in the air, to make severall cranes and pullies, *quibus homo trahat ad se mille homines*, lift up and remove great weights, mils to move themselves, Archytas dove, Albertus brasen head, and such thaumaturgical works; but especially to do strange miracles by glasses, of which Proclus and Bacon writ of old, burning glasses, multiplying glasses, perspectives, *ut unus homo appareat exercitus*, to see afar off, to represent bodies, by cylinders and concaves, to walk in the air, *ut veraciter videant* (saith Bacon) *aurum et argentum*, *et quicquid aliud volunt*, *et quum veniant ad locum visionis*, *nihil inveniant*, which glasses are much perfected of late by Baptista Porta and Galileus, and much more is promised by Maginus and Midorgius, to be performed in this kinde. Otocousticons some speak of, to intend hearing, as the other do sight; Marcellus Vrencken, an Hollander, in his epistle to Burgravius, makes mention of a friend of his that is about an instrument, *quo videbit quæ in altero horizonte sint*. But our alchymists, me thinks, and Rosie-cross men afford most rarities, and are fuller of experiments: they can make gold, separate and alter metals, extract oyls, salts, lees, and do more strange works than Geber, Lullius, Bacon, or any of those ancients. Crollius hath made, after his master Paracelsus, *aurum fulminans*, or *aurum volatile*, which shall imitate thunder and lightning, and crack lowder than any gunpowder; Cornelius Drible a perpetual motion, inextinguible lights, *linum non ardens*, with many such feats: see his book *de naturâ elementorum*, besides hail, wind, snow, thunder, lightning, &c. those strange fireworks, devilish pettards, and such warlike machinations derived hence, of which read Tartalea and others. Ernestus Burgravius, a disciple of Paracelsus, hath published a discourse, in which he specifies a lamp to be made of mans

[h] Which contained 1080000 weight of brass. [i] Vide Clavium, in com. de Sacrobosco. Distantias coelorum sola optica dijudicat. [k] Cap. 4 et 5.

blood, *lucerna vitæ et mortis index*, so he terms it, which, chymically prepared 40 dayes, and afterward kept in a glasse, shall shew all the accidents of this life; *si lampas hic clarus, tunc homo hilaris et sanus corpore et animo; si nebulosus et depressus, male officitur; et sic pro statu hominis variatur, unde sumptus sanguis;* and, which is most wonderful, it dies with the party: *cum homine perit, et evanescit;* the lamp, and the man whence the blood was taken, are extinguished together. The same author hath another tract of Mumia (all out as vain and prodigious as the first) by which he will cure most diseases, and transfer them from a man to a beast, by drawing blood from one, and applying it to the other, *vel in plantam derivare*, and an *alexipharmacum* (of which Roger Bacon of old, in his *Tract. de retardandâ senectute*) to make a man young again, live three or foure hundred years; besides panaceas, martial amulets, *unguentum armarium*, balsomes, strange extracts, elixars, and such like magico-magnetical cures. Now what so pleasing can there be as the speculation of these things, to read and examine such experiments; or, if a man be more mathematically given, to calculate, or peruse Napiers Logarithmes, or those tables of artificiall [l] sines and tangents, not long since set out by mine old collegiate good friend, and late fellow student of Christ-church in Oxford, [m] M. Edmund Guntur, which will perform that by addition and subtraction only, which heretofore Regiomontanus tables did by multiplication and division, or those elaborate conclusions of his [n] sector, quadrant, and crossestaffe? Or let him that is melancholy calculate spherical triangles, square a circle, cast a nativity, which howsoever some taxe, I say with [o] Garcæus, *dabimus hoc petulantibus ingeniis*, we will in some cases allow: or let him make an ephemerides, read Suisset the calculators works, Scaliger *de emendatione temporum*, and Petavius his adversary, till he understand them, peruse subtile Scotus and Saurez metaphysicks, or school divinity, Occam, Thomas, Entisberus, Durand, &c. If those other do not affect him, and his means be great, to imploy his purse and fill his head, he may go find the philosophers stone; he may apply his mind, I say to heraldry, antiquity, invent impresses, emblems; make epithalamiums, epitaphs, elegies, epigrams, *palindroma epigrammata*, anagrams, chronograms, acrosticks upon his friends names; or write a comment on Martianus Capella, Tertullian *de pallio*, the Nubian geography, or upon *Ælia Lælia Crispis*, as many idle fellowes have assayed; and rather than do nothing, vary a [p] verse a thousand waies with Putean, so torturing his wits, or as Rainnerus of Luneburge, [q] 2150 times in his *Proteus Poëticus*, or Scaliger, Chrysolithus, Cleppisius, and others have in like sort done. If such voluntary tasks, pleasure and delight, or crabbednesse of these studies, will not yet divert their idle thoughts, and alienate their imaginations, they must be compelled, saith Christophorus à Vega, *cogi debent, l. 5. c.* 14, upon some mulct, if they perform it not, *quod ex officio incumbat*, loss of credit or disgrace, such as are our public university exercises. For, as he that playes for nothing, will not heed his game; no more will voluntary imployment so thoroughly affect a student, except he be very intent of himself, and take an extraordinary delight in the study, about which he is conversant. It should be of that nature his business, which *volens nolens* he must necessarily undergo, and without great loss, mulct, shame, or hindrance, he may not omit.

Now for women, instead of laborious studies, they have curious needle-works, cut works, spinning, bone-lace, and many pretty devices of their own making, to adorn their houses, cushions, carpets, chaires, stools, (*for she eats not*

[l] Printed at London, anno 1620. [m] Late astronomy-reader at Gresham college. [n] Printed at London by William Jones, 1623. [o] Præfat. Meth. Astrol. [p] Tot tibi sunt dotes, virgo, quot sidera cœlo. [q] Da, pie Christe, urbi bona sit pax tempore nostro.

the bread of idleness, Prov. 31. 27. *quæsivit lanam et linum*) confections, conserves, distillations, &c. which they shew to strangers.

[r] Ipsa comes præsesque operis venientibus ultro
Hospitibus monstrare solet, non segniter horas
Contestata suas, sed nec sibi deperisse.

Which to her guests she shews, with all her pelfe:
"Thus far my maids: but this I did my selfe."

This they have to busie them about, houshold offices, &c. [s]neat gardens, full of exotick, versicolour, diversly varied, sweet smelling flowers, and plants in all kinds, which they are most ambitious to get, curious to preserve and keep, proud to possess, and much many times brag of. Their merry meetings and frequent visitations, mutual invitations in good towns, I voluntarily omit, which are so much in use, gossiping among the meaner sort, &c. Old folks have their beads; an excellent invention to keep them from idleness, that are by nature melancholy, and past all affairs, to say so many *paternosters*, *avemarias*, *creeds*, if it were not prophane and superstitious. In a word, body and mind must be exercised, not one, but both, and that in a mediocrity: otherwise it will cause a great inconvenience. If the body be overtired, it tires the mind. The mind oppresseth the body, as with students it oftentimes fals out, who (as [t]Plutarch observes) have no care of the body, *but compel that which is mortal, to do as much as that which is immortal; that which is earthly, as that which is etherial. But as the oxe, tyred, told the camel (both serving one master) that refused to carry some part of his burden, before it were long, he should be compelled to carry all his pack, and skin to boot (which by and by, the oxe being dead, fell out), the body may say to the soul, that will give him no respite or remission: a little after, an ague, vertigo, consumption seiseth on them both; all his study is omitted, and they must be compelled to be sick together.* He that tenders his own good estate and health, must let them draw with equal yoke both alike, [u]*that so they may happily enjoy their wished health.*

MEMB. V.

Waking and terrible dreams rectified.

As waking, that hurts, by all means, must be avoided, so sleep, which so much helps, by like waies, [v]*must be procured, by nature or art, inward or outward medicines, and be protracted longer than ordinary, if it may be, as being an especiall help.* It moystens and fattens the body, concocts, and helps digestion, as we see in dormice, and those Alpine mice that sleep all winter, (which Gesner speaks of) when they are so found sleeping under the snow in the dead of winter, as fat as butter. It expels cares, pacifies the minde, refresheth the weary limbs after long work.

[w] Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, Deorum,
Pax animi, quem cura fugit, qui corpora, duris
Fessa ministeriis, mulces, reparasque labori.

Sleep, rest of things, O pleasing deity,
Peace of the soul, which cares dost crucifie,
Weary bodies refresh and mollifie.

The chiefest thing in all physick [x] Paracelsus calls it, *omnia arcana gemmarum superans et metallorum.* The fittest time is [y] *two or three hours after supper, when as the meat is now settled at the bottome of the stomack; and 'tis good to lie on the right side first, because at that site the liver doth rest under the stomach, not molesting any way, but heating him, as a fire doth a*

[r] Chalonerus, Lib. 9. de Rep. Ang. [s] Hortus coronarius, medicus, et culinarius, &c. [t] Tom. 1. de sanit. tuend. Qui rationem corporis non habent, sed cogunt mortalem immortali, terrestrem æthereæ æqualem præstare industriam. Cæterum ut camelo usu venit, quod ei bos prædixerat, cum eidem servirent domino, et parte oneris levare illum camelus recusâsset, paulo post et ipsius cutem, et totum onus cogeretur gestare (quod mortuo bove impletum), ita animo quoque contingit, dum defatigato corpori, &c. [u] Ut pulchram illam et amabilem sanitatem præstemus. [v] Interdicendæ vigiliæ; somni paullo longiores concilliandi. Altomarus, cap. 7. Somnus supra modum prodest, quovis modo conciliandus. Piso. [w] Ovid. [x] In Hippoc. Aphoris. [y] Crato, cons. 21. lib. 2. Duabus aut tribus horis post cœnam, quum jam cibus ad fundum ventriculi resederit, primum super latere dextro quiescendum, quod in tali decubitu jecur sub ventriculo quiescat, non gravans, sed cibum calefaciens, perinde ac ignis lebetem qui illi admovetur; post primum somnum, quiescendum latere sinistro, &c.

kettle, that is put to it. After the first sleep, 'tis not amiss to lie on the left side, that the meat may the better descend, and sometimes again on the belly, but never on the back. Seven or eight hours is a competent time for a melancholy man to rest, as Crato thinks; but, as some do, to lie in bed, and not sleep, a day, or half a day together, to give assent to pleasing conceits and vain imaginations, is many wayes pernicious. To procure this sweet moistning sleep, 'tis best to take away the occasions (if it be possible) that hinder it, and then to use such inward or outward remedies, which may cause it. *Constat hodie* (saith Boissardus, in his Tract *de magiâ, cap.* 4) *multos ita fascinari ut noctes integras exigant insomnes, summâ inquietudine animorum et corporum:* many cannot sleep for witches and fascinations, which are too familiar in some places: they call it, *dare alicui malam noctem.* But the ordinary causes are heat and dryness, which must first be removed. [z]A hot and dry brain never sleeps well: grief, fears, cares, expectations, anxieties, great businesses, ([a]*in aurem utramque otiose ut dormias*) and all violent perturbations of the mind, must in some sort be qualified, before we can hope for any good repose. He that sleeps in the day time, or is in suspense, fear, any way troubled in minde, or goes to bed upon a full [b]stomack, may never hope for quiet rest in the night. *Nec enim meritoria somnos admittunt*, as the [c]poet saith: innes and such like troublesome places are not for sleep; one calls ostler, another tapster; one cryes and shouts, another sings, whoupes, hollows,

> ——[d] absentem cantat amicam,
> Multâ prolutus vappâ, nauta atque viator.

Who, not accustomed to such noyses, can sleep amongst them? He that will intend to take his rest, must go to bed *animo securo, quieto, et libero*, with a [e]secure and composed minde, in a quiet place; (*Omnia noctis erunt placidâ compósta quiete*) and if that will not serve, or may not be obtained, to seek then such means as are requisite: to lye in clean linnen and sweet: before he goes to bed, or in bed, to hear [f]*sweet musick*, (which Ficinus commends *lib.* 1. *cap.* 24) or (as Jobertus, *med. pract. lib.* 3. *cap.* 10.) [g]*to read some pleasant author till he be asleep, to have a bason of water still dropping by his bed side*, or to lie near that pleasant murmure, [h]*leno sonantis aquæ*, some floud-gates, arches, falls of water, like London bridge, or some continuate noise which may benum the senses. *Lenis motus, silentium, et tenebræ, tum et ipsa voluntas, somnos faciunt;* as a gentle noyse to some procures sleep, so, which Bernardius Tilesius (*lib. de somno*) well observes, silence, in a darke roome, and the will it self, is most available to others. Piso commends frications, Andrew Borde a good draught of strong drink before one goes to bed; I say, a nutmeg and ale, or a good draught of muscadine, with a tost and a nutmeg, or a posset of the same, which many use in a morning, but, me thinks, for such as have dry brains, are much more proper at night. Some prescribe a [i]sup of vinegar as they go to bed, a spoonefull, saith Aëtius, *Tetrabib. lib.* 3. *ser.* 2. *cap.* 10. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 10. Ægineta, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 14. Piso, *a little after meat,* [j]*because it rarifies melancholy, and procures an appetite to sleep.* Donat. ab Altomar. *cap.* 7, and Mercurialis, approve of it, if the malady proceed from the [k]spleen. Sallust. Salvian. (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. *de remed.*) Hercules de Saxoniâ, (*in Pan.*) Ælianus Montaltus, (*de morb. capitis, cap.* 28. *de Melan.*) are altogether against it. Lod. Mercatus (*de*

[a] Sæpius accidit melancholicis, ut, nimium exsiccato cerebro vigiliis, attenuentur. Ficinus, lib. 1. cap. 29. [b] Ter. [c] Ut sis nocte levis, sit tibi cœna brevis. [d] Juven. Sat. 3. [e] Hor. Ser. lib. 1. Sat. 5. [f] Sepositis curis omnibus, quantum fieri potest, una cum vestibus, &c. Kirkst. [g] Ad horam somni, aures suavibus cantibus et sonis delenire. [h] Lectio jucunda, aut sermo, ad quem attentior animus convertitur; aut aqua ab alto in subjectam pelvim delabatur, &c. [i] Ovid. [j] Acetî sorbitio. [k] Attenuat melancholiam, et ad conciliandum somnum juvat. [k] Quod lieni acetum conveniat.

inter. morb. cau. lib. 1. *cap.* 17) in some cases doth allow it. [l] Rhasis seems to deliberate of it: though Simeon commend it (in sawce peradventure) he makes a question of it; as for baths, fomentations, oyls, potions, simples or compounds, inwardly taken to this purpose, [m] I shall speak of them elsewhere. If in the midst of the night they lie awake, which is usuall, to toss and tumble, and not sleep, [n] Ranzovius would have them, if it bee in warme weather, to rise and walk three or four turnes (till they be cold) about the chamber, and then go to bed again.

Against fearfull and troublesome dreams, *incubus*, and such inconveniences, wherewith melancholy men are molested, the best remedy is to eat a light supper, and of such meats as are easie of digestion, no hare, venison, beef, &c. not to lie on his back, not to meditate or think in the day time of any terrible objects, or especially talke of them before he goes to bed. For, as he said in Lucian, after such conference, *Hecatas somniare mihi videor*, I can think of nothing but hobgoblins: and, as Tully notes, [o] *for the most part our speeches in the day time cause our phantasy to work upon the like in our sleep;* which Ennius writes of Homer: *Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat:* as a dog dreames of an hare, so do men, on such subjects they thought on last.

> Somnia, quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
> Nec delubra Deûm, nec ab æthere Numina mittunt,
> Sed sibi quisque facit, &c.

For that cause, when [p] Ptolemy king of Egypt had posed the 70 interpreters in order, and asked the nineteenth man, what would make one sleep quietly in the night, he told him, [q] *The best way was to have divine and celestiall meditations, and to use honest actions in the day time.* [r] Lod. Vives *wonders how schoolmen could sleep quietly, and were not terrified in the night, or walke in the darke, they had such monstrous questions, and thought of such terrible matters all day long.* They had need, amongst the rest, to sacrifice to God Morpheus, whom [s] Philostratus paints in a white and black coat, with a horn and ivory box full of dreams, of the same colours, to signify good and bad. If you will know how to interpret them, read Artemidorus, Sambucus, and Cardan: but how to help them, [t] I must refer you to a more convenient place.

MEMB. VI.

Subsect. I.—*Perturbations of the minde rectified. From himself, by resisting to the utmost, confessing his grief to a friend, &c.*

Whosoever he is, that shall hope to cure this malady in himself or any other, must rectifie these passions and perturbations of the minde; the chiefest cure consists in them. A quiet mind is that *voluptas*, or *summum bonum* of Epicurus; *non dolere, curis vacare, animo tranquillo esse*, not to grieve, but to want cares, and have a quiet soul, is the only pleasure of the world, as Seneca truly recites his opinion, not that of eating and drinking, which injurious Aristotle maliciously puts upon him, and for which he is still mistaken, *male audit et vapulat*, slandered without a cause, and lashed by all posterity. [u] *Fear and sorrow therefore are especially to be avoided, and*

[l] Cont. l. tract. 9. meditandum de aceto. [m] Sect. 5. memb. 1. subsect. 6. [n] Lib. de sanit. tuendâ. [o] In Som. Scip. Fit enim fere ut cogitationes nostræ et sermones pariant aliquid in somno, quale de Homero scribit Ennius, de quo videlicet sæpissime vigilans solebat cogitare et loqui. [p] Aristæ hist. [q] Optimum de cœlestibus et honestis meditari, et ea facere. [r] Lib. 3. de caussis corr. art. Tam mira monstra quæstionum sæpe nascuntur inter eos, ut mirer eos interdum in somnis non terreri, aut de illis in tenebris audere verba facere, adeo res sunt monstrosæ. [s] Icon. lib. 1. [t] Sect. 5. memb. 1. subs. 6. [u] Animi perturbationes summe fugiendæ, metus potissimum et tristitia; eorumque loco, animus demulcendus hilaritate, animi constantiâ, bonâ spe; removendi terrores, et eorum consortium quos non probant.

the minde to be mitigated with mirth, constancy, good hope: vain terror, bad objects, are to bee removed, and all such persons in whose companies they be not well pleased. Gualter Bruel, Fernelius, *consil.* 43. Mercurialis, *consil.* 6. Piso, Jacchinus, *cap.* 15. *in* 9 Rhasis, Capivaccius, Hildesheim, &c. all inculcate this as an especiall meanes of their cure, that their [t] *minds be quietly pacified, vain conceits diverted, if it be possible, with terrors, cares,* [u] *fixed studies, cogitations, and whatsoever it is that shall any way molest or trouble the soul,* because that otherwise there is no good to be done. [x] *The bodies mischiefes,* as Plato proves, *proceed from the soul: and if the mind be not first satisfied, the body can never be cured.* Alcibiades raves (saith [y] Maximus Tyrius), and is sick; his furious desires carry him from Lyceus to the pleading place, thence to the sea, so into Sicily, thence to Lacedæmon, thence to Persia, thence to Samos, then again to Athens; Critias tyrannizeth over all the city; Sardanapalus is love-sick; these men are ill-affected all, and can never be cured, till their minds be otherwise qualified. Crato therefore, in that often cited counsell of his for a noble man his patient, when he had sufficiently informed him in diet, air, exercise, Venus, sleep, concludes with these as matters of greatest moment; *quod reliquum est, animæ accidentia corrigantur,* from which alone proceeds melancholy; they are the fountain, the subject, the hinges whereon it turns, and must necessarily be reformed. [z] *For anger stirs choler, heats the blood and vital spirits: sorrow on the other side refrigerates the body, and extinguisheth natural heat, overthrows appetite, hinders concoction, dries up the temperature, and perverts the understanding:* fear dissolves the spirits, infects the heart, attenuates the soul: and for these causes all passions and perturbations must, to the uttermost of our power, and most seriously, be removed. Ælianus Montaltus attributes so much to them, [a] *that he holds the rectification of them alone to be sufficient to the cure of melancholy in most patients.* Many are fully cured when they have seen or heard, &c. enjoy their desires, or be secured and satisfied in their minds. Galen, the common master of them all, from whose fountain they fetch water, brags (*lib.* 1. *de san. tuend.*) that he for his part hath cured divers of this infirmity, *solum animis ad rectum institutis,* by right settling alone of their minds.

Yea, but you will here infer, that this is excellent good indeed, if it could be done; but how shall it be effected, by whom, what art, what means? *hic labor, hoc opus est.* 'Tis a natural infirmity, a most powerful adversary: all men are subject to passions, and melancholy above all others, as being distempered by their innate humours, abundance of choler adust, weakness of parts, outward occurrences; and how shall they be avoided? The wisest men, greatest philosophers, of most excellent wit, reason, judgement, divine spirits, cannot moderate themselves in this behalf: such as are sound in body and mind, stoicks, heroes, Homers gods, all are passionate, and furiously carryed sometimes; and how shall we that are already crased, *fracti animis,* sick in body, sick in mind, resist? we cannot perform it. You may advise and give good precepts, as who cannot? But, how shall they be put in practice? I may not deny but our passions are violent, and tyrannize over us: yet there be means to curb them; though they be headstrong, they may be tamed, they may be qualified, if he himself or his friends will but use

[t] Phantasiæ eorum placide subvertendæ, terrores ab animo removendi. [u] Ab omni fixâ cogitatione quovis modo avertantur. [x] Cuncta mala corporis ab animo procedunt, quæ nisi curentur, corpus curari minime potest. Charmid. [y] Disputat. an morbi graviores corporis an animi. Renoldo interpret. Ut parum absit à furore, rapitur à Lyceo, in concionem à concione ad mare, à mari in Siciliam, &c, [z] Ira bilem movet, sanguinem adurit, vitales spiritus accendit; mœstitia universum corpus infrigidat, calorem innatum exstinguit, appetitum destruit, concoctionem impedit, corpus exsiccat, intellectum pervertit. Quamobrem hæc omnia prorsus vitanda sunt, et pro virili fugienda. [a] De mel. c. 26. Ex illis solum *remedium* multi ex visis, auditis, &c. sanati sunt.

their honest endeavours, or make use of such ordinary helps as are commonly prescribed.

He himself (I say): from the patient himself the first and chiefest remedy must be had; for, if he be averse, peevish, waspish, give way wholly to his passions, will not seek to be helped, or ruled by his friends, how is it possible he should be cured? But if he be willing at least, gentle, tractable, and desire his own good, no doubt but he may *magnam morbi deponere partem*, be eased at least, if not cured. He himself must do his utmost endeavour to resist and withstand the beginnings. *Principiis obsta: Give not water passage, no not a little*, Eccles. 25. 27. If they open a little, they will make a greater breach at length. Whatsoever it is that runneth in his mind, vain conceit, be it pleasing or displeasing, which so much affects or troubleth him, [b] *by all possible means he must withstand it, expel those vain, false, frivolous imaginations, absurd conceits, fained fears and sorrowes* (*from which*, saith Piso, *this disease primarily proceeds, and takes his first occasion and beginning*) *by doing something or other that shall be opposite unto them, thinking of something else, perswading by reason, or howsoever, to make a sudden alteration of them.* Though he have hitherto run in a full career, and precipitated himself, following his passions, given reins to his appetite, let him now stop upon a sudden, curb himself in, and, as [c] Lemnius adviseth, *strive against with all his power, to the utmost of his endeavour, and not cherish those fond imaginations, which so covertly creep into his mind, most pleasing and amiable at first, but bitter as gall at last, and so head-strong, that, by no reason, art, counsel, or perswasion, they may be shaken off.* Though he be far gone, and habituated unto such phantastical imaginations, yet, (as [d] Tully and Plutarch advise) let him oppose, fortifie, or prepare himself against them, premeditation, reason, or (as we do by a crooked staffe) bend himself another way.

*Tu tamen interea effugito quæ tristia mentem Solicitant; procul esse jube curasque metumque Pallentem, ultrices iras; sint omnia læta.	In the mean time expel them from thy mind, Pale fears, sad cares, and griefs, which do it grind, Revengeful anger, pain and discontent: Let all thy soule be set on merriment.

Curas tolle graves: irasci crede profanum.

If it be idleness hath caused this infirmity, or that he perceive himself given to solitariness, to walk alone and please his mind with fond imaginations, let him by all means avoid it; 'tis a bosome enemy; 'tis delightsome melancholy, a friend in shew, but a secret devil, a sweet poyson; it will in the end be his undoing; let him go presently, task or set himself a work, get some good company. If he proceed, as a gnat flies about a candle so long till at length he burn his body, so in the end he will undo himself: if it be any harsh object, ill company, let him presently go from it. If by his own default through ill diet, bad aire, want of exercise, &c. let him now begin to reform himself. *It would be a perfect remedy against all corruption, if* (as [f] Roger Bacon hath it) *we could but moderate our selves in those non-natural things.* [g] *If it be any disgrace, abuse, temporal loss, calumny, death of friends, imprisonment, banishment, be not troubled with it; do not fear, be not angry, grieve not at it, but with all courage sustain it.* (Gordonius, *lib.* 1. *c.* 15. *de conser. vit.*) *Tu contra audentior ito.* [h] If it be sickness, ill success, or any adversity, that hath caused it, oppose an invincible courage; *fortifie*

[b] Pro viribus annitendum in prædictis, tum in aliis, à quibus malum, velut à primariâ causâ, occasionem nactum est; imaginationes absurdæ falsæque et mœstitiæ quæcunque subierit, propulsetur, aut aliud agendo, aut ratione persuadendo earum mutationem subito facere. [c] Lib. 2. c. 16. de occult nat. Quisquis huic malo obnoxius est, acriter obsistat, et summâ curâ obluctetur, nec ullo modo foveat imaginationes tacite obrepentes animo, blandas ab initio et amabiles, sed quæ adeo convalescunt, ut nullâ ratione excuti queant. [d] Tusc. ad Apollonium. [e] Fracastorius. [f] Epist. de secretis artis et naturæ, cap. 7. de retard. sen. Remedium contra corruptionem propriam, si quilibet exerceret regimen sanitatis, quod consistat in rebus sex non naturalibus. [g] Pro aliquo vituperio non indigneris, nec pro emissione alicujus rei, pro morte alicujus, nec pro carcere, nec pro exilio, nec pro aliâ re, nec irascaris, nec timeas, nec doleas, sed cum summâ præsentitiâ hæc sustineas. [h] Quod si incommoda adversitatis infortunia hoc malum invexerint, his infractum animum opponas: Dei verbo ejusque fiduciâ te suffulcias, &c. Lemnius, lib. 1. c. 16.

thy self by Gods word; or otherwise, mala bonis persuadenda, set prosperity against adversity: as we refresh our eyes by seeing some pleasant meadow, fountain, picture, or the like, recreate thy mind by some contrary object, with some more pleasing meditation divert thy thoughts.

Yea, but you infer again, *facile consilium damus aliis*, we can easily give counsel to others; every man, as the saying is, can tame a shrew, but he that hath her: *si hic esses, aliter sentires;* if you were in our misery, you would find it otherwise: 'tis not so easily performed. We know this to be true; we should moderate our selves; but we are furiously carryed; we cannot make use of such precepts; we are overcome, sick, *male sani*, distempered, and habituated in these courses; we can make no resistance; you may as well bid him that is diseased, not to feel pain, as a melancholy man not to fear, not to be sad: 'tis within his blood, his brain, his temperature: it cannot be removed. But he may chuse whither he will give way too far unto it; he may in some sort correct himself. A philosopher was bitten with a mad dog; and, as the nature of that disease is to abhor all waters, and liquid things, and to think still they see the picture of a dog before them, he went, for all this, *reluctante se*, to the bath, and seeing there (as he thought) in the water the picture of a dog, with reason overcame this conceit: *quid cani cum balneo?* what should a dog do in a bath? a mere conceit. Thou thinkest thou hearest and seest devils, black men, &c. 'tis not so; 'tis thy corrupt phantasie; settle thine imagination; thou art well! Thou thinkest thou hast a great nose, thou art sick, every man observes thee, laughs thee to scorn: perswade thy self 'tis no such matter: this is fear only, and vain suspicion. Thou art discontent, thou art sad and heavy, but why? upon what ground? consider of it: thou art jealous, timorous, suspicious; for what cause? examine it throughly; thou shalt find none at all, or such as is to be contemned, such as thou wilt surely deride, and contemn in thy self, when it is past. Rule thy self then with reason; satisfie thy self; [i] accustom thy self; wean thy self from such fond conceits, vain fears, strong imaginations, restless thoughts. Thou mayest do it: *est in nobis assuescere* (as Plutarch saith): we may frame our selves as we will. As he that useth an upright shooe, may correct the obliquity or crookedness by wearing it on the other side; we may overcome passions if we will. *Quicquid sibi imperavit animus, obtinuit* (as [k]Seneca saith): *nulli tam feri affectus, ut non disciplinâ perdomentur:* whatsoever the will desires, she may command: no such cruel affections, but by discipline they may be tamed. Voluntarily thou wilt not do this or that, which thou oughtest to do, or refrain, &c. but when thou art lashed like a dull jade, thou wilt reform it; fear of a whip will make thee do or not do. Do that voluntarily then which thou canst do, and must do by compulsion: thou maist refrain if thou wilt, and master thy affections. [j] *As, in a city* (saith Melancthon) *they do by stubborn rebellious rogues, that will not submit themselves to political judgement, compel them by force; so must we do by our affections. If the heart will not lay aside those vicious motions, and the phantasie those fond imaginations, we have another form of government to enforce and refrain our outward members, that they be not led by our passions.* If appetite will not obey, let the moving faculty over-rule her; let her resist and compel her to do otherwise. In an ague, the appetite would drink; sore eyes that itch, would be rubbed; but reason saith no: and therefore the moving faculty will not do it. Our phantasie would intrude a thousand fears, suspicions, chimeras upon us; but we have reason to resist; yet we let it be overborne by our appetite. *Ima-*

[k] Lib. 2. de Irâ. [i] Cap. 3. de affect. anim. Ut in civitatibus contumaces, qui non cedunt politico imperio, vi coërcendi sunt; ita Deus nobis indidit alteram imperii formam; si cor non deponit vitiosum affectum, *membra* foras coërcenda sunt, ne ruant in quod affectus impellat; et locomotiva, quæ herili imperio obtemperat, alteri resistat.

gination enforceth spirits, which by an admirable league of nature compel the nerves to obey, and they our several limbs: [k]we give too much way to our passions. And as, to him that is sick of an ague, all things are distastful and unpleasant, *non ex cibi vitio*, saith Plutarch, not in the meat, but in our taste: so many things are offensive to us, not of themselves, but out of our corrupt judgement, jealousie, suspicion, and the like; we pull these mischiefs upon our own heads.

If then our judgement be so depraved, our reason over-ruled, will precipitated, that we cannot seek our own good, or moderate our selves, as in this disease commonly it is, the best way for ease is to impart our misery to some friend, not to smother it up in our own breast; *alitur vitium, crescitque, tegendo, &c.* and that which was most offensive to us, a cause of fear and grief, *quod nunc te coquit*, another hell; for [l]*strangulat inclusus dolor, atque exæstuat intus*, grief concealed strangles the soul; but when as we shall but impart it to some discreet, trusty, loving friend, it is [m]instantly removed by his counsel happily, wisdome, perswasion, advice, his good means, which we could not otherwise apply unto our selves. A friends counsel is a charm; like mandrake wine, *curas sopit;* and as a [n]bull that is tyed to a fig-tree, becomes gentle on a sudden (which some, saith [o]Plutarch, interpret of good words), so is a savage, obdurate heart mollified by faire speeches. *All adversity finds ease in complaining* (as [p]Isidore holds); *and 'tis a solace to relate it:* [q]*Ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασις ἐστὶν ἔπαινον.* Friends confabulations are comfortable at all times, as fire in winter, shade in summer; *quale sopor fessis in gramine*, meat and drink to him that is hungry or athirst. Democritus collyrium is not so soveraign to the eyes, as this is to the heart; good words are cheerful and powerful of themselves, but much more from friends, as so many props, mutually sustaining each other, like ivie and a wal, which [r]Camerarius hath well illustrated in an embleme. *Lenit animum vel simplex sæpe narratio*, the simple narration many times easeth our distressed mind; and in the midst of greatest extremities, so divers have been relieved, by [s]exonerating themselves to a faithful friend: he sees that which we cannot see for passion and discontent; he pacifies our minds; he will ease our pain, asswage our anger. *Quanta inde voluptas! quanta securitas!* Chrysostome addes: what pleasure! what security by that means! [t]*Nothing so available, or that so much refresheth the soul of man.* Tully, as I remember, in an epistle to his dear friend Atticus, much condoles the defect of such a friend. [u]*I live here* (saith he) *in a great citie, where I have a multitude of acquaintance, but not a man of all that companie, with whom I dare familiarly breath, or freely jest. Wherefore I expect thee, I desire thee, I send for thee; for there be many things which trouble and molest me, which, had I but thee in presence, I could quickly disburden myself of in a walking discourse.* The like peradventure may he and he say with that old man in the comedy,

> Nemo est meorum amicorum hodie,
> Apud quem expromere occulta mea audeam:

and much inconvenience may both he and he suffer in the mean time by it. He or he, or whosoever then labours of this malady, by all means let him get some trusty friend, [v]*semper habens Pyladen aliquem, cui curet Oresten,*

[k] Imaginatio impellit spiritus, et inde nervi moventur, &c. et obtemperant imaginationi et appetitui mirabili fœdere, ad exsequendum quod jubent. [l] Ovid. Trist. lib. 5. [m] Participes inde calamitatis nostræ sunt; et, velut exoneratâ in eos sarcinâ, onere levamur. Arist. Eth. lib. 9. [n] Camerarius, Embl. 26. Cen. 2. [o] Sympos. lib. 6. cap. 10. [p] Epist. 8. lib. 3. Adversa fortuna habet in querelis levamentum; et malorum relatio, &c. [q] Alloquium cari juvat, et solamen, amici. [r] Emblem. 54. cent. 1. [s] As David did to Jonathan, 1 Sam. 20. [t] Seneca, Epist. 67. [u] Hic in civitate magnâ et turbâ magnâ neminem reperire possumus, quocum suspirare familiariter, aut jocari libere, possimus. Quare te exspectamus, te desideramus, te arcessimus. Multa sunt enim, quæ me solicitant et angunt, quæ mihi videor, aures tuas nactus, unius ambulationis sermone exhaurire posse. [v] Ovid.

a Pylades, to whom freely and securely he may open himself. For, as in all other occurrences, so it is in this—*si quis in cælum ascendisset, &c.* as he said in [w] Tully, if a man had gone to heaven, *seen the beauty of the skies*, stars errant, fixed, &c. *insuavis erit admiratio*, it will do him no pleasure, except he have somebody to impart what he hath seen. It is the best thing in the world, as [x] Seneca therefore adviseth in such a case, *to get a trusty friend, to whom we may freely and sincerely pour out our secrets. Nothing so delighteth and easeth the minde, as when we have a prepared bosome, to which our secrets may descend, of whose conscience we are assured as our own, whose speech may ease our succourless estate, counsell relieve, mirth expell our mourning, and whose very sight may be acceptable unto us.* It was the counsell which that politick [y] Commeneus gave to all princes, and others distressed in mind, by occasion of Charles duke of Burgundy, that was much perplexed, *first to pray to God and lay himself open to him, and then to some speciall friend, whom we hold most dear, to tell all our grievances to him. Nothing so forcible to strengthen, recreate, and heat the wounded soul of a miserable man.*

Subsect. II.—*Help from Friends by Counsell, Comfort, fair and foul Means, witty Devices, Satisfaction, Alteration, of his Course of Life, removing Objects, &c.*

When the patient of himself is not able to resist or overcome these heart-eating passions, his friends or physician must be ready to supply that which is wanting. *Suæ erit humanitatis et sapientiæ*, (which [z] Tully injoyneth in like case) *siquid erratum, curare, aut improvisum, suâ diligentiâ corrigere.* They all join; *nec satis medico*, saith [a] Hippocrates, *suum fecisse officium, nisi suum quoque ægrotus, suum astantes, &c.* First they must especially beware, a melancholy discontented person (be it in what kinde of melancholy soever) never be left alone or idle; but, as physicians prescribe physick, *cum custodiâ*, let them not be left unto themselves, but with some company or other, lest by that means they aggravate and increase their disease. *Non oportet ægros hujusmodi esse solos, vel inter ignotos, vel inter eos quos non amant aut negligunt*, as Rod. à Fonseca, (*Tom.* 1. *consul.* 35) prescribes. *Lugentes custodire solemus*, (saith [b] Seneca) *ne solitudine male utantur;* we watch a sorrowfull person, lest he abuse solitariness: and so should we do a melancholy man; set him about some business, exercise, or recreation, which may divert his thoughts, and still keep him otherwise intent; for his phantasie is so restless, operative and quick, that, if it be not in perpetuall action, ever employed, it will work upon it self, melancholize, and be carried away instantly with some fear, jealousie, discontent, suspicion, some vain conceit or other. If his weakness be such, that he cannot discern what is amiss, correct or satisfie, it behoves them, by counsel, comfort, or perswasion, by fair or foul means, to alineate his mind by some artificial invention or some contrary passion, to remove all objects, causes, companies, occasions, as may any wayes molest him, to humour him, please him, divert him, and, if it be possible, by altering his course of life, to give him security and satisfaction. If he conceal his grievances, and will not make them known, [c] *they must observe, by his looks, gestures, motions, phantasie, what it is that offends*, and then to apply remedies unto him. Many are instantly cured when their

[w] De amicitiâ. [x] De tranquil. c. 7. Optimum est amicum fidelem nonciscî, in quem secreta nostra infundamus. Nihil æque oblectat animum quam ubi sint præparata pectora, in quæ toto secreta descendant, quorum conscientia æque ac tua; quorum sermo solitudinem leniat, sententia consilium expediat, hilaritas tristitiam dissipet, conspectusque ipse delectet. [y] Comment. l. 7. Ad Deum confugiamus, et peccatis veniam precemur, inde ad amicos, et cui plurimum tribuimus, nos patefaciamus totos, et animi vulnus quo affligimur: nihil ad reficiendum animum efficacius. [z] Ep. ad Q. fra. [a] Aphor. prim. [b] Epist. 10. [c] Observando motus, gestus manus, pedes, oculos, phantasiam. *Piso.*

minds are satisfied. [d] Alexander makes mention of a woman, *that, by reason of her husbands long absence in travel, was exceeding peevish and melancholy; but, when she heard her husband was returned, beyond all expectation, at the first sight of him, she was freed from all fear, without help of any other physick restored to her former health.* Trincavelius (*consil.* 12. *lib.* 1) hath such a story of a Venetian, that, being much troubled with melancholy, [e] *and ready to dye for grief, when he heard his wife was brought to bed of a son, instantly recovered.* As Alexander concludes, [f] *if our imaginations be not inveterate, by this art they may be cured, especially if they proceed from such a cause.* No better way to satisfy, than to remove the object, cause, occasion, if by any art or means possible we may finde it out. If he grieve, stand in fear, be in suspicion, suspence, or any way molested, secure him: *solvitur malum:* give him satisfaction; the cure is ended: alter his course of life, there needs no other physick. If the party be sad, or otherwise affected, *consider* (saith Trallianus) [g] *the manner of it, all circumstances, and forthwith make a sudden alteration,* by removing the occasions; avoid all terrible objects, heard or seen, [h] *monstrous and prodigious aspects,* tales of devils, spirits, ghosts, tragicall stories: to such as are in fear, they strike a great impression, renew many times, and recal such chimeras and terrible fictions into their minds. [i] *Make not so much as mention of them in private talk, or a dumb shew tending to that purpose: such things* (saith Galeteus) *are offensive to their imaginations.* And to those that are now in sorrow, [j] Seneca *forbids all sad companions, and such as lament: a groaning companion is an enemy to quietness.* [k] *Or if there be any such party, at whose presence the patient is not well pleased, he must be removed: gentle speeches and fair means must first be tryed; no harsh language used, or uncomfortable words; not expel, as some do, one madness with another; he that so doth is madder than the patient himself:* all things must be quietly composed; *eversa non evertenda, sed erigenda,* things down must not be dejected, but reared, as Crato counselleth: [l] *he must be quietly and gently used:* and we should not do any thing against his mind, but by little and little effect it. As an horse that starts at a drum or trumpet, and will not endure the shooting of a peece, may be so manned by art, and animated, that he can not only endure, but is much more generous at the hearing of such things, much more couragious than before, and much delighteth in it; they must not be reformed *ex abrupto,* but, by all art and insinuation, made to such companies, aspects, objects, they could not formerly away with. Many at first cannot endure the sight of a green wound, a sick man, which afterwards become good chyrurgians, bold empericks. A horse starts at a rotten post afar off, which, coming neer, he quietly passeth. 'Tis much in the manner of making such kind of persons: be they never so averse from company, bashful, solitary, timorous, they may be made at last, with those Roman matrons, to desire nothing more than, in a publike shew, to see a full company of gladiators breath out their last.

If they may not otherwise be accustomed to brook such distastful and displeasing objects, the best way then is generally to avoid them. Montanus, *consil.* 229, to the earl of Montford a courtier, and his melancholy patient,

[d] Mulier, melancholiâ correpta ex longâ viri peregrinatione, et iracunde omnibus respondens, quum maritus domum reversus præter spem, &c. [e] Præ dolore moriturus, quum nuntiatum esset uxorem peperisse filium, subito recuperavit. [f] Nisi affectus longo tempore infestaverit, tali artificio imaginationes curare portet, præsertim ubi malum ab his, velut à primariâ causâ, occasionem habuerit. [g] Lib. 1. cap. 16. Si ex tristitiâ aut alio affectu cœperit, speciem considera, aut aliud quid eorum, quæ subitam alterationem facere possunt. [h] Evitandi monstrifici aspectus, &c. [i] Neque enim tam actio aut recordatio rerum hujusmodi displicet, sed iis vel gestus alterius imaginationi adumbrare, vehementer molestum. Galat. de mor. cap. 7. [j] Tranquil. Præcipue vitentur tristes, et omnia deplorantes: tranquillitati inimicus est comes perturbatus, omnia gemens. [k] Illorum quoque hominum, à quorum consortio abhorrent, præsentia amovenda, nec sermonibus ingrâtis obtundendi. Si quis insanium ab insaniâ sic curari æstimat, et proterve utitur, magis quam æger insanit. Crato, consil. 164. Scoltzii. [l] Molliter ac suaviter æger tractetur, nec ad ea adigatur quæ non curat.

adviseth him to leave the court, by reason of those continual discontents, crosses, abuses, [m] *cares, suspicions, emulations, ambition, anger, jealousie, which that place afforded, and which surely caused him to be so melancholy at the first: Maxima quæque domus servis est plena superbis:* a company of scoffers and proud Jacks, are commonly conversant and attendant in such places, and able to make any man that is of a soft quiet disposition (as many times they do), *ex stulto insanum*, if once they humor him, a very idiot, or starke mad; a thing too much practised in all common societies; and they have no better sport than to make themselves merry by abusing some silly fellow, or take advantage of another mans weakness. In such cases, as in a plague, the best remedy is *cito, longe, tarde*, (for to such a party, especially if he be apprehensive, there can be no greater misery) to get him quickly gone far enough off, and not to be over-hasty in his return. If he be so stupid, that he do not apprehend it, his friends should take some order, and by their discretion supply that which is wanting in him, as in all other cases they ought to do. If they see a man melancholy given, solitary, averse from company, please himself with such private and vain meditations, though he delight in it, they ought by all means to seek to divert him, to dehort him, to tell him of the event and danger that may come of it. If they see a man idle, that, by reason of his means otherwise, will betake himself to no course of life, they ought seriously to admonish him, he makes a noose to entangle himself, his want of imployment will be his undoing. If he have sustained any great losse, suffered a repulse, disgrace, &c. if it be possible, relieve him. If he desire ought, let him be satisfied; if in suspence, fear, suspicion, let him be secured: and if it may conveniently be, give him his hearts content; for the body cannot be cured till the mind be satisfied. [n] Socrates, in Plato, would prescribe no physick for Charmides head-ach, *till first he had eased his troublesome mind; body and soul must be cured together, as head and eyes.*

> [o] Oculum non curabis sine toto capite,
> Nec caput sine toto corpore.
> Nec totum corpus sine animâ.

If that may not be hoped or expected, yet ease him with comfort, chearful speeches, fair promises, and good words: perswade him; advise him. *Many*, saith [p] Galen, *have been cured by good counsel and perswasion alone. Heaviness of the heart of man doth bring it down; but a good word rejoiceth it* (Prov. 12. 25); *and there is he that speaketh words like the pricking of a sword; but the tongue of a wise man is health* (ver. 18): *oratio namque saucii animi est remedium;* a gentle speech is the true cure of a wounded soul; as [q] Plutarch contends out of Æschylus and Euripides: *if it be wisely administred, it easeth grief and pain, as divers remedies do many other diseases;* 'tis *incantationis instar*, a charm, *æstuantis animi refrigerium*, that true *nepenthes* of Homer, which was no Indian plant or fained medicine, which Epidamna, Thonis wife, sent Helena for a token, as Macrobius, 7. *Saturnal.* Goropius, *Hermet. lib.* 9. Greg. Nanzianzen, and others suppose, but opportunity of speech: for Helenas boule, Medeas unction, Venus girdle, Circes cup, cannot so inchant, so forcibly move or alter, as it doth A letter sent or read will do as much; *multum allevor, quum tuas literas lego;* I am much eased, as [r] Tully writ to Pomponius Atticus, when I read thy letters; and as Julianus the Apostate once signified to

[m] Ob suspiciones, curas, æmulationem, ambitionem, iras, &c. quas locus ille ministrat, et quæ fecissent melancholicum. [n] Nisi prius animum turbatissimum curâsset; nec oculi sine capite, nec corpus sine animâ curari potest. [o] E Græco. [p] Et nos non paucos sanavimus, animi motibus ad debitum revocatis. lib. 1. de sanit. tuend. [q] Consol. ad Apollonium. Si quis sapienter et suo tempore adhibeat, remedia morbis diversis diversa sunt: dolentem sermo benignus sublevat. [r] Lib. 12. *Epist.*

to Maximus the philosopher—as Alexander slept with Homers works, so do I with thine epistles, *tamquam Pœoniis medicamentis, easque assidue tanquam recentes et novas iteramus: scribe ergo, et assidue scribe;* or else come thy self; *amicus ad amicum venies.* Assuredly a wise and well spoken man may do what he will in such a case: a good orator alone, as [s]Tully holds, can alter affections by power of his eloquence, *comfort such as are afflicted, erect such as are depressed, expel and mitigate fear, lust, anger, &c.* And how powerful is the charm of a discreet and dear friend! *Ille regit dictis animos, et temperat iras.* What may not he effect? as [t]Chremes told Menedemus, *Fear not; conceal it not, O friend; but tell me what it is that troubles thee; and I shall surely help thee by comfort, counsel, or in the matter it self.* [u]Arnoldus (*lib. breviar. cap.* 18) speaks of an usurer in his time, that, upon a loss much melancholy and discontent, was so cured. As imagination, fear, grief, cause such passions, so conceipts alone, rectified by good hope, counsel, &c. are able again to help: and 'tis incredible how much they can do in such a case, as [v]Trincavelius illustrates by an example of a patient of his. Porphyrius the philosopher (in Plotinus life, written by him) relates, that, being in a discontented humor through unsufferable anguish of mind, he was going to make away himself; but, meeting by chance his master Plotinus, who perceiving by his distracted looks all was not wel, urged him to confess his grief; which when he had heard, he used such comfortable speeches, that he redeemed him *è faucibus Erebi*, pacified his unquiet mind, insomuch that he was easily reconciled to himself, and much abashed to think afterwards that he should ever entertain so vile a motion. By all means, therefore, fair promises, good words, gentle perswasions, are to be used, not to be too rigorous at first, [w]*or to insult over them, not to deride, neglect, or contemn, but rather,* as Lemnius exhorteth, *to pity, and by all plausible means to seek to reduce them:* but if satisfaction may not be had, mild courses, promises, comfortable speeches, and good counsel will not take place; then, as Christopherus à Vega determines, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 14. *de Mel.* to handle them more roughly, to threaten and chide, saith [x]Altomarus, terrifie sometimes, or, as Salvianus will have them, to be lashed and whipped, as we do by a starting horse, [y]that is affrighted without a cause, or, as [z]Rhasis adviseth, *one while to speak fair and flatter, another while to terrifie and chide,* as they shall see cause.

When none of these precedent remedies will avail, it will not be amiss, which Savanarola and Ælian Montaltus so much commend, *clavum clavo pellere,* [a]*to drive out one passion with another, or by some contrary passion,* as they do bleeding at nose by letting blood in the arm, to expel one fear with another, one grief with another. [b]Christopherus à Vega accounts it rational physick, *non alienum à ratione:* and Lemnius much approves it, *to use an hard wedge to an hard knot,* to drive out one disease with another, to pull out a tooth, or wound him, to geld him, [c]saith Platerus, as they did epileptical patients of old, because it quite alters the temperature, that the pain of the one may mitigate the grief of the other; [d]*and I knew one that was so cured of a*

[s]De nat. Deorum. Consolatur afflictos; deducit perterritos à timore; cupiditates imprimis, et iracundias, comprimit. [t]Heauton. Act. 1. Scen. 1. Ne metue; ne verere; crede, inquam, mihi; aut consolando, aut consilio, aut re, juvero. [u]Novi fœneratorem avarum apud meos sic curatum, qui multam pecuniam amiserat. [v]Lib. 1. consil. 12. Incredibile dictu quantum juvent. [w]Nemo istiusmodi conditionis hominibus insultet, aut in illos sit severior; verum miseriæ potius indolescat, vicemque deploret. lib. 2. cap. 16. [x]Cap. 7. Idem Piso Laurentius, cap. 8. [y]Quod timet nihil est, ubi cogitur et videt. [z]Unâ vice blandiantur, unâ vice iisdem terrorem incutiant. [a]Si vero fuerit ex novo malo audito, vel ex animi accidente, aut de amissione mercium, aut morte amici, introducantur nova contraria his, quæ ipsum ad gaudia moveant; de hoc semper niti debemus, &c. [b]Lib. 3. cap. 14. [c]Cap. 3. Castratio olim à veteribus usa in morbis desperatis, &c. [d]Lib. 1. cap. 5. Sic morbum morbo, ut clavum clavo, retundimus, et malo nodo malum cuneum adhibemus. Novi ego qui ex subito hostium incursu, et inopinato timore, quartanam depulerat.

quartan ague, by the sudden comming of his enemies upon him. If we may believe [e]Pliny, whom Scaliger cals *mendaciorum patrem*, the father of lies, Q. Fabius Maximus, that renowned consul of Rome, in a battle fought with the king of the Allobroges at the river Isaurus, was so rid of a quartan ague. Valesius, in his controversies, holds this an excellent remedy, and, if it be discreetly used in this malady, better than any physick.

Sometimes again, by some [f]fained lye, strange newes, witty device, artificial invention, it is not amiss to deceive them. [g]*As they hate those*, saith Alexander, *that neglect or deride, so they will give ear to such as will sooth them up. If they say they have swallowed froggs, or a snake, by all means grant it, and tell them you can easily cure it:* 'tis an ordinary thing. Philodotus the physician cured a melancholy king, that thought his head was off, by putting a leaden cap thereon; the weight made him perceive it, and freed him of his fond imagination. A woman, in the said Alexander, swallowed a serpent, as she thought: he gave her a vomit, and conveyed a serpent, such as she conceived, into the bason; upon the sight of it, she was amended. The pleasantest dotage that ever I read, saith [h]Laurentius, was of a gentleman at Senes in Italy, who was afraid to piss, lest all the town should be drowned; the physicians caused the bels to be rung backward, and told him the town was on fire; whereupon he made water, and was immediately cured. Another supposed his nose so big that he should dash it against the wall, if he stirred; his physician took a great peece of flesh, and holding it in his hand, pinched him by the nose, making him beleeve that flesh was cut from it. Forestus (*obs. lib.* 1) had a melancholy patient, who thought he was dead: [i]*he put a fellow in a chest, like a dead man, by his beds side, and made him reare himself a little, and eat: the melancholy man asked the counterfeit, whether dead men use to eat meat? he told him yea; whereupon he did eat likewise, and was cured.* Lemnius (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 6. *de* 4. *complex.*) hath many such instances, and Jovianus Pontanus (*lib.* 4. *cap.* 2. *of Wisd.*) of the like: but amongst the rest I find one most memorable, registred in the [j]French Chronicles, of an advocate of Paris before mentioned, who beleeved verily he was dead, &c. I read a multitude of examples, of melancholy men cured by such artificial inventions.

Subsect. III.—*Musick a remedy.*

Many and sundry are the means which philosophers and physicians have prescribed to exhilarate a sorrowful heart, to divert those fixed and intent cares and meditations, which in this malady so much offend; but, in my judgement, none so present, none so powerfull, none so apposite, as a cup of strong drink, mirth, musick, and merry company. Ecclus. 40. 20. *Wine and musick rejoyce the heart.* [k]Rhasis (*cont.* 9. *Tract* 15), Altomarus (*cap.* 7), Ælianus Montaltus (*c.* 26), Ficinus, Bened. Victor. Faventinus, are almost immoderate in the commendation of it; a most forcible medicine [l]Jacchinus calls it: Jason Pratensis, *a most admirable thing, and worthy of consideration, that can so mollifie the minde, and stay those tempestuous affections of it. Musica est mentis medicina mœstæ*, a roaring-meg against melancholy, to rear and revive the languishing soul; [m]*affecting not onely*

[e]Lib. 7. cap. 50. In acie pugnans febre quartanâ liberatus est. [f]Jacchinus, c. 15, in 9 Rhasis. Mont, cap. 26. [g]Lib. 1. cap. 16. Aversantur eos qui eorum affectus rident, contemnunt. Si ranas et viperas comedisse se putant, concedere debemus, et spem de curâ facere. [h]Cap. 8. de mel. [i]Cistam posuit ex medicorum consilio prope eum, in quem alium se mortuum fingentem posuit; hic in cistâ jacens, &c. [j]Serres, 1550. [k]In 9 Rhasis. Magnam vim habet musica. [l]Cap. de Manâ. Admiranda profecto res est, et digna expensione, quod sonorum concinnitas mentem emolliat, sistatque procellosas ipsius affectiones. [m]Languens animus inde erigitur et reviviscit; nec tam aures afficit, sed et sonitu per arterias undique diffuso, spiritus tum vitales tum animales excitat, mentem reddens agilem, &c.

the ears, but the very arteries, the vital and animal spirits, it erects the minde, and makes it nimble. Lemnius, *instit. cap.* 44. This it will effect in the most dull, severe, and sorrowfull souls, [n] *expell griefe with mirth; and, if there bee any cloudes, dust, or dreggs of cares yet lurking in our thoughts, most powerfully it wipes them all away,* (Salisbur. *polit. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6); and that which is more, it will perform all this in an instant — [o] *chear up the countenance, expell austerity, bring in hilarity* (Girald. Camb. *cap.* 12. *Topogr. Hiber.*) *informe our manners, mitigate anger.* Athenæus (*Dipnosophist. lib.* 14. *cap.* 10) calleth it an infinite treasure to such as are endowed with it. *Dulcisonum reficit tristia corda melos.* (*Eobanus Hessus*) Many other properties [p] Cassiodorus (*epist.* 4.) reckons up of this our divine musick, not only to expell the greatest griefs, but *it doth extenuate fears and furies, appeaseth cruelty, abateth heaviness; and, to such as are watchfull, it causeth quiet rest; it takes away spleen and hatred,* bee it instrumentall, vocall, with strings, winde, [q] *quæ a spiritu, sine manuum dexteritate, gubernetur, &c.* it cures all irksomness and heaviness of the soul. [r] Labouring men, that sing to their work, can tell as much; and so can souldiers when they go to fight, whom terror of death cannot so much affright, as the sound of trumpet, drum, fife, and such like musick, animates; *metus enim mortis,* as [s] Censorinus enformeth us, *musicâ depellitur. It makes a childe quiet,* the nurses song; and many times the sound of a trumpet on a sudden, bells ringing, a carremans whistle, a boy singing some ballad tune early in the street, alters, revives, recreates a restless patient that cannot sleep in the night, &c. In a word, it is so powerfull a thing that it ravisheth the soul, *regina sensuum,* the queen of the senses, by sweet pleasure (which is an happy cure); and corporall tunes pacifie our incorporeall soul: *sine ore loquens, dominatum in animam exercet,* and carries it beyond it self, helps, elevates, extends it. Scaliger (*exercit.* 302) gives a reason of these effects, [t] *because the spirits about the heart take in that trembling and dancing air into the body, are moved together, and stirred up with it,* or else the minde, as some suppose, harmonically composed, is roused up at the tunes of musick. And 'tis not onely men that are so affected, but almost all other creatures. You know the tale of Hercules, Gallus, Orpheus, and Amphion, (*felices animas* Ovid cals them) that could *saxa movere sono testudinis,* &c. make stocks and stones, as well as beasts, and other animals, dance after their pipes: the dog and hare, wolf and lamb, (*Vicinumque lupo præbuit agna latus*) *clamosus graculus, stridula cornix, et Jovis aquila,* as Philostratus describes it in his images, stood all gaping upon Orpheus; and [u] trees, pulled up by the roots, came to hear him; *et comitem quercum pinus amica trahit.*

Arion made fish follow him, which, as common experience evinceth, [v] are much affected with musick. All singing birds are much pleased with it, especially nightingales, if we may beleeve Calcagninus; and bees among the rest, though they be flying away, when they hear any tingling sound, will tarry behinde. [w] *Harts, hindes, horses, dogs, bears, are exceedingly delighted with it,* Scal. *exerc.* 302. Elephants, Agrippa addes, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 24. and in Lydia in the midst of a lake there be certain floating ilands, (if ye will beleeve it) that, after musick, will dance.

[n] Musica venustate suâ mentes severiores capit, &c. [o] Animos tristes subitò exhilarat, nubilos vultus serenat, austeritatem reponit, jucunditatem exponit, barbariemque facit deponere gentes, mores instituit, iracundiam mitigat. [p] Cithara tristitiam jucundat, tumidos furores attenuat, cruentam sævitiam blandè reficit, languorem, &c. [q] Pet. Aretine. [r] Castilio, de aulic. lib. 1. fol. 27. [s] Lib. de Natali, cap. 12. [t] Quod spiritus, qui in corde agitant, tremulum et subsaltantem recipiunt aërem in pectus, et inde excitantur, à spiritu musculi moventur, &c. [u] Arbores radicibus avulsæ, &c. [v] M. Carew of Anthony, in descript. Cornwal, saith of whales, that they will come and shew themselves dancing at the sound of a trumpet, fol. 35. 1. et fol. 154. 2. book. [w] De cervo, equo, cane, urso, idem compertum; musicâ afficiuntur.

But to leave all declamatory speeches in praise [x] of divine musick, I will confine my self to my proper subject: besides that excellent power it hath to expell many other diseases, it is a soveraigne remedy against [y] despair and melancholy, and will drive away the divel himself. Canus, a Rhodian fidler in [z] Philostratus, when Apollonius was inquisitive to know what he could do with his pipe, told him, *that he would make a melancholy man merry, and him that was merry much merrier than before, a lover more inamoured, a religious man more devout.* Ismenias the Theban, [a] Chiron the Centaure, is said to have cured this and many other diseases by musick alone: as now they do those, saith [b] Bodine, that are troubled with S. Vitus Bedlam dance. [c] Timotheus the musician compelled Alexander to skip up and down, and leave his dinner (like the tale of the frier and the boy); whom Austin (*de civ. Dei. lib.* 17. *cap.* 14.) so much commends for it. Who hath not heard how David's harmony drove away the evill spirits from king Saul? (1 Sam. 16) and Elisha, when he was much troubled by importunate kings, called for a minstrel; *and, when he played, the hand of the Lord came upon him* (2 Kings, 3). Censorinus (*de natali, cap.* 12) reportes how Asclepiades the physician helped many frantike persons by this means, *phreneticorum mentes morbo turbatas.*—Jason Pratensis (*cap. de Manid*) hath many examples, how Clinias and Empedocles cured some desperately melancholy, and some mad, by this our musick; which because it hath such excellent vertues, belike, [d] Homer brings in Phemius playing, and the Muses singing at the banquet of the gods. Aristotle, *Polit. l.* 8. *c.* 5; Plato 2, *de legibus*, highly approve it, and so do all politicians. The Greekes, Romanes, have graced musick, and made it one of the liberall sciences, though it be now become mercenary. All civill commonwealths allow it: Cneius Manlius (as [e] Livius relates) A° *ab urb. cond.* 567, brought first out of Asia to Rome singing wenches, players, jesters, and all kinde of musick to their feasts. Your princes, emperours, and persons of any quality, maintain it in their courts: no mirth without musick. S^r. Thomas Moore, in his absolute Utopian common-wealth, allowes musick as an appendix to every meal, and that throughout, to all sorts. Epictetus cals *mensam mutam præsepe*, a table without musick a manger; for *the concent of musicians at a banquet is a carbuncle set in gold; and as the signet of an emerald well trimmed with gold, so is the melody of musick in a pleasant banquet.* Ecclus. 32, v. 5, 6. [f] Lewes the eleventh, when he invited Edward the fourth to come to Paris, told him, that, as a principall part of his entertainment, he should hear sweet voices of children, Ionicke and Lydiantu nes, exquisite musick, he should have a ....., and the Cardinal of Burbon to be his confessor; which he used as a most plausible argument, as to a sensuall man indeed it is. [g] Lucian, in his book *de saltatione*, is not ashamed to confess that he took infinite delight in singing, dancing, musick, womens company, and such like pleasures; *and if thou* (saith he) *didst but hear them play and dance, I know thou wouldst be so well pleased with the object, that thou wouldst dance for company thy self: without doubt thou wilt bee taken with it:* So Scaliger ingenuously confesseth, *exercit.* 274. [h] *I am beyond all measure affected with musick; I do most willingly behold them dance; I am mightily detained and allured with that*

[x] Numen inest numeris. [y] Sæpe graves morbos modulatum carmen abegit, Et desperatis conciliavit opem. [z] Lib. 5. cap. 7. Mœrentibus mœrorem adimam, lætantem vero seipso reddam hilariorem, amantem calidiorem, religiosum divino numine correptum, et ad Deos colendos paratiorem. [a] Natalis Comes, Myth. lib. 4. cap. 12. [b] Lib. 5. de rep. Curat musica furorem Sancti Viti. [c] Exsilire è convivio. Cardan, subtil. lib. 13. [d] Iliad 1. [e] Libro 9. cap. 1. Psaltrias, sambucistriasque, et convivialia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis, ex Asiâ invexit in urbem. [f] Commineus. [g] Ista libenter et magnâ cum voluptate spectare soleo. Et scio te illecebris hisce captum iri, et insuper tripudiaturum: haud dubiè demulcebere. [h] In musicis supra omnem fidem capior et oblector; choreas libentissime aspicio; pulchrarum feminarum venustate detineor: otiari inter has solutus curis possum.

grace and comeliness of fair women; I am well pleased to bee idle amongst them. And what young man is not? As it is acceptable and conducing to most, so especially to a melancholy man; provided alwaies, his disease proceed not originally from it, that he bee not some light *inamorato*, some idle phantastick, who capers in conceit all the day long, and thinks of nothing else, but how to make jigs, sonnets, madrigals, in commendation of his mistress. In such cases, musick is most pernicious, as a spur to a free horse will make him run himself blinde, or break his wind; *incitamentum enim amoris musica;* for musick enchants, as Menander holds; it will make such melancholy persons mad; and the sound of those jigs and horn-pipes will not bee removed out of the ears a week after. [i] Plato, for this reason, forbids musick and wine to all young men, because they are most part amorous, *ne ignis addatur igni*, lest one fire increase another. Many men are melancholy by hearing musick; but it is a pleasing melancholy that it causeth; and therefore, to such as are discontent, in wo, fear, sorrow, or dejected, it is a most present remedy: it expels cares, alters their grieved minds, and easeth in an instant. Otherwise, saith [j] Plutarch, *musica magis dementat quam vinum:* musick makes some men mad as a tygre; like Astolphos horn in Ariosto, or Mercuries golden wand in Homer, that made some wake, others sleep, it hath divers effects: and [k] Theophrastus right well prophesied, that diseases were either cured by musick, or mitigated.

Subsect. IV.—*Mirth and merry company, fair objects, remedies.*

Mirth and merry company may not be separated from musick, both concerning and necessarily required in this business. Mirth (saith [l] Vives) *purgeth the blood, confirmes health, causeth a fresh, pleasing, and fine colour*, prorogues life, whets the wit, makes the body young, lively, and fit for any manner of imployment. The merrier heart, the longer life: *a merry heart is the life of the flesh* (Prov. 14. 40); *Gladness prolongs his dayes* (Ecclus. 30. 22); and this is one of the three Salernitan doctors, D. Merryman. D. Diet, and D. Quiet, [m] which cure all diseases——*Mens hilaris, requies, moderata diæta.* [n] Gomesius (*præfat. lib. 3. de sal. gen.*) is a great magnifyer of honest mirth, by which (saith he) *we cure many passions of the minde, in our selves, and in our friends:* which [o] Galateus assignes for a cause why we love merry companions: and well they deserve it, being that (as [p] Magninus holds) a merry companion is better than musick, and, as the saying is, *comes jucundus in viâ pro vehiculo*, as a wagon to him that is wearied on the way. *Jucunda confabulatio, sales, joci*, pleasant discourse, jests, conceits, merry tales, *melliti verborum globuli*, (as Petronius, [q] Pliny, [r] Spondanus, [s] Cælius, and many good authors plead) are that sole *nepenthes* of Homer, Helenas boule, Venus girdle, so renowned of old, [t] to expell grief and care, to cause mirth and gladness of heart, if they be rightly understood, or seasonably applied. In a word,

> [u] Amor, voluptas, Venus, gaudium,
> Jocus, ludus, sermo suavis, suaviatio,

are the true *nepenthes*. For these causes our physicians generally prescribe this as a principal engine, to batter the walls of melancholy, a chief antidote,

[i] 3 De legibus. [j] Sympos. quæst. 5. Musica multos magis dementat quam vinum. [k] Animi morbi vel à musicâ curantur vel inferuntur. [l] Lib. 3. de animâ. Lætitia purgat sanguinem, valetudinem conservat, colorem inducit florentem, nitidum, gratum. [m] Spiritus temperat, calorem excitat, naturalem virtutem corroborat, juvenile corpus diu servat, vitam prorogat, ingenium acuit, et hominem negotiis quibuslibet aptiorem reddit. Schola Salern. [n] Dum contumeliâ vacant, et festivâ lenitate mordent, mediocres animi ægritudines sanare solent, &c. [o] De mor. fol. 57. Amamus ideo eos qui sunt faceti et jucundi. [p] Regim. sanit. part. 2. Nota quod amicus bonus et dilectus socius narrationibus suis jucundis superat omnem melodiam. [q] Lib. 21. cap. 27. [r] Comment. in 4 Odyss. [s] Lib. 26, c. 15. [t] Homericum illud nepenthes, quod mœrorem tollit, et euthymiam hilaritatem parit. [u] Plaut. Bacch.

and a sufficient cure of it self. *By all means* (saith [v] Mesue) *procure mirth to these men, in such things as are heard, seen, tasted, or smelled, or any way perceived; and let them have all enticements, and fair promises, the sight of excellent beauties, attires, ornaments, delightsome passages, to distract their minds from fear and sorrow, and such things on which they are so fixed and intent.* [w] *Let them use hunting, sports, playes, jests, merry company*, as Rhasis prescribes, *which will not let the minde be molested, a cup of good drinke now and then, hear musick, and have such companions with whom they are especially delighted,* [x] *merry tales or toyes, drinking, singing, dancing, and whatsoever else may procure mirth:* and by no means, saith Guianerius, suffer them to be alone. Benedictus Victorius Faventinus, in his Empericks, accompts it an especial remedy against melancholy, [y] *to hear and see singing, dancing, maskers, mummers, to converse with such merry fellows, and fair maids. For the beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance*, Ecclus. 36. 22. [z] Beauty alone is a soveraign remedy against fear, grief, and all melancholy fits; a charm, as Peter de la Seine and many other writers affirme, a banquet it self; he gives instance in discontented Menelaüs that was so often freed by Helenas fair face: and [a] Tully (3 *Tusc.*) cites Epicurus as a chief patron of this tenent. To expell grief, and procure pleasance, sweet smells, good diet, touch, taste, embracing, singing, dancing, sports, playes, and, above the rest, exquisite beauties, *quibus oculi jucunde moventur et animi*, are most powerfull means; *obvia forma*, to meet, or see a fair maid pass by, or to be in company with her. He found it by experience, and made good use of it in his own person, if Plutarch bely him not; for he reckons up the names of some more elegant pieces, [b] Leontia, Boedina, Hedicia, Nicedia, that were frequently seen in Epicurus garden, and very familiar in his house. Neither did he try it himself alone; but, if we may give credit to [c] Athenæus, he practised it upon others: For, when a sad and sick patient was brought unto him to be cured, *he laid him on a down bed, crowned him with a garland of sweet-smelling flowers, in a fair perfumed closet delicately set out; and, after a potion or two of good drink which he administred, he brought in a beautiful yong* [d] *wench that could play upon a lute, sing and dance, &c.* Tully (3 *Tusc.*) scoffes at Epicurus for this his prophane physick (as well he deserved); and yet Phavorinus and Stobæus highly approve of it. Most of our looser physicians, in some cases, to such parties especially, allow of this; and all of them will have a melancholy, sad, and discontented person, make frequent use of honest sports, companies, and recreations, *et incitandos ad Venerem* (as [e] Rodericus à Fonseca will) *aspectu et contactu pulcherrimarum feminarum;* to be drawn to such consorts, whether they will or no; not to be an auditor only, or a spectator, but sometimes an actor himself. *Dulce est desipere in loco;* to play the fool now and then, is not amiss; there is a time for all things. Grave Socrates would be merry by fits, sing, dance, and take his liquor too, or else Theodoret belies him; so would old Cato; [f] Tully by his own confession, and the

[v] De ægritud. capitis. Omni modo generet lætitiam in iis, de iis quæ audiuntur et videntur, aut odorantur, aut gustantur, aut quocunque modo sentiri possunt, et aspectu formarum multi decoris et ornatûs, et negotiatione jucundâ, et blandientibus ludis, et promissis distrahantur eorum animi de re aliquâ quam timent et dolent. [w] Utantur venationibus, ludis, jocis, amicorum consortiis, quæ non sinunt animum turbari, vino, et cantu, et loci mutatione, et biberiâ, et gaudio, et quibus præcipue delectantur. [x] Piso: fabulis et ludis quærenda delectatio. His versetur qui maxime grati sunt: cantus et chorea ad lætitiam prosunt. [y] Præcipue valet ad expellendam melancholiam stare in cantibus, ludis, et soulz, et habitare cum familiaribus, et præcipue cum puellis jucundis. [z] Par 5. de avocamentis. lib. de absolvendo luctu. [a] Corporum complexus, cantus, ludi, formæ, &c. [b] Circa hortos Epicuri frequentes. [c] Dynosoph. lib. 10. Coronavit florido serto incendens odores, in cuticitâ plumeâ collocavit, dulciculam potionem propinans psaltriam adduxit, &c. [d] Ut reclinatâ suaviter in lectum puellâ, &c. [e] Tom. 2. consult. 85. [f] Epist. fam. lib. 7. 22. epist. Heri domum, bene potus, seroque redieram.

rest. Xenophon, in his Sympos. brings in Socrates as a principal actor; no man merrier then himself; and sometimes he would [g]*ride a cock horse with his children,* ———*equitare in arundine longâ* (though Alcibiades scoffed at him for it); and well he might; for now and then (saith Plutarch) the most vertuous, honest, and gravest men will use feasts, jests, and toys, as we do sauce to our meats. So did Scipio and Lælius,

[h] Quin, ubi se, a vulgo et scenâ, in secreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Lælî,
Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti——

Valorous Scipio and gentle Lælius,
Removed from the scene and rout so clamorous,
Were wont to recreate themselves, their robes laid by,
Whilst supper by the cook was making ready.

Machiavel, in the 8 book of his Florentine history, gives this note of Cosmus Medices, the wisest and gravest man of his time in Italy, that he would [i]*now and then play the most egregious fool in his carriage, and was so much given to jesters, players, and childish sports, to make himself merry, that he that should but consider his gravity on the one part, his folly and lightness on the other, would surely say, there were two distinct persons in him.* Now, me thinks he did well in it, though [j]Salisburiensis be of opinion that magistrates, senators, and grave men, should not descend to lighter sports, *ne respublica ludere videatur;* but, as Themistocles, still keep a stern and constant carriage. I commend Cosmus Medices, and Castruccius Castrucanus, then whom Italy never knew a worthier captain, another Alexander, if [k]Machiavel do not deceive us in his life: *when a friend of his reprehended him for dancing beside his dignity* (belike at some cushen dance) he told him again, *qui sapit interdiu, vix unquam noctu desipit;* he that is wise in the day, may dote a little in the night. Paulus Jovius relates as much of Pope Leo Decimus, that he was a grave, discreet, stay'd man, yet sometimes most free, and too open in his sports. And 'tis not altogether [l]unfit or misbeseeming the gravity of such a man, if that *decorum* of time, place, and such circumstances, be observed, [m]*Misce stultitiam consilis brevem:* and, as [n]he said in an epigram to his wife, I would have every man say to himself, or to his friend,

Moll, once in pleasant company, by chance
I wisht that you for company would dance:
Which you refus'd, and said, your years require,
Now, matron-like, both manners and attire.
Well, Moll, if needs you will be matron-like,
Then trust to this, I will thee matron-like:
Yet so to you my love may never lessen,
As you, for church, house, bed, observe this lesson:
Sit in the church as solemn as a saint;
No deed, word, thought, your due devotion taint:
Vaile, if you will, your head; your soul reveal
To him that only wounded soules can heal.
Be in my house as busy as a bee,
Having a sting for every one but me;
Buzzing in every corner, gath'ring hony:
Let nothing waste, that costs or yieldeth mony.
[o]And, when thou seest my heart to mirth incline,
Thy tongue, wit, blood, warm with good cheere & wine:
Then of sweet sports let no occasion scape,
But be as wanton, toying, as an ape.

Those old [p]Greeks had their *Lubentiam Deam*, goddess of Pleasance, and the Lacedæmonians, instructed from Lycurgus, did *Deo Risui sacrificare*, after their wars especially, and in times of peace; which was used in Thessaly, as it appears by that of [q]Apuleius, who was made an instrument of their laughter himself; [r]*because laughter and merriment was to season their labours and modester life.* [s]*Risus enim Divûm atque hominum est æterna voluptas.* Princes use jesters, players, and have those masters of revels in their courts. The Romans, at every supper, (for they had no solemn dinner) used musick, gladiators, jesters, &c. as [t]Suetonius relates of Tiberius, Dion of Commodus; and so did the Greeks. Besides musick, in Xenophons *Sympos.* *Philippus*

[g] Valer. Max. cap. 8. lib. 8. Interpositâ arundine cruribus suis, cum filiis ludens, ab Alcibiade risus est. [h] Hor. [i] Hominibus facetis et ludis puerilibus ultra modum deditus, adeo ut sicut in eo tam gravitatem quam levitatem considerare liberet, duas personas distinctas in eo esse diceret. [j] De nugis curial. lib. 1. cap. 4. Magistratus et viri graves a ludis levioribus arcendi. [k] Machiavel, vitâ ejus. Ab amico reprehensus, quod præter dignitatem tripudiis operam daret, respondet, &c. [l] There is a time for all things, to weep, laugh, mourn, dance. Eccles. 3. 4. [m] Hor. [n] Sir John Harrington, Epigr. 50. [o] Lucretia toto sis licet usque die, Thaida nocte volo. [p] Lil. Giraldus, hist. Deor. syntag. 1. [q] Lib. 2. de aur. as. [r] Eo quod risus esset laboris et modesti victûs condimentum. [s] Calcag. epig. [t] Cap. 61. In deliciis habuit scurras et adulatores.

ridendi artifex, Philip, a jester, was brought to make sport. Paulus Jovius, in the eleventh book of his history, hath a pretty digression of our English customes, which howsoever some may misconster, I, for my part, will interpret to the best. [u] *The whole nation, beyond all other mortal men, is most given to banqueting and feasts; for they prolong them many houres together, with dainty cheere, exquisite musick, and facete jesters; and afterwards they fall a dancing and courting their mistresses, till it be late in the night.* Volaterran gives the same testimony of this island, commending our jovial manner of entertainment, and good mirth; and me thinks he saith well; there is no harm in it; long may they use it, and all such modest sports. Ctesias reports of a Persian king, that had 150 maids attending at his table, to play, sing, and dance by turns; and [v]Lil. Giraldus of an Egyptian prince, that kept nine virgins still to wait upon him, and those of most excellent feature, and sweet voices, which afterwards gave occasion to the Greeks of that fiction of the nine muses. The king of Æthiopia in Africk, most of our Asiatick princes, have done so, and do; those Sophies, Mogors, Turkes, &c. solace themselves after supper amongst their queens and concubines, *quæ, jucundioris oblectamenti caussâ* ([w]saith mine author) *coram rege psallere et saltare consueverant;* taking great pleasure to see and hear them sing and dance. This and many such means, to exhilarate the heart of men, have been still practised in all ages, as knowing there is no better thing to the preservation of mans life. What shall I say then, but to every melancholy man,

[x] Utere convivis non tristibus; utere amicis Quos nugæ et risus et joca salsa juvant.	Feast often, and use friends not still so sad, Whose jests and merriments may make thee glad.

Use honest and chast sports, scenical shews, playes, games; [y] *accedant juvenumque chori, mixtæque puellæ.* And, as Marsilius Ficinus concludes an epistle to Bernard Canisianus and some other of his friends, will I this tract to all good students; [z] *Live merrily, O my friends, free from cares, perplexity, anguish, grief of mind; live merrily;* lætitiæ cœlum vos creavit: [a] *again and again I request you to be merry; if any thing trouble your hearts, or vex your souls, neglect and contemn it;* [b] *let it passe.* [c] *And this I enjoyn you, not as a divine alone, but as a physician; for, without this mirth, which is the life and quintessence of physick, medicines, and whatsoever is used and applyed to prolong the life of man, is dull, dead, and of no force. Dum fata sinunt, vivite læti* (Seneca): I say be merry:

[d] Nec lusibus virentem,
Viduemus hanc juventam.

It was Tiresias the prophets counsel to [e]Menippus, that travelled all the world over, even down to hell itself, to seek content, and his last farewell to Menippus, to be merry. [f] *Contemn the world* (saith he) *and count all that is in it vanity and toyes: this only covet all thy life long; be not curious, or over solicitous in any thing, but with a well composed and contented estate to enjoy thy self, and above all things to be merry.*

Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque.

Nothing better, (to conclude with Solomon Eccles. 3. 22.) *then that a man should rejoyce in his affairs.* 'Tis the same advice which every physician in

[u] Universa gens supra mortales cæteros conviviorum studiosissima. Ea enim per varias et exquisitas dapes, interpositis musicis et joculatoribus, in multas sæpius horas extrahunt, ac subinde productis choreis et amoribus fœminarum indulgent, &c. [v] Syntag. de Musis. [w] Athenæus, lib. 12 et 14. Assiduis mulierum vocibus, cantuque symphoniæ palatium Persarum regis totum personabat. Jovius hist. lib. 18. [x] Eobanus Hessus. [y] Fracastorius. [z] Vivite ergo læti, O amici; procul ab angustiâ, vivite læti. [a] Iterum precor et obtestor, vivite læti; illud, quod cor urit, negligite. [b] Lætus in præsens animus quod ultra est oderit curare. Hor. [c] He was both sacerdos et medicus. Hæc autem non tam ut sacerdos, amici, mando vobis, quam ut medicus; nam absque hac unâ tamquam medicinarum vitâ, medicinæ omnes ad vitam producendam adhibitæ moriuntur: vivite læti. [d] Locheus. Anacreon. [e] Lucian. Necyomantia. tom. 2. [f] Omnia mundana nugas æstima. Hoc solum totâ vitâ persequere, ut, præsentibus bene compositis, minime curiosus, aut ullâ in re solicitus, quam plurimum potes vitam *hilarem traducas.*

this case rings to his patient, as [g] Capivaccius to his: *avoid over much study and perturbations of the minde, and, as much as in thee lies, live at hearts ease:* Prosper Calenus to that melancholy cardinal Cæsius, [h] *amidst thy serious studies and business, use jests and conceits, playes and toyes, and whatsoever else may recreate thy mind.* Nothing better then mirth and merry company in this malady. [i] *It begins with sorrow* (saith Montanus): *it must be expelled with hilarity.*

But see the mischief; many men, knowing that merry company is the only medicine against melancholy, will therefore neglect their business, and in another extreme, spend all their dayes among good fellowes in a tavern or an ale-house, and know not otherwise how to bestow their time but in drinking; malt-worms, men-fishes, or water-snakes, [j] *qui bibunt solum ranarum more, nihil comedentes,* like so many frogs in a puddle. 'Tis their sole exercise to eat and drink; to sacrifice to Volupia, Rumina, Edulica, Potina, Mellona, is all their religion. They wish for Philoxenus neck, Jupiters trinoctium, and that the sun would stand still as in Joshuas time, to satisfy their lust, that they might *dies noctesque pergrœcari et bibere.* Flourishing wits, and men of good parts, good fashion, and good worth, basely prostitute themselves to every rogues company, to take tobacco and drink, to roare and sing scurrile songs in base places.

[k] Invenies aliquem cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis:

Which Thomas Erastus objects to Paracelsus, that he would lie drinking all day long with car-men and tapsters in a brothel-house, is too frequent amongst us, with men of better note: like Timocreon of Rhodes, *multa bibens, et multa vorans, &c.* they drown their wits, seeth their brains in ale, consume their fortunes, lose their time, weaken their temperatures, contract filthy diseases, rheumes, dropsies, calentures, tremor, get swoln juglars, pimpled red faces, sore eyes, &c. heat their livers, alter their complexions, spoil their stomacks, overthrow their bodies, (for drink drowns more then the sea and all the rivers that fall into it)—meer funges and casks—confound their souls, suppress reason, go from Scylla to Charybdis, and use that which is an help, to their undoing. [l] *Quid refert, morbo an ferro pereamve ruinâ?* [m] When the black prince went to set the exil'd king of Castile into his kingdome, there was a terrible battel fought betwixt the English and the Spanish; at last the Spanish fled; the English followed them to the river side, *where some drowned themselves to avoid their enemies, the rest were killed.* Now tell me what difference is between drowning and killing? As good be melancholy still, as drunken beasts and beggars. Company, a sole comfort, and an only remedy to all kind of discontent, is their sole misery and cause of perdition. As Hermione lamented in Euripides, *malæ mulieres me fecerunt malam,* evil company marr'd her, may they justly complain, bad companions have been their bane. For, [n] *malus malum vult, ut sit sui similis;* one drunkard in a company, one thief, one whoremaster, will, by his good will, make all the rest as bad as himself:

——— [o] et si
Nocturnos jures te formidare vapores,

be of what complexion you will, inclination, love or hate, be it good or bad, if you come amongst them, you must do as they do; yea, [p] though it be to the prejudice of your health, you must drink *venenum pro vino.* And so,

[g] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de Maniâ fol. 161. Studia literarum et animi perturbationes fugiat, et quantum potest, jucunde vivat. [h] Lib. de atrâ bile. Gravioribus curis ludos et facetias aliquando interpone, jocos, et quæ solent animum relaxare. [i] Consil. 30. Mala valetudo aucta et contracta est tristitia, ac propterea exhilaratione animi removenda. [j] Athen. dipnosoph. lib. 1. [k] Juven. Sat. 8. [l] Hor. [m] Froissard. hist. lib. 1. Hispani, cum Anglorum vires ferre non possent, in fugam se dederunt, &c. Præcipites in fluvium se dederunt, ne in hostium manus venirent. [n] Ter. [o] Hor. [p] Ἡ κλῶι ἡ ἄκλωθι.

like grass-hoppers, whilst they sing over their cups all summer, they starve in winter; and, for a little vain merriment, shall find a sorrowful reckoning in the end.

SECT. III. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*A Consolatory Digression, containing the Remedies of all manner of Discontents.*

BECAUSE, in the precedent section, I have made mention of good counsel, comfortable speeches, perswasion, how necessarily they are required to the cure of a discontented or troubled mind, how present a remedy they yield, and many times a sole sufficient cure of themselves; I have thought fit, in this following section, a little to digress, (if at least it be to digress in this subject) to collect and glean a few remedies, and comfortable speeches, out of our best orators, philosophers, divines, and fathers of the church, tending to this purpose. I confess, many have copiously written of this subject, Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Xenophon, Epictetus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Crantor, Lucian, Boëthius—and some of late, Sadoletus, Cardan, Budæus, Stella, Petrarch, Erasmus, besides Austin, Cyprian, Bernard, &c. and they so well, that, as Hierome in like case said, *si nostrum areret ingenium, de illorum posset fontibus irrigari*, if our barren wits were dried up, they might be copiously irrigated from those well-springs; and I shall but *actum agere*. Yet, because these tracts are not so obvious and common, I will epitomize, and briefly insert some of their divine precepts, reducing their voluminous and vast treatises to my small scale; for it were otherwise impossible to bring so great vessels into so little a creek. And, although (as Cardan said of his book *de consol.*) [a]*I know before hand, this tract of mine many will contemn and reject; they that are fortunate, happy, and in flourishing estate, have no need of such consolatory speeches; they that are miserable and unhappy, think them unsufficient to ease their grieved minds, and comfort their misery;* yet I will go on; for this must needs do some good to such as are happy, to bring them to a moderation, and make them reflect and know themselves, by seeing the unconstancy of humane felicity, others misery: and to such as are distressed, if they will but attend and consider of this, it cannot choose but give some content and comfort. [b]*'Tis true, no medicine can cure all diseases, some affections of the mind are altogether incurable: yet these helps of art, physick, and philosophy, must not be contemned.* Arrianus and Plotinus are stiffe in the contrary opinion, that such precepts can do little good. Boëthius himself cannot comfort in some cases: they will reject such speeches, like bread of stones: *Insana stultæ mentis hæc solatia. Words adde no courage* (which [c]Catiline once said to his souldiers): *a captains oration doth not make a coward a valiant man*: and, as Job [d]feelingly said to his friends, *you are but miserable comforters all.* 'Tis to no purpose, in that vulgar phrase, to use a company of obsolete sentences, and familiar sayings: as [e]Plinius Secundus, being now sorrowful and heavy for the departure of his dear friend Cornelius Rufus a Roman senator, wrote to his fellow Tiro in like case, *adhibe solatia, sed nova aliqua, sed fortia, quæ audierim nunquam, legerim nunquam: nam quæ audivi, quæ legi, omnia tanto dolore superantur;* either say something that I never read nor heard of before, or else hold thy peace. Most men will here except, trivial consolations

[a] Lib. de lib. propriis. Hos libros scio multos spernere; nam felices his se non indigere putant, infelices ad solationem miseriæ non sufficere. Et tamen felicibus moderationem, dum inconstantiam humanæ felicitatis docent, præstant: infelices, si omnia recte æstimare velint, felices reddere possunt. [b] Nullum medicamentum omnes sanare potest; sunt affectus animi qui prorsus sunt insanabiles; non tamen artis opus sperni debet, aut medicinæ, aut philosophiæ. [c] Sallust. Verba virtutem non addunt, nec imperatoris oratio facit è timido fortem. [d] Job, cap. 16. [e] Epist. 12. lib. 1.

ordinary speeches, and known perswasions, in this behalf will be of small force; what can any man say that hath not been said? to what end are such parænetical discourses? you may as soon remove mount Caucasus, as alter some mens affections. Yet sure I think they cannot choose but do some good, comfort and ease a little: though it be the same again, I will say it; and upon that hope, I will adventure. [f] *Non meus hic sermo,* tis not my speech this, but of Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Austin, Bernard, Christ, and his apostles. If I make nothing, as [g] Montaigne said in like case, I will mar nothing; tis not my doctrine but my study; I hope I shall do no body wrong to speak what I think, and deserve not blame in imparting my mind. If it be not for thy ease, it may be for my own; so Tully, Cardan, and Boëthius wrote *de consol.* as well to help themselves, as others. Be it as it may, I will essay.

Discontents and grievances are either generall or particular; generall are wars, plagues, dearths, famine, fires, inundations, unseasonable weather, epidemical diseases, which afflict whole kingdoms, territories, cities: or peculiar to private men, [h] as cares, crosses, losses, death of friends, poverty, want, sickness, orbities, injuries, abuses, &c. generally all discontent: [i] *homines quatimur fortunæ salo:* no condition free: *quisque suos patimur manes.* Even in the midst of our mirth and jollity, there is some grudging, some complaint; as [j] he saith, our whole life is a *glucupicron,* a bitter-sweet passion, hony and gall mixt together; we are all miserable and discontent; who can deny it? If all, and that it be a common calamity, an inevitable necessity, all distressed, then, as Cardan infers, [k] *who art thou, that hopest to go free? Why dost thou not grieve, thou art a mortall man, and not governor of the world?*

> Ferre, quam sortem patiuntur omnes,
> Nemo recuset;

[l] *if it be common to all, why should one man be more disquieted then another?* If thou alone wert distressed, it were indeed more irksome, and less to be indured: but, when the calamity is common, comfort thyself with this, thou hast more fellows: *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris:* 'tis not thy sole case; and why shouldst thou be so impatient? [m] *I, but alas we are more miserable then others: what shall we do? Besides private miseries, we live in perpetuall fear, and danger of common enemies; we have Bellonas whips, and pittifull out-cryes, for epithalamiums; for pleasant musick, that fearfull noise of ordnance, drums, and warlike trumpets, still sounding in our eares; instead of nuptiall torches, we have firing of towns and cities: for triumphs, lamentations; for joy, teares.* [n] *So it is, and so it was, and ever will be. He that refuseth to see and hear, to suffer this, is not fit to live in this world, and knows not the common condition of all men, to whom, so long as they live, with a reciprocall course, joyes and sorrows are annexed, and succeed one another.* It is inevitable; it may not be avoided; and why then shouldst thou be so much troubled? *Grave nihil est homini quod fert necessitas,* as [o] Tully deems out of an old poet: that which is necessary, can-

[f] Hor. [g] Lib. 2. Essays, cap. 6. [h] Alium paupertas, alium orbitas, hunc morbi, illum timor, alium injuriæ, hunc insidiæ, illum uxor, filii, distrahunt. Cardan. [i] Boëthius, l. 1. met. 5. [j] Apuleius, 4. florid. Nihil homini tam prospere datum divinitus, quin ei admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis; in amplissimâ quâque lætitiâ subest quædam querimonia, conjugatione quâdam mellis et fellis. [k] Si omnes premantur, quis tu es, qui solus evadere cupis ab eâ lege quæ neminem præterit? Cur te non immortalem factum, et universi orbis regem fieri, non doles? [l] Puteanus, ep. 75. Neque cuiquam præcipue dolendum eo quod accidit universis. [m] Lorchan. Gallobelgicus, lib. 3. Anno 1598, de Belgis. Sed ebeu! inquis; euge! quid agemus? ubi pro epithalamio Bellonæ flagellum, pro musicâ harmoniâ terribilium lituorum et tubarum audias clangorem, pro tædis nuptialibus, villarum, pagorum, urbium videas incendia; ubi pro jubilo lamenta, pro risu fletus, aërem complent. [n] Ita est profecto; et quisquis hæc videre abnuis, huic sæculo parum aptus es; aut potius nostrorum omnium conditionem ignoras, quibus reciproco quodam nexu læta tristibus, tristia lætis, invicem succedunt. [o] In Tusc. è vetere poëtâ.

not be grievous. If it be so, then comfort thyself in this, [p] *that, whether thou will or no, it must be indured:* make a vertue of necessity, and conform thy self to undergo it. [q] *Si longa est levis est: si gravis est, brevis est:* if it be long, 'tis light; if grievous, it cannot last; it will away; *dies dolorem minuit*, and, if nought else, yet time will wear it out; custome will ease it: [r] oblivion is a common medicine for all losses, injuries, griefes, and detriments whatsoever; [s] *and, when they are once past, this commodity comes of infelicity, it makes the rest of our life sweeter unto us*; [t] atque hæc olim meminisse juvabit: *the privation and want of a thing many times makes it more pleasant and delightsome then before it was.* We must not think, the happiest of us all, to escape here without some misfortunes,

[u] ——Usque adeo nulla est sincera voluptas,
Solicitumque aliquid lætis intervenit.

Heaven and earth are much unlike: [v] *those heavenly bodies indeed are freely carried in their orbes without any impediment or interruption, to continue their course for innumerable ages, and make their conversions: but men are urged with many difficulties, and have divers hindrances, oppositions, still crossing, interrupting their endeavours and desires; and no mortall man is free from this law of nature.* We must not therefore hope to have all things answer our expectation, to have a continuance of good success and fortunes: *Fortuna nunquam perpetuo est bona.* And, as Minutius Felix the Roman consul told that insulting Coriolanus, drunk with his good fortunes, look not for that success thou hast hitherto had: [w] *it never yet happened to any man since the beginning of the world, nor ever will, to have all things according to his desire, or to whom fortune was never opposite and adverse.* Even so it fell out to him as he foretold; and so to others, even to that happiness of Augustus: though he were Jupiters almoner, Plutos treasurer, Neptunes admiral, it could not secure him. Such was Alcibiades fortune, Narsetes, that great Gonsalvus, and most famous mens, that, as [x] Jovius concludes, *it is almost fatall to great princes, through their own default or otherwise circumvented with envy and malice, to lose their honours, and die contumeliously.* 'Tis so, still hath been, and ever will be:

——nihil est ab omni
Parte beatum: | There's no perfection is so absolute,
That some impurity doth not pollute.

Whatsoever is under the moon is subject to corruption, alteration; and, so long as thou livest upon earth, look not for other. [y] *Thou shalt not here finde peaceable and chearfull dayes, quiet times, but rather cloudes, stormes, calumnies: such is our fate.* And, as those errant planets, in their distinct orbes, have their severall motions, sometimes direct, stationary, retrograde, in *apogeo*, *perigeo*, orientall, occidentall, combust, ferall, free, and, as our astrologers will, have their fortitudes and debilities, by reason of those good and bad irradiations, conferred to each others site in the heavens, in their terms, houses, case, detriments, &c. so we rise and fall in this world, ebbe and flow, in and out, reared and dejected, lead a troublesome life, subject to many accidents and casualties of fortunes, variety of passions, infirmities, as well from our selves as others.

Yea, but thou thinkest thou art more miserable then the rest; other men

[p] Cardan. lib. 1. de consol. Est consolationis genus non leve, quod a necessitate fit, sive feras, sive non feras, ferendum est tamen. [q] Seneca. [r] Omni dolori tempus est medicina; ipsum luctum exstinguit; injurias delet; omnis mali oblivionem adfert. [s] Habet hoc quoque commodum omnis infelicitas; suaviorem vitam, cum abierit, relinquit. [t] Virg. [u] Ovid. [v] Lorchan. Sunt namque infera superis, humana terrenis, longe disparia. Etenim beatæ mentes feruntur libere, et sine ullo impedimento: stellæ, æthereique orbes, cursus et conversiones suas jam sæculis innumerabilibus constantissime conficiunt: verum homines magnis angustiis. Neque hac naturæ lege est quisquam mortalium solutus. [w] Dionysius Halicar. lib. 8. Non enim unquam contigit, nec post homines natos invenies quemquam, cui omnia ex animi sententiâ successerint, ita ut nullâ in re fortuna sit ei adversata. [x] Vit. Gonsalvi, lib. ult. Ut ducibus fatale sit clarissimis, aut culpâ suâ aut secus, circumveniri malitiâ et invidiâ, imminutâque dignitate per contumeliam mori. [y] In terris purum illum ætherem non invenies, et ventos serenos; nimbos potius, procellas, calumnias. Lips. cent. misc. ep. 8.

are happy in respect of thee; their miseries are but flea-bitings to thine; thou alone art unhappy; none so bad as thyself. Yet if, as Socrates said, [z] *all the men in the world should come and bring their grievances together, of body, minde, fortune, sores, ulcers, madness, epilepsies, agues, and all those common calamities of beggery, want, servitude, imprisonment, and lay them on a heap to be equally divided, wouldst thou share alike, and take thy portion, or be as thou art? Without question, thou wouldst be as thou art.* If some Jupiter should say, to give us all content,

[a] Jam faciam quod vultis; eris tu, qui modo miles,
Mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
Vos hinc, mutatis discedite partibus. Eia!
Quid statis? Nolint.

Well, be't so then: you, master souldier,
Shall be a merchant; you, sir lawyer,
A country gentleman; go you to this,
That side you; why stand ye? It's well as 'tis.

[b] *Every man knowes his own, but not others defects and miseries; and 'tis the nature of all men still to reflect upon themselves, their own misfortunes,* not to examine or consider other mens, not to confer themselves with others; to recount their miseries, but not their good gifts, fortunes, benefits, which they have; to ruminate on their adversity, but not once to think on their prosperity, not what they have, but what they want; to look still on them that go before, but not on those infinite numbers that come after; [c] *whereas many a man would think himself in heaven, a petty prince, if he had but the least part of that fortune which thou so much repinest at, abhorrest, and accountest a most vile and wretched estate.* How many thousands want that which thou hast! how many myriades of poor slaves, captives, of such as work day and night in cole-pits, tin-mines, with sore toil to maintain a poor living, of such as labour in body and minde, live in extreme anguish, and pain, all which thou art free from! *O fortunatos nimium, bona si sua nôrint!* Thou art most happy if thou couldst be content, and acknowledge thy happiness. *Rem carendo, non fruendo, cognoscimus;* when thou shalt hereafter come to want that which thou now loathest, abhorrest, and art weary of, and tired with, when 'tis past, thou wilt say thou wert most happy; and, after a little misse, wish with all thine heart, thou hadst the same content again, might'st lead but such a life; a world for such a life: the remembrance of it is pleasant. Be silent then: [d] rest satisfied; *desine, intuensque in aliorum infortunia, solare mentem;* comfort thy self with other mens misfortunes; and, as the moldiwarpe in Æsop told the fox, complaining for want of a tail, and the rest of his companions, *tacete, quando me oculis captum videtis;* you complain of toies; but I am blinde; be quiet; I say to thee be thou satisfied. It is [e] recorded of the hares, that with a generall consent they went to drown themselves, out of a feeling of their misery: but, when they saw a company of frogs more fearfull then they were, they began to take courage and comfort again. Confer thine estate with others.

——similes aliorum respice casus;
Mitius ista feres.

Be content, and rest satisfied; for thou art well in respect of others; be thankful for that thou hast, that God hath done for thee; he hath not made thee a monster; a beast, a base creature, as he might, but a man, a Christian, such a man; consider aright of it, thou art full well as thou art. [f] *Quidquid vult, habere nemo potest:* no man can have what he will: *illud potest nolle, quod non habet;* he may chuse whether he will desire that which he hath not. Thy lot is falne: make the best of it. [g] *If we should all sleep at all times,* (as Endymion is said to have done) *who then were happier then his fellow?*

[z] Si omnes homines sua mala suasque curas in unum cumulum conferrent, sequis divisuri portionibus, &c. [a] Hor. ser. lib. 1. [b] Quod unusquisque propria mala novit, aliorum nesciat, in causâ est, ut se inter alios miserum putet. Cardan. lib. 3. de consol. Plutarch de consol. ad Apollonium. [c] Quam multos putas qui se cœlo proximos putarent, totidem regulos, si de fortunæ tuæ reliquiis pars iis minima contingat. Boëth. de consol. lib. 2. pros. 4. [d] Hesiod. Esto quod es; quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse. Quod non es, nolis; quod potes esse, velis. [e] Æsopi fab. [f] Seneca. [g] Si dormirent semper omnes, nullus alio felicior esset. Card. [h] Seneca, de irâ.

Our life is but short, a very dream; and, while we look about, [h] *immortalitas adest*, eternity is at hand. [i] *Our life is a pilgrimage on earth which wise men passe with great alacrity.* If thou be in woe, sorrow, want, distresse, in pain or sicknesse, think of that of our apostle; *God chastiseth them whom he loveth. They that sowe in tears shall reap in joy*, Psal. 126. 6. *As the fornace proveth the potters vessell, so doth temptation trie mens thoughts*, Ecc. 25. 5. 'Tis for [j] thy good: *periisses, nisi periisses:* hadst thou not been so visited, thou hadst been utterly undone. *As gold in the fire*, so men are tried in adversity. *Tribulatio ditat:* and, which Camerarius hath well shadowed in an embleme of a thresher and corn,

Si tritura absit, paleis sunt abdita grana:	As threshing separates from straw the corn,
Nos crux mundanis separat à paleis.	By crosses from the worlds chaffe are we born.

'Tis the very same which [k] Chrysostome comments, *hom.* 2. *in* 3. *Mat. Corn is not separated but by threshing, nor men from worldly impediments, but by tribulation.* 'Tis that which [l] Cyprian ingeminates, *Ser* 4. *de immort.* 'Tis that which [m] Hierom, which all the fathers inculcate; *so we are catechised for eternity.* 'Tis that which the proverb insinuates, *Nocumentum documentum*; 'tis that which all the world rings into our ears. *Deus unicum habet filium sine peccato, nullum sine flagello:* God, saith [n] Austin, hath one son without sin, none without correction. [o] *An expert sea-man is tried in a tempest, a runner in a race, a captain in a battle, a valiant man in adversity, a Christian in tentation and misery.* (Basil, *hom.* 8.) We are sent as so many souldiers into this world, to strive with it, the flesh, the devil; our life is a warfare; and who knows it not? [p] *Non est ad astra mollis è terris via:* [q] *and therefore peradventure this world here is made troublesome unto us, that*, as Gregory notes, *we should not be delighted by the way, and forget whither we are going.*

[r] Ite, nunc fortes, ubi celsa magni	Terga nudatis? superata tellus
Ducit exempli via: cur inertes	Sidera donat.

Go on then merrily to heaven. If the way be troublesome, and you in misery, in many grievances, on the other side you have many pleasant sports, objects, sweet smels, delightsome tastes, musick, meats, herbs, flowers, &c. to recreate your senses. Or put case thou art now forsaken of the world, dejected, contemned; yet comfort thy self, as it was said to Agar in the wildernesse, [s] *God sees thee: he takes notice of thee:* there is a God above that can vindicate thy cause, that can relieve thee. And surely, [t] Seneca thinks, he takes delight in seeing thee. *The gods are well pleased when they see great men contending with adversity*, as we are to see men fight, or a man with a beast. But these are toyes in respect: [u] *behold*, saith he, *a spectacle worthy of God; a good man contented with his estate.* A tyrant is the best sacrifice to Jupiter, as the ancients held, and his best object *a contented minde.* For thy part then, rest satisfied; *cast all thy care on him, thy burden on him; rely on him;* [v] *trust in him; and he shall nourish thee, care for thee, give thee thine hearts desire:* say with David, *God is our hope and strength, in troubles ready to be found* (Psal. 46. 1.): *for they that trust in the Lord shall be as mount Sion, which cannot be removed* (Psal. 125. 1, 2.): *as the mountains are about Jerusalem, so is the Lord about his people, from henceforth and for ever.*

[i] Plato, Axiocho. An ignoras vitam hanc peregrinationem, &c. quam sapientes cum gaudio percurrunt? [j] Sic expedit. Medicus non dat quod patiens vult, sed quod ipse bonum scit. [k] Frumentum non egreditur nisi triturutum, &c. [l] Non est pœna damnantis, sed flagellum corrigentis. [m] Ad hæreditatem æternam sic erudimur. [n] Confess. 6. [o] Nauclerum tempestas, athletam stadium, ducem pugna, magnanimum calamitas, Christianum vero tentatio probat et examinat. [p] Sen. Herc. fur. [q] Ideo Deus asperum fecit iter, ne, dum delectantur in viâ, obliviscantur eorum quæ sunt in patriâ. [r] Boëthius, l. 5. met. ult. [s] Boëth. pro ult. Manet spectator cunctorum desuper præscius Deus, bonis præmia, malis supplicia, dispensans. [t] Lib de provid. Voluptatem capiunt Dii, siquando magnos viros colluctantes cum calamitate vident. [u] Ecce spectaculum Deo dignum, vir fortis malâ fortunâ compositus. [v] 1 Pet. 5. 7. Psal. 55. 22.

MEMB. II.

Deformity of body, sicknesse, basenesse of birth, peculiar Discontents.

Particular discontents and grievances are either of body, minde, or fortune, which, as they wound the soul of man, produce this melancholy, and many great inconveniences, by that antidote of good counsell and perswasion may be eased or expelled. Deformities and imperfections of our bodies, as lamenesse, crookednesse, deafnesse, blindnesse, be they innate or accidentall, torture many men; yet this may comfort them, that those imperfections of the body do not a whit blemish the soul, or hinder the operations of it, but rather help and much increase it. Thou art lame of body, deformed to the eye; yet this hinders not but that thou maist be a good, a wise, upright, honest man. [w] *Seldome*, saith Plutarch, *honesty and beauty dwell together;* and oftentimes, under a thread-bare coat, lies an excellent understanding: *Sæpe sub attritâ latitat sapientia veste.* [x] Cornelius Mussus, that famous preacher in Italy, when he came first into the pulpit of Venice, was so much contemned by reason of his outside, a little, lean, poore, dejected, person, [y] they were all ready to leave the church; but, when they heard his voice, they did admire him; and happy was that senator could injoy his company, or invite him first to his house. A silly fellow to look to, may have more wit, learning, honesty, then he that struts it out, *ampullis jactans, &c. grandia gradiens*, and is admired in the worlds opinion. *Vilis sæpe cadus nobile nectar habet:* the best wine comes out of an old vessell. How many deformed princes, kings, emperours, could I reckon up, philosophers, orators? Hannibal had one eye, Appius Claudus, Timoleon, blinde, Muleasses king of Tunis, John king of Bohemia, and Tiresias the prophet. [z] *The night hath his pleasure;* and, for the losse of that one sense, such men are commonly recompensed in the rest: they have excellent memories, other good parts, musick, and many recreations; much happines, great wisdom, as Tully well discourseth in his [a] Tusculan Questions. Homer was blinde; yet who (saith he) made more accurate, lively, or better descriptions, with both his eyes? Democritus was blinde; yet, as Laërtius writes of him, he saw more than all Greece besides; as [b] Plato concludes, *tum sane mentis oculus acute incipit cernere, quum primum corporis oculus defloresc it:* when our bodily eyes are at worst, generally the eyes of our soul see best. Some philosophers and divines have evirated themselves, and put out their eyes voluntarily, the better to contemplate. Angelus Politianus had a tetter in his nose continually running, fulsome in company; yet no man so eloquent and pleasing in his works. Æsope was crooked, Socrates pur-blinde, long-legged, hairy; Democritus withered, Seneca lean and harsh, ugly to behold; yet shew me so many flourishing wits, such divine spirits: Horace, a little blear-eyed contemptible fellow; yet who so sententious and wise? Marcilius Ficinus, Faber Stapulensis, a couple of dwarfes; [c] Melancthon a short, hard-favoured man: *parvus erat, sed magnus erat, &c.* yet of incomparable parts all three. [d] Ignatius Loiola, the founder of the Jesuits, by reason of an hurt he received in his leg at the siege of Pampelona, the chief town of Navarre in Spaine, unfit for wars, and lesse serviceable at court, upon that accident betook himself to his beads, and by those means got more honour than ever he should have done with the use of his limbs, and propernes of person. [e] *Vulnus non*

[w] Raro sub eodem lare honestas et forma habitant. [x] Josephus Mussus, vitâ ejus. [y] Homuncio brevis, macilentus, umbra hominis, &c. Ad stuporem ejus eruditionem et eloquentiam admirati sunt. [z] Nox habet suas voluptates. [a] Lib. 5. ad finem. Cæcus potest esse sapiens et beatus, &c. [b] In Convivio, lib. 25. [c] Joachimus Camerarius, vit ejus. [d] Riber. vit. ejus. [e] Macrobius.

penetrat animam; a wound hurts not the soul. Galba the emperour was crook-backed, Epictetus lame; that great Alexander a little man of stature; [f] Augustus Cæsar of the same pitch; Agesilaüs *despicabili formâ;* Boccharis a most deformed prince as ever Egypt had, [g] yet (as Diodorus Siculus records of him) in wisdome and knowledge far beyond his predecessours. *A. Dom.* 1306, [h] Uladeslaus Cubitalis, that pigmy king of Poland, reigned and fought more victorious battels, then any of his long-shanked predecessours. *Nullam virtus respuit staturam:* vertue refuseth no stature; and commonly your great vast bodies, and fine features, are sottish, dull, and leaden spirits. What's in them? [i] *Quid nisi pondus iners, stolidæque ferocia mentis?* what in Otus and Ephialtes (Neptunes sons in Homer) nine akers long?

——— Qui, ut magnus Orion,
Cum pedes incedit, medii per maxima Nerei
Stagna viam findens, humero supereminet undas:

what in Maximinus, Ajax, Caligula, and the rest of those great Zanzummins, or giganticall Anakims, heavie, vast, barbarous lubbers?

——— si membra tibi dant grandia Parcæ,
Mentis eges.

Their body (saith [k] Lemnius) *is a burden to them, and their spirits not so lively, nor they so erect and merry: Non est in magno corpore mica salis.* A little diamond is more worth then a rocky mountain: which made Alexander Aphrodisiæus positively conclude, *the lesser, the* [l] *wiser, because the soul was much contracted in such a body.* Let Bodine (in his 5. *c. method. hist.*) plead the rest: the lesser they are, as in Asia, Greece, they have generally the finest wits. And for bodily stature, which some so much admire, and goodly presence, 'tis true, to say the best of them, great men are proper and tall, *I grant,——caput inter nubila condunt;* but *belli pusilli,* little men are pretty: *Sed si bellus homo est Cotta, pusillus homo est.* Sickness, diseases, trouble many, but without a cause. [m] *It may be 'tis for the good of their souls: pars fati fuit:* the flesh rebels against the spirit; that which hurts the one, must needs help the other. Sicknesse is the mother of modesty, putteth us in minde of our mortality; and, when we are in the full career of worldly pomp and jollity, she pulleth us by the ear, and maketh us know ourselves. [n] Pliny calls it the sum of philosophy, *if we could but perform that in our health, which we promise in our sicknesse. Quum infirmi sumus, optimi sumus;* for what sick man (as [o] Secundus expostulates with Rufus) was ever *lascivious, covetous, or ambitious? he envies no man, admires no man, flatters no man, despiseth no man, listens not after lyes and tales, &c.* And, were it not for such gentle remembrances, men would have no moderation of themselves; they would be worse then tigers, wolves, and lions: who should keep them in awe? *Princes, masters, parents, magistrates, judges, friends, enemies, fair or foul meanes cannot contain us; but a little sicknesse* (as [p] Chrysostome observes) *will correct and amend us.* And therefore, with good discretion, [q] Jovianus Pontanus caused this short sentence to be engraven on his tombe in Naples: *Labour, sorrow, grief, sicknesse, want and woe, to serve proud masters, bear that superstí-*

[f] Sueton. c. 7. 9. [g] Lib. 1. Corpore exili et despecto, sed ingenio et prudentiâ longe ante se reges cæteros præveniens. [h] Alexander Gaguinus, hist. Polandiæ. Corpore parvus eram, cubito vix altior uno: Sed tamen in parvo corpore magnus eram. [i] Ovid. [j] Virg. Æn. 10. [k] Lib. 2. cap 20. Oneri est illis corporis moles, et spiritus minus vividi. [l] Corpore breves prudentiores, quum coarctata sit anima. Ingenio pollet, cui vim natura negavit. [m] Multis ad salutem animæ profuit corporis ægritudo. Petrarch. [n] Lib. 7. Summa est totius philosophiæ, si tales, &c. [o] Plinius, epist. 7. lib. Quem infirmum libido solicitat, aut avaritia, aut honores? nemini invidet, neminem miratur, neminem despicit, sermone maligno non alitur. [p] Non terret princeps, magister, parens, judex; at ægritudo superveniens omnia correxit. [q] Nat. Chytræus, Europ. delicüs. Labor, dolor, ægritudo, luctus, servire superbis dominis, jugum ferre superstitionis, quos habet caros sepelire, &c. condimenta vitæ sunt.

tious yoke, and bury your dearest friends, &c. are the sawces of our life. If thy disease be continuate and painfull to thee, it will not surely last: *and a light affliction, which is but for a moment, causeth unto us a far more excellent and eternall weight of glory* (2 Cor. 4. 17): bear it with patience: women endure much sorrow in childbed, and yet they will not contain; and those that are barren, wish for this pain: *be couragious*: [r]*there is as much valour to be shewed in thy bed, as in an army or at a sea-fight: aut vincetur, aut vincet;* thou shalt be rid at last. In the mean time, let it take his course; thy minde is not any way disabled. Bilibaldus Pirkimerus, senator to Charles the fifth, ruled all Germany, lying most part of his days sick of the gout upon his bed. The more violent thy torture is, the lesse it will continue: and, though it be severe and hideous for the time, comfort thy self, as martyrs do, with honour and immortality. [s]That famous philosopher Epicurus, being in as miserable paine of stone and collick, as a man might endure, solaced himself with a conceit of immortality; *the joy of his soul for his rare inventions repelled the pain of his bodily torments.*

Basenesse of birth is a great disparagement to some men, especially if they be wealthy, bear office, and come to promotion in a common-wealth: then, (as [t]he observes) if their birth be not answerable to their calling, and to their fellowes, they are much abashed and ashamed of themselves. Some scorn their own father and mother, deny brothers and sisters, with the rest of their kindred and friends, and will not suffer them to come near them, when they are in their pomp, accounting it a scandal to their greatness, to have such beggarly beginnings. Simon, in Lucian, having now got a little wealth, changed his name from Simon to Simonides, for that there were so many beggars of his kin, and set the house on fire where he was born, because nobody should point at it. Others buy titles, coats of armes, and by all means screw themselves into ancient families, falsifying pedegrees, usurping scutchions, and all because they would not seem to be base. The reason is, for that this gentility is so much admired by a company of outsides, and such honour attributed unto it, as amongst [u]Germans, Frenchmen, and Venetians, the gentry scorn the commonalty, and will not suffer them to match with them; they depresse, and make them as so many asses, to carry burdens. In our ordinary talk and fallings out, the most opprobrious and scurrile name we can fasten upon a man, or first give, is to call him base rogue, beggarly rascall, and the like: whereas, in my judgement, this ought, of all other grievances, to trouble men least. Of all vanities and fopperies, to brag of gentility is the greatest; for what is it they crack so much of, and challenge such superiority, as if they were demi-gods? Birth? *Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?* It is *non ens*, a meer flash, a ceremony, a toy, a thing of nought. Consider the beginning, present estate, progresse, ending of gentry; and then tell me what it is. [v]*Oppression, fraud, cosening, usury, knavery, baudery, murther and tyranny, are the beginning of many ancient families.* [w]*One hath been a blood-sucker, a parricide, the death of many a silly soul in some unjust quarrels, seditions, made many an orphan and poor widow; and for that he is made a lord or an earl, and his posterity gentlemen for ever after. Another hath been a bawd, a pander to some great men, a parasite, a slave,* [x]*prostituted himself, his wife, daughter,* to some lascivious prince; and for that he is exalted. Tiberius

[r] Non tam mari quam prælio virtus, etiam lecto exhibetur: vincetur aut vincet; aut tu febrem relinques, aut ipsa te. Seneca. [s] Tullius, lib. 7. fam. ep. Vesicæ morbo laborans, et urinæ mittendæ difficultate tantâ, ut vix incrementum caperet; repellebat hæc omnia animi gaudium ob memoriam inventorum. [t] Boëth. lib. 2. pr. 4. Huic census exsuperat, sed est pudori degener sanguis. [u] Gasper Ens. polit. thes. [v] Alii pro pecuniâ emunt nobilitatem, alii illam lenocinio, alii veneficiis, alii parricidiis; multis proditio nobilitatem conciliat; plerique adulatione, detractione, calumniis, &c. Agrip. de vanit. scien. [w] Ex homicidio sæpe orta nobilitas, et strenuâ carnificinâ. [x] Plures ob prostitutas filias, uxores, nobiles facti; multos venationes, rapinæ, cædes, præstigia, &c.

preferred many to honours in his time, because they were famous whore-masters and sturdy drinkers; many come into this parchment row (so [y]one cals it) by flattery or cosening. Search your old families, and you shall scarcely find, of a multitude, (as Æneas Sylvius observes) *qui sceleratum non habent ortum*, that have not a wicked beginning; *aut qui vi et dolo eo fastigii non ascendunt* (as that plebeian in [z]Machiavel, in a set oration, proved to his fellows) that do not rise by knavery, force, foolery, villany, or such indirect means. *They are commonly noble that are wealthy; vertue and riches seldome settle on one man: who then sees not the base beginning of nobility? spoiles enrich one, usury another, treason a third, witchcraft a fourth, flattery a fifth, lying, stealing, bearing false witness a sixth, adultery the seventh, &c.* One makes a fool of himself to make his lord merry; another dandles my young master, bestowes a little nag on him; a third marries a crackt piece, &c. Now, may it please your good worship, your lordship, who was the first founder of your family? The poet answers, [a]*Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.* Are he or you the better gentleman? If he, then we have traced him to his form. If you, what is it of which thou boastest so much? That thou art his son. It may be, his heir, his reputed son, and yet indeed a priest or a serving man may be the true father of him; but we will not controvert that now; married women are all honest; thou art his sons sons son, begotten and born *intra quatuor maria, &c.* Thy great great great grandfather was a rich citizen, and then in all likelihood a usurer, a lawyer, and then a —; a courtier, and then a —; a country gentleman, and then he scraped it out of sheep, &c. and you are the heir of all his vertues, fortunes, titles; so then what is your gentry, but, as Hierom saith, *opes antiquæ, inveteratæ divitiæ*, ancient wealth? that is the definition of gentility. The father goes often to the divel, to make his son a gentleman. For the present, what is it? *It began* (saith [b]Agrippa) *with strong impiety, with tyranny, oppression, &c.* and so it is maintained: wealth began it (no matter how got); wealth continueth and increaseth it. Those Roman knights were so called, if they could dispend, *per annum*, so much. [c]In the kingdome of Naples and France, he that buyes such lands, buyes the honour, title, barony together with it; and they that can dispend so much amongst us, must be called to bear office, to be knights, or fine for it, as one observes, [d]*nobiliorem ex censu judicant;* our nobles are measured by their means. And what now is the object of honor? What maintaines our gentry, but wealth? [e]*Nobilitas, sine re, projectâ vilior algâ:* without means, gentry is naught worth; nothing so contemptible and base. [f]*Disputare de nobilitate generis, sine divitiis, est disputare de nobilitate stercoris*, saith Nevisanus the lawyer; to dispute of gentry, without wealth, is (saving your reverence) to discuss the originall of a mard. So that it is wealth alone that denominates, money which maintaines it, gives *esse* to it, for which every man may have it. And what is their ordinary exercise? [g]*sit to eat, drink, lie down to sleep, and rise to play:* wherein lies their worth and sufficiency? in a few coats of armes, eagles, lions, serpents, bears, tygers, dogs, crosses, bends, fesses, &c. and such like bables, which they commonly set up in their galleries, porches, windowes, on boles, platters, coches, in tombs, churches, mens sleeves, &c. [h]*If he can hawk and hunt, ride an horse, play at cards and dice, swagger, drink, swear*, take tobacoo,

[y] Sat. Menip. [z] Cum enim hos dici nobiles videmus, qui divitiis abundant, divitiæ vero raro virtutis sunt comites, quis non videt ortum nobilitatis degenerem? hunc usuræ ditârunt, illum spolia, proditiones; hic veneficiis ditatus, ille adulationibus; huic adulteria lucrum præbent, nonnullis mendacia; quidam ex conjuge quæstum faciunt, plerique ex natis, &c. Florent. hist. lib. 3. [a] Juven. [b] Robusta improbitas à tyrannide incepta, &c. [c] Gasper Ens. thesauro. polit. [d] Gresserus, Itinerar. fol. 266. [e] Hor. [f] Syl. nup. lib. 4. num. III. [g] Exod. 32. [h] Omnium nobilium sufficientia in eo probatur, si venatica noverint, si aleam, si corporis vires ingentibus poculis commonstrent, si naturæ robur numerosâ Venere probent, &c.

with a grace, sing, dance, wear his clothes in fashion, court and please his mistris, talk big fustian, [i] insult, scorn, strut, contemn others, and use a little mimical and apish complement above the rest, he is a compleat, (*Egregiam vero laudem*) a well qualified gentleman: these are most of their imployments, this their greatest commendation. What is gentry, this parchment nobility then, but (as [j] Agrippa defines it) *a sanctuary of knavery and naughtines, a cloke for wickedness and execrable vices, of pride, fraud, contempt, boasting, oppression, dissimulation, lust, gluttony, malice, fornication, adultery, ignorance, impiety?* A nobleman therefore, in some likelihood, (as he concludes) is an *atheist, an oppressor, an epicure, a* [k] *gull, a disard, an illiterate idiot, an outside, a gloworm, a proud fool, an arrant asse, ventris et inguinis mancipium*, a slave to his lust and belly, *soldque libidine fortis.* And, as Salvianus observed of his countrymen the Aquitanes in France, *sicut titulis primi fuêre, sic et vitiis*; and Cabinet du Roy, their own writer distinctly of the rest—*the nobles of Berry are most part leachers, they of Tourraine theeves, they of Narbone covetous, they of Guyenne coyners, they of Province atheists, they of Rhemes superstitious, they of Lions treacherous, of Normandy proud, of Picardy insolent*, &c. we may generally conclude, the greater men, the more vicious. In fine, as Æneas Sylvius addes, [l] *they are most part miserable, sottish, and filthy fellows, like the walls of their houses, fair without, foul within.* What dost thou vaunt of now? [m] *What dost thou gape and wonder at? admire him for his brave apparell, horses, dogs, fine houses, manors, orchards, gardens, walks? Why, a fool may be possessor of this as well as he; and he that accounts him a better man, a nobleman for having of it, he is a fool himself.* Now go and brag of thy gentility. This is it, belike, which makes the [n] Turkes at this day scorn nobility, and all those huffing bumbast titles, which so much elevate their poles; except it be such as have got it at first, maintain it by some supereminent quality, or excellent worth. And, for this cause, the Ragusian commonwealth, Switzers, and the united Provinces, in all their aristocrasies, or democratical monarchies, (if I may so call them) exclude all these degrees of hereditary honours, and will admit of none to bear office, but such as are learned, like those Athenian Areopagites, wise, discreet, and well brought up. [o] The Chinenses observe the same customes; no man amongst them noble by birth; out of their philosophers and doctors they choose magistrates; their politick nobles are taken from such as be *moraliter nobiles*, vertuous noble; *nobilitas, ut olim, ab officio, non à naturâ*, as in Israel of old; and their office was to defend and govern their country in war and peace, not to hawk, hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their *Loysii, Manderini, literati, licentiati*, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their noblemen only, thought fit to govern a state; and why then should any, that is otherwise of worth, be ashamed of his birth? why should not he be as much respected that leaves a noble posterity, as he that hath had noble ancestors? nay why not more? for *plures solem orientem*, we adore the sun rising most part; and how much better is it to say, *Ego meis majoribus virtute præluxi*, to boast himself of his vertues, then of his birth? Cathesbeius, sultan of Ægypt and Syria, was by his condition a slave, but, for worth, valour, and manhood, second to no king, and for that cause (as [p] Jovius writes) elected emperour of the Mameluches: that poor Spanish

[i] Difficile est, ut non sit superbus dives. Austin, ser. 24. [j] Nobilitas nihil aliud nisi improbitas, furor, rapina, latrocinium, homicidium, luxus, venatio, violentia, &c. [k] The fool took away my lord in the mask: 'twas apposite. [l] De miser. curial. Miseri sunt, inepti sunt, turpes sunt; multi, ut parietes ædium suarum, speciosi. [m] Miraris aureas vestes, equos, canes, ordinem famulorum, lautas mensas, ædes, villas, prædia, piscinas, sylvas, &c. hæc omnia stultus assequi potest. Pandalus noster lenocinio nobilitatus est. Æneas Sylvius. [n] Bellonius, observ. lib. 2. [o] Mat. Riccius, lib. 1. cap. 3. Ad regendam remp. soli doctores aut licentiati adsciscuntur, &c. [p] Lib. 1. hist. Conditione servus, cæterum acer bello, et animi magnitudine maximorum regum nemini secundus: ob hæc à Mameluchis in regem electus.

Pizarro, for his valour, made by Charles the fifth Marquess of Anatillo: the Turkie Bassas are all such. Pertinax, Philippus Arabs, Maximinus, Probus, Aurelius, &c. from common souldiers, became emperours; Cato, Cincinnatus, &c. consuls; Pius secundus, Sixtus quintus, Johan. secundus, Nicholas quintus, &c. popes. Socrates, Virgil, Horace, *libertino patre natus.* [q]The kings of Denmark fetch their pedigree, as some say, from one Ulfo, that was the son of a bear. [r] *E tenui casâ sæpe vir magnus exit;* many a worthy man comes out of a poor cottage. Hercules, Romulus, Alexander (by Olympias confession), Themistocles, Jugurtha, king Arthur, William the Conqueror, Homer, Demosthenes, P. Lumbard, P. Comestor, Bartholus, Adrian the fourth pope, &c. bastards; and almost in every kingdom, the most ancient families have bin at first princes bastards; their worthiest captains, best wits, greatest scholars, bravest spirits in all our annals, have been base. [s]Cardan, in his Subtilities, gives a reason why they are most part better able then others in body and mind, and so, *per consequens*, more fortunate. Castruccius Castrucanus, a poor childe, found in the fielde exposed to misery, became prince of Luke and Senes in Italy, a most compleat souldier and worthy captain; Machiavel compares him to Scipio or Alexander. *And 'tis a wonderfull thing* ([t]saith he) *to him that shall consider of it, that all those, or the greatest part of them, that have done the bravest exploits here upon earth, and excelled the rest of the nobles of their time, have been still born in some abject, obscure place, or of base and obscure abject parents.* A most memorable observation, " Scaliger accompts it, *et non prætereundum, maximorum virorum plerosque patres ignoratos, matres impudicas fuisse. I could recite a great catalogue of them:* every kingdome, every province, will yeeld innumerable examples: and why then should basenes of birth be objected to any man? who thinks worse of Tully for being *Arpinas*, an upstart? or Agathocles, that Sicilian king, for being a potters son? Iphicrates and Marius were meanly born. What wise man thinks better of any person for his nobility? as he said in [v]Machiavel, *omnes eodem patre nati*, Adams sons, conceived all and born in sin, &c. *We are by nature all as one, all alike, if you see us naked; let us wear theirs, and they our clothes, and what's the difference?* To speak truth, as [w]Bale did of P. Schalichius, *I more esteem thy worth, learning, honesty, then thy nobility; honour thee more that thou art a writer, a doctor of divinity, then earl of the Hunnes, baron of Skradine, or hast title to such and such provinces, &c. Thou art more fortunate and great* (so [x]Jovius writes to Cosmus Medices, then duke of Florence) *for thy vertues, then for thy lovely wife, and happy children, friends, fortunes, or great dutchy of Tuscany.* So I accompt thee; and who doth not so indeed? [y]Abdalonymus was a gardner, and yet by Alexander, for his vertues, made king of Syria. How much better is it to be born of mean parentage, and to excell in worth, to be morally noble, which is preferred before that naturall nobility, by divines, philosophers, and [z]politicians, to be learned, honest, discreet, well qualified, to be fit for any manner of imploiment, in country and common-wealth, war and peace, then to be *degeneres Neoptolemi*, as many brave nobles are, only wise because rich, otherwise idiots, illiterate, unfit for any manner of service? [a]Udalricus,

[q] Olaus Magnus, lib. 18. Saxo Grammaticus. A quo rex Sueno et cætera Danorum regum stemmata. [r] Seneca, de Contro. Philos. epist. [s] Corpore sunt et animo fortiores spurii, plerumque ob amoris vehementiam, seminis crass. &c. [t] Vita Castruccii. Nec præter rationem mirum videri debet, si quis rem considerare velit, omnes eos, vel saltem maximam partem, qui in hoc terrarum orbe res præstantiores aggressi sunt, atque inter cæteros ævi sui heroas excelluerunt, aut obscuro aut abjecto loco editos, et prognatos fuisse abjectis parentibus. Eorum ego catalogum infinitum recensere possem. [u] Exercit. 265. [v] Flor. hist. l. 3. Quod si nudos nos conspici contingat, omnium una eademque erit facies; nam, si ipsi nostras, nos eorum vestes induamus, nos, &c. [w] Ut merito dicam, quod simpliciter sentiam, Paulum Schalichium, scriptorem et doctorem, pluris facio quam comitem Hunnorum, et baronem Skradinum. Encyclopædiam tuam, et orbem disciplinarum, omnibus provinciis antefero. Balæus, epist. nuncupat. ad 5 cent. ultimam script. Brit. [x] Præfat. hist. lib. 1. Virtute tuâ major, quam aut Hetrusci imperii fortunâ, aut numerosâ et decorâ prolis felicitate beatior evadis. [y] Curtius. [z] Bodine, de rep. lib. 3. cap. 8. [a] Æneas Silvius, lib. 2. cap. 29.

earl of Cilia, upbraided John Huniades with the baseness of his birth: but he replied, *in te Ciliensis comitatus turpiter exstinguitur, in me gloriose Bistricensis exoritur:* thine earldome is consumed with riot; mine begins with honour and renown. Thou hast had so many noble ancestors; what is that to thee? *Vix ea nostra voco:* [b] when thou art a disard thyself, *quid prodest Pontice, longo stemmate censeri? &c.* I conclude, hast thou a sound body, and a good soul, good bringing up? art thou vertuous, honest, learned, well qualified, religious? are thy conditions good? thou art a true nobleman, perfectly noble, although born of Thersites, *dum modo tu sis Æacidæ similis, non natus, sed factus,* noble κατ' ἐξοχήν, [c] *for neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor sickness, nor outward violence, nor the divel himself, can take thy good parts from thee.* Be not ashamed of thy birth then; thou art a gentleman all the world over, and shalt be honoured, when as he, strip him of his fine clothes, [d] dispossess him of his wealth, is a funge (which [e] Polynices, in his banishment, found true by experience, gentry was not esteemed) like a piece of coin in another countrey, that no man will take, and shall be contemned. Once more, though thou be a barbarian, born at Tontonteac, a villain, a slave, a Saldanian negro, or a rude Virginian in Dasamonquepeuc, he a French monseur, a Spanish don, a senior of Italy, I care not how descended, of what family, of what order, baron, count, prince, if thou be well qualified, and he not, but a degenerate Neoptolemus, I tell thee in a word, thou art a man, and he is a beast.

Let no *terræ filius*, or upstart, insult at this which I have said, no worthy gentleman take offence. I speak it not to detract from such as are well deserving, truely vertuous and noble: I do much respect and honour true gentry and nobility; I was born of worshipful parents my self, in an ancient family: but I am a younger brother, it concernes me not: or, had I been some great heir, richly endowed, so minded as I am, I should not have been elevated at all, but so esteemed of it, as of all other humane happiness, honours, &c. they have their period, are brittle and unconstant. As [f] he said of that great river Danubius, it riseth from a small fountain, a little brook at first, sometimes broad, sometimes narrow, now slow, then swift, increased at last to an incredible greatness, by the confluence of 60 navigable rivers, it vanisheth in conclusion, loseth its name, and is suddenly swallowed up of the Euxine sea; I may say of our greatest families, they were mean at first, augmented by rich marriages, purchases, offices; they continue for some ages, with some little alteration of circumstances, fortunes, places, &c. by some prodigal son, for some default, or for want of issue, they are defaced in an instant, and their memory blotted out.

So much in the mean time I do attribute to gentility, that, if he be well descended of worshipful or noble parentage, he will express it in his conditions:

> ——— nec enim feroces,
> Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

And although the nobility of our times be much like our coins, more in number and value, but less in waight and goodness, with finer stamps, cuts, or outsides, then of old; yet, if he retain those ancient characters of true gentry, he will be more affable, courteous, gently disposed, of fairer carriage, better temper, or a more magnanimous, heroicall and generous spirit, then that *vulgus hominum*, those ordinary boores and peasants, *qui adeo improbi, agrestes, et inculti plerumque sunt, ne dicam malitiosi, ut nemini ullum*

[b] If thy children be proud, haughty, foolish, they defile the nobility of their kindred. Eccl. 22. 8. [c] Cujus possessio nec furto eripi, nec incendio absumi, nec aquarum voragine absorberi, vel vi morbi destrui, potest. [d] Send them both to some strange place naked, ad ignotos, as Aristippus said, you shall see the difference. Bacons Essayes. [e] Familiæ splendor nihil opis attulit, &c. [f] Fluvius hic illustris, humanarum rerum imago, quæ, parvis ductæ sub initiis, in immensum crescunt, et subito evanescunt. Exilis hic primo fluvius in admirandam magnitudinem excrescit, tandemque in mari Euxino evanescit. J. Stukius pereg. mar. Euxini.

humanitatis officium præstent, me ipsi Deo, si advenerit, as, [g] one observes of them, a rude, brutish, uncivil, wilde, a currish generation, cruel and malicious, uncapable of discipline, and such as have scarce common sense. And it may be generally spoken of all, which [h] Lemnius the physician said of his travel into England, the common people were silly, sullen, dogged clowns, *sed mitior nobilitas, ad omne humanitatis officium paratissima*, the gentlemen were courteous and civil. If it so fall out (as often it doth) that such pesants are preferred by reason of their wealth, chance, errour, &c. or otherwise; yet, as the cat in the fable, when she was turned to a fair maid, would play with mice, a cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown; he will likely savor of the stock whence he came; and that innate rusticity can hardly be shaken off.

[i] Licet superbus ambulet pecuniâ,
Fortuna non mutat genus.

And though by their education, such men may be better qualified, and more refined, yet there be many symptomes, by which they may likely be descryed, an affected fantastical carriage, a tailor-like spruceness, a peculiar garb in all their proceedings; choicer then ordinary in his diet; and (as [j] Hierome well describes such a one to his Nepotian) *an upstart, born in a base cottage, that scarce at first had coarse bread to fill his hungry guts, must now feed on kickshoes and made dishes, will have all variety of flesh and fish, the best oysters, &c.* A beggers brat will be commonly more scornful, imperious, insulting, insolent, then another man of his rank; *nothing so intolerable as a fortunate fool*, as [k] Tully found long since out of his experience. *Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum*: set a begger on horseback and he will ride a gallop, a gallop, &c.

——————[l] desævit in omnes,
Dum se posse putat; nec bellua sævior ulla est,
Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentis:

he forgets what he was, domineers, &c. and many such other symptomes he hath, by which you may know him from a true gentleman. Many errours and obliquities are on both sides, noble, ignoble, *factis, natis*; yet still in all callings, as some degenerate, some are well deserving, and most worthy of their honours. And, as Busbequius said of Solyman the magnificent, he was *tanto dignus imperio*, worthy of that great empire; many, meanly descended, are most worthy of their honour, *politice nobiles*, and well deserve it. Many of our nobility so born (which one said of Hephæstion, Ptolemæus, Seleucus, Antigonus, &c. and the rest of Alexanders followers, they were all worthy to be monarchs and generals of armies) deserve to be princes. And I am so far forth of [m] Sesellius his mind, that they ought to be preferred (if capable) before others, *as being nobly born, ingenuously brought up, and from their infancy trained to all manner of civility*. For learning and vertue in a noble-man is more eminent; and, as a jewel set in gold is more precious, and much to be respected, such a man deserves better than others, and is as great an honour to his family as his noble family to him. In a word, many noblemen are an ornament to their order: many poor mens sons are singularly well endowed, most eminent, and well deserving for their worth, wisdome, learning, vertue, valour, integrity; excellent members and pillers of a common-wealth. And therefore, to conclude that which I first intended, to be base by birth, meanly born, is no such disparagement. *Et sic demonstratur, quod erat demonstrandum.*

[g] Sabinus, in 6. Ovid. Met. fab. 4. [h] Lib. 1. de 4. Complexionibus. [i] Hor. ep. Od. 2. [j] Lib. 2. ep. 15. Natus sordido tuguriolo et paupere domo, qui vix milio rugientem ventrem, &c. [k] Nihil fortunato insipiente intolerabilius. [l] Claud. 1. 9. in Eutrop. [m] Lib. 1. de Rep. Gal. Quoniam et commodiore utuntur conditione, et, honestiore loco nati, jam inde à parvulis ad morum civilitatem educati sunt, et assuefacti.

MEMB. III.

Against Poverty and Want, with such other Adversities.

ONE of the greatest miseries that can befal a man, in the worlds esteem, is poverty or want, which makes men steal, bear false witness, swear, forswear, contend, murder and rebel, which breaketh sleep, and causeth death it self. Οὐδὲν πενίας βαρύτερόν ἐστι φορτίον· no burden (saith [n] Menander) so intolerable as poverty: it makes men desperate, it erects and dejects: *census honores, census amicitias;* mony makes, but poverty mars, &c. and all this in the worlds esteem; yet, if considered aright, it is a great blessing in it self, an happy estate, and yields no such cause of discontent, or that men should therefore account themselves vile, hated of God, forsaken, miserable, unfortunate. Christ himself was poor, born in a manger, and had not a house to hide his head in all his life,[o] *lest any man should make poverty a judgement of God, or an odious estate.* And, as he was himself, so he informed his apostles and disciples, they were all poor, prophets poor, apostles poor (Act 3. *Silver and gold have I none*) *as sorrowing,* (saith Paul) *and yet alway rejoycing; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things,* 1 Cor. 6. 10. Your great philosophers have been voluntarily poor, not only Christians, but many others. Crates Thebanus was adored for a god in Athens; [p] *a noble man by birth, many servants he had, an honourable attendance, much wealth, many manors, fine apparel; but when he saw this, that all the wealth of the world was but brittle, uncertain, and no whit availing to live well, he flung his burden into the sea, and renounced his estate.* Those Curii and Fabricii will be ever renowned for contempt of those fopperies, wherewith the world is so much affected. Amongst Christians, I could reckon up many kings and queens, that have forsaken their crowns and fortunes, and wilfully abdicated themselves from these so much esteemed toyes,[q] many that have refused honours, titles, and all this vain pomp and happiness, which others so ambitiously seek, and carefully study to compass and attain. Riches, I deny not, are Gods good gifts, and blessings; and *honor est in honorante,* honours are from God; both rewards of vertue, and fit to be sought after, sued for, and may well be possessed: yet no such great happiness in having, or misery in wanting of them. *Dantur quidem bonis,* saith Austin, *ne quis mala æstimet: malis autem, ne quis nimis bona:* good men have wealth that we should not think it evil; and bad men, that they should not rely on, or hold it so good. As the rain fals on both sorts, so are riches given to good and bad, *sed bonis in bonum,* but they are good only to the godly. But [r] conferre both estates, for natural parts they are not unlike; and a beggars child, as [s] Cardan well observes, *is no whit inferior to a princes, most part better:* and for those accidents of fortune, it will easily appear there is no such odds, no such extraordinary happiness in the one, or misery in the other. He is rich, wealthy, fat; what gets he by it? pride, insolency, lust, ambition, cares, feares, suspicion, trouble, anger, emulation, and many filthy diseases of body and minde. He hath indeed variety of dishes, better fare, sweet wine, pleasant sawce, dainty musick, gay clothes, lords it bravely out, &c. and all that which Micyllus admired in [t] Lucian: but with them he hath the gout, dropsies, apoplexies, palsies, stone, pox, rhumes,

[n] Nullum paupertate gravius onus. [o] Ne quis iræ divinæ judicium putaret, aut paupertas exosa foret. Gualt. in cap. 2. ver. 18. Lucæ. [p] Inter proceres Thebanos numeratus, lectum habuit genus, frequens famulitium, domus amplas, &c. Apuleius, Florid. l. 4. [q] P. Blesensis, ep. 72. et 232. Oblatos respui honores, ex onere metiens motus ambitiosos: rogatus non ivi, &c. [r] Sudat pauper foras in opere, dives in cogitatione; hic os aperit oscitatione, ille ructatione; gravius ille fastidio, quam hic inedià, cruciatur. Ber. ser. [s] In Hipperchen. Natura æqua est, pueroque videmus mendicorum nullâ ex parte regum filiis dissimiles, plerumque saniores. [t] Gallo, Tom. 2.

catarrhes, crudities, oppilations, [u] melancholy, &c. Lust enters in, anger ambition. According to [v] Chrysostome, *the sequel of riches is pride, riot intemperance, arrogancy, fury, and all irrational courses.*

——[w] turpi fregerunt sæcula luxu
Divitiæ molles:

with their variety of dishes, many such maladies of body and mind get in, which the poor man knowes not of. As Saturn, in [x] Lucian, answered the discontented commonalty, (which, because of their neglected Saturnal feasts in Rome, made a grievous complaint and exclamation against rich men) that they were much mistaken in supposing such happiness in riches: [y] *you see the best* (said he): *but you know not their several gripings and discontents;* they are like painted wals, fair without, rotten within, diseased, filthy, crasie, full of intemperances effects: [z] *and who can reckon half? if you but knew their fears, cares, anguish of mind and vexation, to which they are subject, you would hereafter renounce all riches.*

[a] O si pateant pectora divitum,
Quantos intus sublimis agit
Fortuna metus! Brutia, Coro
Pulsante fretum, mitior unda est.

O that their breasts were but conspicuous,
How full of fear within, how furious!
The narrow seas are not so boisterous.

Yea, but he hath the world at wil that is rich, the good things of the earth; *suave est de magno tollere acervo;* he is a happy man, [b] adored like a god, a prince; every man seeks to him, applauds, honours, admires him. He hath honours indeed, abundance of all things: but (as I said), withal, [c] *pride, lust, anger, faction, emulation, fears, cares, suspicion enter with his wealth;* for his intemperance he hath aches, crudities, gowts, and, as fruits of his idleness and fulness, lust, surfeiting and drunkenness, all manner of diseases: *pecuniis augetur improbitas:* the wealthier, the more dishonest. [d] *He is exposed to hatred, envy, peril and treason, fear of death,* of degradation, &c. 'tis *lubrica statio et proxima præcipitio;* and the higher he climbs, the greater is his fall.

——[e] celsæ graviore casu
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes,

the lightning commonly sets on fire the highest towers; [f] in the more eminent place he is, the more subject to fall.

Rumpitur innumeris arbos uberrima pomis;
Et subito nimiæ præcipitantur opes.

As a tree, that is heavy laden with fruit, breaks her own boughs, with their own greatness they ruine themselves: which Joachimus Camerarius hath elegantly expressed in his 13. Embleme, *cent.* 1. *Inopem se copia fecit.* Their means is their misery: though they do apply themselves to the times, to lye, dissemble, collogue and flatter their leiges, obey, second his will and commands, as much as may be, yet too frequently they miscarry: they fat themselves like so many hogs, as [g] Æneas Sylvius observes, that, when they are full fed, they may be devoured by their princes, as Seneca by Nero was served, Sejanus by Tiberius, and Haman by Ahasuerus. I resolve with Gregory, *potestas culminis est tempestas mentis; et quo dignitas altior, casus gravior;* honour is a tempest; the higher they are elevated, the more grievously depressed. For the rest of his prerogatives which wealth affords, as he hath more, his expences are the greater. *When goods increase, they are increased that eat them; and what good cometh to the owners, but the beholding thereof with the eyes?* Eccles. 4. 10.

[u] Et e contubernio fœdi atque olidi ventris mors tandem educit. Seneca, ep. 103. [v] Divitiarum sequela, luxus, intemperies, arrogantia, superbia, furor injustus, omnisque irrationabilis motus. [w] Juven. Sat 6. [x] Saturn. Epist. [y] Vos quidem divites putatis felices; sed nescitis eorum miserias. [z] Et quota pars hæc eorum quæ istos discruciant? si nôsssetis metus et curas, quibus obnoxii sunt, plane fugiendas vobis divitias existimaretis. [a] Seneca, in Herc. Œtæo. [b] Et Diis similes stulta cogitatio facit. [c] Flamma simul libidinis ingreditur; ira, furor, et superbia, divitiarum sequela. Chrys. [d] Omnium oculis, odio, insidiis expositus, semper solicitus, fortunæ ludibrium. [e] Hor. 2. 1. od. 10. [f] Quid me felicem toties jactâstis, amici? Qui cecidit, stabili non fuit ille loco. Boëth. [g] Ut, postquam impinguati fuerint, devorentur.

[h] Millia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
Non tuus hinc capiet venter plus quam meus.

An evil sickness Salomon cals it, *and reserved to them for an evil*, 12. verse. *They that will be rich fall into many fears and temptations, into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition.* 1 Tim. 6. 9. *gold and silver hath destroyed many*, Ecclus. 8. 2. *divitiæ sæculi sunt laquei diaboli:* so writes Bernard; worldly wealth is the devils bait; and as the moon, when she is fuller of light is still farther from the sun, the more wealth they have, the farther they are commonly from God. (If I had said this of my self, rich men would have pulled me a pieces; but hear who saith, and who seconds it, an apostle) therefore S[t]. James bids them *weep and howle for the miseries that shall come upon them; their gold shall rust and canker, and eat their flesh as fire*, James 5. 1, 2, 3. I may then boldly conclude with [i]Theodoret, *quotiescunque divitiis affluentem, &c. as often as you shall see a man abounding in wealth, Qui gemmis bibit, et Sarrano dormit in ostro, and naught withal, I beseech you call him not happy, but esteem him unfortunate, because he hath many occasions offered to live unjustly: on the other side, a poor man is not miserable, if he be good, but therefore happy, that those evil occasions are taken from him.*

[i] Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum. Rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejusque leto flagitium timet.

He is not happy that is rich,
And hath the world at will,
But he that wisely can Gods gifts
Possess, and use them still;
That suffers, and with patience
Abides hard poverty,
And chuseth rather for to dye,
Then do such villany.

Wherein now consists his happiness? what privileges hath he more then other men? or rather what miseries, what cares and discontents hath he not more then other men?

[k] Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.

Nor treasures nor maiors officers remove
The miserable tumults of the mind,
Or cares that lie about, or flye above [bind.
Their high-roofed houses, with huge beams com-

'Tis not his wealth can vindicate him; let him have Jobs inventory, *sint Crœsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus, aureas undas agens, eripiet unquam è miseriis:* Crœsus or rich Crassus cannot now command health, or get himself a stomack. [l] *His worship*, as Apuleius describes him, *in all his plenty and great provision, is forbidden to eat, or else hath no appetite*, (sick in bed, can take no rest, sore grieved with some chronick disease contracted with full dyet and ease, or troubled in mind) *when as, in the mean time, all his household are merry, and the poorest servant that he keeps doth continually feast.* 'Tis *bracteata felicitas*, as [m] Seneca terms it, tin-foyl'd happiness, *infelix felicitas*, an unhappy kind of happiness, if it be happiness at all. His gold, guard, clattering of harness, and fortifications against outward enemies, cannot free him from inward fears and cares.

Reverasque metus hominum, curæque sequaces,
Nec metuunt fremitus armorum, aut ferrea tela;
Audacterque inter reges, regumque potentes,
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.

Indeed men still attending cares and fears,
Nor armours clashing, nor fierce weapons feare:
With kings converse they boldly, and kings peers,
Fearing no flashings that from gold appeare.

Look how many servants he hath, and so many enemies he suspects; for liberty, he entertains ambition; his pleasures are no pleasures; and, that which is worst, he cannot be private or enjoy himself as other men do; his state is a servitude. [n] A country man may travel from kingdome to kingdome, province to province, city to city, and glut his eyes with delightful objects, hawk, hunt, and use those ordinary disports, without any notice

[h] Hor. [i] Cap. 6. de curat. Græc. affect. cap. de providentiâ. Quotiescunque divitiis affluentem hominem videmus, eumque pessimum, ne, quæso, hunc beatissimum putemus, sed infelicem censeamus, &c. [l] Hor. l. 2. Od. 9. [k] Hor. lib. 2. [l] Florid. lib. 4. Dives ille cibo interdicitur, et in omni copiâ suâ cibum non accipit, cum interea totum ejus servitium hilare sit, atque epuletur. [m] Epist. 115. [n] Hor. Et mihi curto Ire licet mulo, vel, si libet, usque Tarentum.

taken, all which a prince or a great man cannot do. He keeps in for state, *ne majestatis dignitas evilescat*, as our China kings, of Bornay, and Tartarian Chams, those *aurea mancipia*, are said to do, seldome or never seen abroad, *ut major sit hominum erga se observantia ;* which the [o] Persian kings so precisely observed of old. A poor man takes more delight in an ordinary meals meat, which he hath but seldom, then they do with all their exotick dainties and continual viands : *Quippe voluptatem commendat rarior usus ;* 'tis the rarity and necessity that makes a thing acceptable and pleasant. Darius, put to flight by Alexander, drank puddle water to quench his thirst ; and it was pleasanter, he swore, then any wine or mede. All excess, as [p] Epictetus argues, will cause a dislike : sweet will be sour, which made that temperate Epicurus sometimes voluntarily fast. But they being alwayes accustomed to the same [q] dishes, (which are nastily dressed by slovenly cooks, that, after their obscenities, never wash their bawdy hands) be they fish, flesh, compounded, made dishes, or whatsoever else, are therefore cloyed : nectar itself grows loathsome to them ; they are weary of all their fine palaces ; they are to them but as so many prisons. A poor man drinks in a wooden dish, and eats his meat in wooden spoons, wooden platters, earthen vessels, and such homely stuffe : the other in gold, silver, and precious stones ; but with what success ? *in auro bibitur venenum ;* fear of poyson in the one, security in the other. A poor man is able to write, to speak his mind, to do his own business himself ; *locuples mittit parasitum*, saith [r] Philostratus ; a rich man imployes a parasite, and as the maior of a city speaks by the town-clark, or by M[r]. recorder, when he cannot express himself. [s] Nonius the senator hath a purple coat as stiffe with jewels, as his mind is full of vices ; rings on his fingers worth 20000 sestercies ; and, as [t] Perox the Persian king, an union in his eare worth 100[l] weight of gold : [u] Cleopatra hath whole boars and sheep served up to her table at once, drinks jewels dissolved, 40000 sestercies in value ; but to what end ?

> [x] Num, tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quæris
> Pocula ?

Doth a man that is dry desire to drink in gold ? doth not a cloth sute become him as well, and keep him as warm, as all their silks, sattins, damasks, taffaties, and tissues ? Is not home-spun cloth as great a preservative against cold, as a coat of Tartar lambs wooll died in grain, or a gown of giants beards ? Nero, saith [w] Sueton, never put on one garment twice ; and thou hast scarce one to put on : what's the difference ? one's sick, the other sound : such is the whole tenor of their lives ; and that which is the consummation and upshot of all, death it self makes the greatest difference. One, like an hen, feeds on the dunghill all his daies, but is served up at last to his lords table ; the other, as a falcon, is fed with partridge and pigeons, and carried on his masters fist, but, when he dyes, is flung to the muckhil, and there lies. The rich man lives, like Dives, jovially here on earth, *temulentus divitiis*, makes the best of it ; *and boasts himself in the multitude of his riches* (Psal. 49. 6. 11) : he thinks his house, *called after his own name*, shall continue for ever ; *but he perisheth like a beast* (ver. 20) : *his way utters his folly* (ver. 13) : *male parta male dilabuntur ; like sheep, they lye in the grave* (14). *Puncto descendunt ad infernum : they spend their dayes in wealth, and go suddenly down to hell* (Job, 21. 13). For all physicians and medicines inforcing nature, a sowning wife, families complaints, friends tears, dirges, masses, *nænias*, funerals, for all orations, counterfeit hired acclamations, eulogiums, epitaphs, herses, heralds, black mourners, solemnities, obelisks, and Mausolean tombs,

[o] Brisonius. [p] Si modum excesseris, suavissima sunt molesta. [q] Et in cupediis gulæ, coquus et pueri illotis manibus ab exoneratione ventris omnia tractant, &c. Cardan. 1. 8. cap. 46. de rerum varietate. [r] Epist. [s] Plin. lib. 37. cap. 6. [t] Zonaras, 3. annal. [u] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [x] Hor. Ser. lib. 1. Sat. 2. [w] Cap. 30. Nullam vestem bis induit.

(if he have them at least) [x] he, like a hog, goes to hell, with a guilty conscience (*propter hos dilatavit infernus os suum*) and a poor mans curse: his memory stinks like the snuffe of a candle when it is put out; scurril libels and infamous obloquies accompany him: when as poor Lazarus is *Dei sacrarium*, the temple of God, lives and dies in true devotion, hath no more attendants, but his own innocency, the heaven a tomb, desires to be dissolved, buried in his mothers lap, and hath a company of [y] angels ready to convey his soul into Abrahams bosom: he leaves an everlasting and a sweet memory behind him. Crassus and Sylla are indeed still recorded, but not so much for their wealth, as for their victories, Crœsus for his end, Solomon for his wisdome. In a word, [z] *to get wealth is a great trouble, anxiety to keep, grief to lose it.*

[a] Quid dignum stolidis mentibus imprecer? Opes, honores ambiant: Et, cum falsa gravi mole paraverint, Tum vera cognoscant bona.

But consider all those other unknown, concealed happinesses, which a poor man hath (I call them unknown, because they be not acknowledged in the worlds esteem, or so taken): *O fortunatos nimium, bona si sua nôrint!* happy they are in the mean time, if they would take notice of it, make use, or applie it to themselves. *A poor man wise is better then a foolish king* (Eccl. 2. 13). [b] *Poverty is the way to heaven,* [c] *the mistress of philosophy,* [d] the mother of religion, vertue, sobriety, sister of innocency, and an upright mind. How many such encomiums might I adde out of the fathers, philosophers, orators! It troubles many that they are poor; they accompt of it as a great plague, a curse, a sign of Gods hatred, *ipsum scelus*, damn'd villany it self, a disgrace, shame and reproach; but to whom, or why? [e] *If fortune hath envyed me wealth, thieves have robbed me, my father have not left me such revenues as others have,* that I am a younger brother, basely born,

—— cui sine luce genus, surdumque parentum Nomen,

of mean parentage, a dirt-daubers son, am I therefore to be blamed? *an eagle, a bull, a lion, is not rejected for his poverty; and why should a man?* Tis [f] *fortunæ telum, non culpæ*, fortunes fault, not mine. *Good Sir, I am a servant,* (to use [g] Senecas words) *howsoever your poor friend; a servant, and yet your chamberfellow, and, if you consider better of it, your fellow servant.* I am thy drudge in the worlds eyes, yet, in Gods sight, peradventure thy better, my soule is more precious, and I dearer unto him. *Etiam servi Diis curæ sunt*, as Evangelus at large proves in Macrobius; the meanest servant is most precious in his sight. Thou art an Epicure, I am a good Christian: thou art many parasanges before me in means, favour, wealth, honour, Claudius his Narcissus, Neros Massa, Domitians Parthenius, a favourite, a golden slave; thou coverest thy floors with marble, thy roofs with gold, thy wals with statues, fine pictures, curious hangings, &c. what of all this? *calcas opes, &c.* what's all this to true happiness? I live and breath under that glorious heaven, that august Capitol of nature, enjoy the brightness of stars, that cleer light of sun and moon, those infinite creatures, plants, birds, beasts, fishes, herbs, all that sea and land affords, far surpassing all that art and *opulentia* can give. I am free, and, which [h] Seneca said of Rome, *culmen liberos texit, sub marmore et auro postea servitus habitavit;* thou hast *Amaltheæ cornu*, plenty, pleasure, the world at will; I am despicable and poor; but a word overshot, a blow in

[x] Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci Descendunt reges, et siccâ morte tyranni. [y] God shall deliver his soule from the power of the grave, Psal. 49. 15. [z] Contempl. Idiot. cap. 37. Divitiarum acquisitio magni laboris, possessio magni timoris, amissio magni doloris. [a] Boëthius, de consol. phil. l. 3. [b] Austin, in Ps. 76. Omnis philosophiæ magistra, ad cœlum via. [c] Bonæ mentis soror paupertas. [d] Pœdagoga pietatis, sobria, pia mater, cultu simplex, habitu secura, consilio benesuada. Apul. [e] Cardan. Opprobrium non est paupertas: quod latro eripit, aut pater non reliquit, cur mihi vitio daretur, si fortuna divitias invidit? non aquilæ, non, &c. [f] Tully. [g] Epist. 74. Servus, summe homo; servus sum, immo contubernalis; servus sum, at humilis amicus; immo conservus, si cogitaveris. [h] Epist. 66, et 90.

choler, a game at tables, a loss at sea, a sudden fire, the princes dislike, a little sickness, &c. may make us equal in an instant: howsoever take thy time, triumph and insult a while; *cinis æquat*, as [i] Alphonsus said; death will equalize us all at last. I live sparingly, in the mean time, am clad homely, fare hardly; is this a reproach? am I the worse for it? am I contemptible for it? am I to be reprehended? A learned man in [j] Nevisanus, was taken down for sitting amongst gentlemen; but he replyed, *my nobility is about the head, yours declines to the taile;* and they were silent. Let them mock, scoff, and revile; 'tis not thy scorn, but his that made thee so: *he that mocketh the poor, reproacheth him that made him* (Prov. 11. 5); and he that rejoyceth at *affliction, shall not be unpunished.* For the rest, the poorer thou art, the happier thou art; *ditior est, at non melior*, saith [k] Epictetus; he is richer, not better, then thou art, not so free from lust, envy, hatred, ambition.

Beatus ille, qui, procul negotiis,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis.

Happy he, in that he is [l] freed from the tumults of the world, he seeks no honours, gapes after no preferment, flatters not, envies not, temporizeth not, but lives privately, and well contented in his estate;

Nec spes corde avidas, nec curam pascit inanem,
Securus quo fata cadant.

He is not troubled with state matters, whether kingdomes thrive better by succession or election; whether monarchies should be mixt, temporate, or absolute; the house of Ottomons and Austria is all one to him; he enquires not after colonies or new discoveries; whether Peter were at Rome, or Constantines donation be of force; what comets or new stars signifie, whether the earth stand or move, there be a new world in the moon, or infinite worlds, &c. He is not touched with fear of invasions, factions, or emulations;

[m] Felix ille animi, Divisque simillimus ipsis,
Quem non mordaci resplendens Gloria fuco
Solicitat, non fastosi mala gaudia luxûs,
Sed tacitos sinit ire dies, et paupere cultu
Exigit innocuæ tranquilla silentia vitæ.

An happy soule, and like to God himself,
Whom not vain glory macerates or strife,
Or wicked joyes of that proud swelling pelfe,
[n] But leads a still, poor and contented life.

[o] A secure, quiet, blissful state he hath, if he could acknowledge it. But here is the misery, that he will not take notice of it; he repines at rich mens wealth, brave hangings, dainty fare: as Simonides objecteth to Hieron, he hath all the pleasures of the world; [p] *in lectis eburneis dormit, vinum phialis bibit, optimis unguentis delibuitur; he knows not the affliction of Joseph, stretching himself on ivory beds, and singing to the sound of the viol;* and it troubles him that he hath not the like; there is a difference, (he grumbles) between laplolly and phesants, to tumble i'th'straw and lye in a down bed, betwixt wine and water, a cottage and a pallace. *He hates nature* (as [q] Pliny characterizeth him) *that she hath made him lower than a god, and is angry with the gods that any man goes before him;* and although he hath received much, yet (as [r] Seneca followes it) *he thinks it an injury that he hath no more, and is so far from giving thanks for his tribuneship, that he complains that he is not prætor; neither doth that please him, except he may be consul.* Why is he not a prince, why not a monarch, why not an emperour? Why should one man have so much more then his fellowes, one have all, another nothing? Why should one man be a slave or a drudge to another? one surfeit, another starve, one live at ease, another labour, without any hope of

[i] Panormitan. rebus gentis Alph. [j] Lib. 4. num. 218. Quidam deprehensus quod sederet loco nobilium, mea nobilitas, ait, est circa caput, vestra declinat ad caudam. [k] Tanto beatior es, quanto collectior. [l] Non amoribus inservit, non appetit honores: et, qualitercunque relictus, satis habet, hominem se esse meminit; invidet nemini, neminem despicit, neminem miratur, sermonibus malignis non attendit aut alitur. Plinius. [m] Politianus, in Rustico. [n] Gyges, regno Lydiæ inflatus, sciscitatum misit Apollinem, an quis mortalium se felicior esset? Aglaüm, Arcadum pauperrimum, Apollo prætulit, qui terminos agri sui nunquam excesserat, rure suo contentus. Val. lib. 1. c. 7. [o] Hor. Hæc est Vita solutorum miserâ ambitione, gravique. [p] Amos. 6. [q] Præfat. lib. 7. Odit naturam, quod infra Deos sit; irascitur Diis, quod quis illi antecedat. [r] De irâ, cap. 21. lib. 3. Etsi multum acceperit, injuriam putat plura non accepisse; non agit pro tribunatu gratias, sed queritur quod non sit ad prætutam perductus; neque hæc grata, si desit consulatus.

better fortune? Thus they grumble, mutter, and repine, not considering that inconstancy of humane affairs, judicially conferring one condition with another, or well weighing their own present estate. What they are now, thou mayst shortly be; and what thou art, they shall likely be. Expect a little; confer future and times past with the present; see the event, and comfort thyself with it. It is as well to be discerned in commonwealths, cities, families, as in private mens estates. Italy was once lord of the world; Rome, the queen of cities, vaunted herself of two [s] myriades of inhabitants; now that all commanding country is possessed by petty princes; [t] Rome a small village in respect. Greece, of old the seat of civility, mother of sciences and humanity, now forlorn, the nurse of barbarism, a den of theeves. Germany then, saith Tacitus, was incult and horrid, now full of magnificent cities: Athens, Corinth, Carthage, (how flourishing cities!) now buried in their own ruines; *corvorum, ferarum, aprorum, et bestiarum lustra,* like so many wildernesses, a receptacle of wild beasts. Venice, a poor fisher-town; Paris, London, small cottages in Cæsars time, now most noble emporiums. Valois, Plantagenet, and Scaliger, how fortunate families! how likely to continue! now quite extinguished and rooted out. He stands aloft to day, full of favour, wealth, honour, and prosperity, in the top of Fortunes wheele; to morrow in prison, worse then nothing; his son's a begger. Thou art a poor servile drudge, *fæx populi,* a very slave; thy son may come to be a prince, with Maximinus, Agathocles, &c. a senator, a generall of an army; thou standest bare to him now, workest for him, drudgest for him and his, takest an almes of him: stay but a little, and his next heire peradventure shall consume all with riot; be degraded, thou exalted, and he shall beg of thee. Thou shalt be his most honourable patron, he thy devout servant: his posterity shall run, ride, and do as much for thine: as it was with [u] Frisgobald and Cromwel, it may be for thee. Citizens devour countrey gentlemen, and settle in their seats: after two or three descents, they consume all in riot; it returnes to the city again.

[v] ——Novus incola venit: | Nec me, nec quemquam, statuit. Nos expulit ille;
Nam propriæ telluris herum natura neque illum, | Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris.

A lawyer buyes out his poor client; after a while his client's posterity buy out him and his; so things go round, ebbe and flow.

Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
Dictus, erat nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum
Nunc mihi, nunc alii.

As he said then, *ager cujus, quot habes, dominos?* so say I of land, houses, moveables, and mony, mine to day, his anon, whose to morrow? In fine (as [w] Machiavel observes) *vertue and prosperity beget rest; rest, idleness; idleness, riot; riot, destruction: from which we come again to good lawes; good lawes engender vertuous actions; vertue, glorie and prosperity; and 'tis no dishonour then* (as [x] Gucciardine adds) *for a flourishing man, city, or state, to come to ruine, nor infelicitie to be subject to the law of nature. Ergo terrena calcanda, sitienda cœlestia;* therefore (I say) scorn this transitory state; look up to heaven; think not what others are, but what thou art: [y] *quâ parte locatus es in re;* and what thou shalt be, what thou mayst be. Do (I say) as Christ himself did, when he lived here on earth; imitate him as much as in thee lies. How many great Cæsars, mighty monarches, tetrarches, dynastes, princes, lived in his dayes! in what plentie, what delicacie, how bravely attended, what a deal of gold and silver, what treasure, how many sumptuous palaces had they! what provinces and cities, ample territories, fields, rivers, fountains, parkes, forrests, lawnes, woods, celles, &c. Yet Christ had none of all this; he would have none of this; he voluntarily re-

[s] Lips. admir. [t] Of some 90000 inhabitants now. [u] Reade the story at large in John Fox his Acts and Monuments. [v] Hor. Sat. 2. ser. lib. 2. [w] 5 Florent. hist. Virtus quietem parit, quies otium, otium porro luxum generat, luxus interitum, à quo iterum ad saluberrimas, &c. [x] Guicciardin. Nulla infelicitas subjectum esse legi naturæ, &c. [y] Persius.

jected all this; he could not be ignorant, he could not erre in his choice; he contemned all this; he chose that which was safer, better, and more certaine, and lesse to be repented, a mean estate, even povertie it self; and why dost thou then doubt to follow him, to imitate him, and his apostles, to imitate all good men? So doe thou tread in his divine steps, and thou shalt not erre eternally, as too many worldlings doe, that runne on in their own dissolute courses, to their confusion and ruine: thou shalt not doe amisse. Whatsoever thy fortune is, be contented with it; trust in him; relie on him; refer thyselfe wholly to him. For know this, in conclusion: *non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei*; 'tis not as men, but as God will. *The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich, bringeth low, and exalteth* (1 Sam. 2. ver. 7, 8): *he lifteth the poor from the dust, and raiseth the begger from the dunghill, to set them amongst princes, and make them inherit the seat of glory*; 'tis all as he pleaseth, how, and when, and whom; he that appoints the end (though to us unknown), appoints the meanes likewise subordinate to the end.

Yea, but their present estate crucifies and torments most mortall men; they have no such forecast to see what may be, what shall likely be, but what is, though not wherefore, or from whom; *hoc angit*; their present misfortunes grinde their soules, and an envious eye which they cast upon other mens prosperities: *Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet*: how rich, how fortunate, how happy is he! But in the mean time he doth not consider the others miseries, his infirmities of body and minde, that accompany his estate, but still reflects upon his own false conceived woes and wants; whereas, if the matter were duely examined, [z] he is in no distresse at all, he hath no cause to complain.

[a] tolle querelas;
Pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus:

he is not poore; he is not in need. [b] *Nature is content with bread and water; and he that can rest satisfied with that, may contend with Jupiter himself for happinesse.* In that golden age,

[c] Somnos dedit umbra salubres,
Potum quoque lubricus amnis;

the trees gave wholsome shade to sleep under, and the clear rivers drink. The Israelites drank water in the wildernesse; Sampson, David, Saul, Abrahams servant when he went for Isaacs wife, the Samaritan woman, and how many besides might I reckon up, Ægypt, Palæstina, whole countries in the [d] Indies, that drink pure water all their lives. [e] The Persian kings themselves drank no other drink then the water of Choaspis, that runs by Susa, which was carried in bottles after them, whithersoever they went. Jacob desired no more of God, but bread to eat, and clothes to put on in his journey (Gen. 28. 20).

Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parcâ, quod satis est, manu:

bread is enough [f] *to strengthen the heart.* And if you study philosophy aright, saith [g] Madaurensis, *whatsoever is beyond this moderation, is not usefull, but troublesome.* [h] Agellius (out of Euripides) accounts bread and water enough to satisfie nature, *of which there is no surfeit: the rest is not a feast, but ryot.* [i] S[t]. Hierome esteemes him rich, *that hath bread to eat, and a potent man that is not compelled to be a slave: hunger is not ambitious, so that it have to eat; and thirst doth not prefer a cup of gold.* It was no Epicurean speech of an Epicure—He that is not satisfied with a little, will never have

[a] Omnes divites, qui cœlo et terrâ frui possunt. [b] Hor. lib. 1. epist. 12. [c] Seneca, epist. 15. Panem et aquam natura desiderat; et hæc qui habet, ipso cum Jove de felicitate contendat. Cibus simplex famem sedat, vestis tenuis frigus arcet. Senec. epist. 8. [d] Boëthius. [e] Maffæus et alii. [f] Brissonius. [g] Psal. 84. [h] Si recte philosophemini, quidquid aptam moderationem supergreditur, oneri potius quam usui est. [i] Lib. 7. 16. Cereris munus et aquæ poculum mortales quærunt habere, quorum satiet nunquam est; luxus autem sunt cætera, non epulæ. [j] Satis est dives, qui pane non indiget; nimium potens, qui servire non cogitur. Ambitiosa non est fames, &c.

enough; and very good counsell of him in the [j] poet, *O my sonne, mediocritie of meanes agrees best with men; too much is pernicious*

Divitiæ grandes homini sunt vivere parce,
Æquo animo:

and if thou canst be content, thou hast abundance; *nihil est, nihil deest;* thou hast little, thou wanteth nothing. 'Tis all one to he hanged in a chain of gold, or in a rope; to be filled with dainties or courser meat.

[k] Si ventri bene, si lateri, pedibusque tuis, nil — If belly, sides, and feet, be well at ease,
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus. — A princes treasure can thee no more please.

Socrates in a fair, seeing so many things bought and sold, such a multitude of people convented to that purpose, exclaimed forthwith, *O ye gods! what a sight of things doe not I want!* 'Tis thy want alone that keepes thee in health of body and minde; and that which thou persecutest and abhorrest, as a ferall plague, is thy physician [l] and chiefest friend, which makes thee a good man, an healthfull, a sound, a vertuous, an honest, and happy man. For, when Vertue came from heaven (as the poet faines) rich men kicked her up, wicked men abhorr'd her, courtiers scoffed at her, citizens hated her, [m] and that she was thrust out of doors in every place, she came at last to her sister Poverty, where she had found good entertainment. Poverty and vertue dwell together.

[n] O vitæ tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustique lares! o munera nondum
Intellecta Deûm!

How happy art thou if thou couldst be content! *Godlinesse is great gain, if a man can be content with that which he hath* (1 Tim. 6. 6): and all true happiness is in a mean estate. I have little wealth, as he said [o] *sed quas animus magnas facit*, a kingdom in conceit:

[p] nil amplius opto,
Maiâ nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis;

I have enough and desire no more.

[q] Di bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
Fecerunt animi:

'tis very well, and to my content. [r] *Vestem et fortunam concinnam potius quam laxam probo*: let my fortune and my garments be both alike, fit for me. And, which [s] Sebastian Foscarinus, sometime duke of Venice, caused to be engraven on his tomb in S[t]. Markes church, *Hear, O ye Venetians, and I will tell you which is the best thing in the world: to contemne it*—I will engrave it on my heart; it shall be my whole studie to contemne it. Let them take wealth (*Stercora stercus amet,*) so that I may have security; *bene qui latuit, bene vixit;* though I live obscure, [t] yet I live clean and honest; and when as the lofty oke is blown down, the silly reed may stand. Let them take glory, for that's their misery; let them take honour, so that I may have hearts ease. *Duc me, O Jupiter, et tu fatum,* [u] *&c.* Lead me, O God, whither thou wilt; I am ready to follow; command, I will obey. I do not envie at their wealth, titles, offices;

Stet, quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis saturet quies:

let me live quiet and at ease. [v] *Erimus fortasse*, (as he comforted himself) *quando illi non erunt:* when they are dead and gone, and all their pomp vanished, our memory may flourish:

[w] dant perennes
Stemmata non peritura Musæ.

[j] Euripides, Menalip. O fili, mediocres divitiæ hominibus conveniunt, nimia vero moles perniciosa. [k] Hor. [l] O noctes cœnæque Deûm. [m] Per mille fraudes doctosque dolos ejicitur; apud sociam paupertatem ejusque cultores divertens, in eorum sinu et tutelâ deliciatur. [n] Lucan. [o] Lip. miscell. ep. 40. [p] Hor. Sat. 6. lib. 2. [q] Hor. Sat. 4. [r] Apuleius. [s] Chytræus, in Europæ deliciis. Accipite, cives Veneti, quod est optimum in rebus humanis, res humanas contemnere. [t] Vah! vivere, etiam nunc lubet, as Demea said, Adelph. Act. 4.—Quam multis non egeo! quam multa non desidero! ut Socrates in pompâ, ille in nundinis. [u] Epictetus, 77. cap. Quo sum destinatus, et sequar alacriter. [v] Puteanus, ep. 62. [w] Marullus.

Let him be my lord, patron, baron, earl, and possesse so many goodly castles: 'tis well for me [x] that I have a poor house, and a little wood, and a well by it, &c.

His me consolor, victurum suavius, ac si
Quæstor avus, pater atque meus, patruusque fuissent.

I live (I thank God) as merrily as he, and triumph as much in this my mean estate, as if my father and uncle had been lord treasurer, or my lord maiór. He feeds of many dishes, I of one: [y] *qui Christum curat, non multum curat quam de pretiosis cibis stercus conficiat:* what care I of what stuffe my excrements be made? [z] *He that lives according to nature, cannot be poor; and he that exceeds, can never have enough: totus non sufficit orbis;* the whole world cannot give him content. *A small thing that the righteous hath, is better than the riches of the ungodly* (Psal. 37. 19); *and better is a poor morsell with quietnesse, then abundance with strife* (Prov. 17. 7).

Be content then; enjoy thyself, and, as [a] Chrysostome adviseth, *be not angry for what thou hast not, but give God hearty thanks for what thou hast received.*

[b] Si dat oluscula
Mensa minuscula
Pace referta,

Ne pete grandia,
Lautaque prandia,
Lite repleta.

But what wantest thou? (to expostulate the matter) or what hast thou not better than a rich man? [c] *Health, competent wealth, children, securitie, sleep, friends, libertie, diet, apparell, and what not?* or at least maist have (the means being so obvious, easie, and well known); for, as he inculcated to himself,

[d] Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem,
Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt;

Res, non parta labore, sed relicta,
Lis nunquam, &c.

I say again, thou hast, or at least maist have it, if thou wilt thy self, and that which I am sure he wants, a merry heart. *Passing by a village in the territorie of Millan,* [e] saith S[t] Austin, *I saw a poor begger that had got, belike, his belly full of meat, jesting and merry. I sighed, and said to some of my friends that were then with me, what a deal of trouble, madness, pain, and grief, do we sustain and exaggerate unto our selves, to get that secure happiness which this poor begger hath prevented us of, and which we peradventure shall never have? For that which he hath now attained with the begging of some small pieces of silver, a temporall happinesse, and present hearts ease, I cannot compass with all my careful windings, and running in and out.* [f] *And surely the begger was very merry; but I was heavy: he was secure, but I was timorous. And if any man should ask me now, whether I had rather be merry, or still so solicitous and sad, I should say, merry. If he should ask me again, whether I had rather be as I am, or as this begger was, I should surely choose to be as I am, tortured still with cares and fears; but out of peevishness, and not out of truth.* That which S[t] Austin said of himself here in this place, I must say to thee: thou discontented wretch, thou covetous niggard, thou churl, thou ambitious and swelling toad, 'tis not want, but peevishness, which is the cause of thy woes: settle thine affection: thou hast enough.

[g] Denique sit finis quærendi, quoque habeas plus,
Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
Incipias; parto, quod avebas, utere.

[x] Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita parvus, Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis æque fons, Et paullum sylvæ, &c. Hor. Sat. 6. lib. 2. Ser. [y] Hieronym. [z] Seneca, consil. ad Albinum, c. 11. Qui continet se intra naturæ limites, paupertatem non sentit; qui excedit, eum in opibus paupertas sequitur. [a] Hom. 12. Pro his quæ accepisti, gratias age; noli indignari pro his quæ non accepisti. [b] Nat. Chytreus, deliciis Europ. Gustonii in ædibus Hubianis in cœnaculo e regione mensæ. [c] Quid non habet melius pauper quam dives? vitam, valetudinem, cibum, somnum, libertatem, &c. Card. [d] Martial. l. 10. epig. 47. Read it out thyself in the author. [e] Confess. lib. 6. Transiens per vicum quemdam Mediolanensem, animadverti pauperem quemdam mendicum, jam credo saturum, jocantem atque ridentem, et ingemui, et locutus sum cum amicis qui mecum erant, &c. [f] Et certe ille lætabatur, ego anxius; securus ille, ego trepidus. Et si percontaretur me quispiam, an exsultare mallem, an metuere, responderem, exsultare: et si rursus interrogaret, an ego talis essem, an qualis nunc sum, me ipsum curis confectum eligerem; sed perversitate, non veritate. [g] Hor.

Make an end of scraping, purchasing this manor, this field, that house, for this and that child; thou hast enough for thy self and them;

——— [k] Quod petis, hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus:

'Tis at hand, at home already, which thou so earnestly seekest. But

——— O! si angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!

O! that I had but that one nook of ground, that field there, that pasture! *O! si venam argenti fors qua mihi monstret*——O! that I could but finde a pot of mony now, to purchase, &c. to build me a new house, to marry my daughter, place my son, &c. [l] *O! if I might but live a while longer, to see all things settled, some two or three year; I would pay my debts,* make all my reckonings even; but they are come and past, and thou hast more businesse then before. *O madness! to think to settle that in thine old age, when thou hast more, which in thy youth thou canst not now compose, having but a little.* [j] Pyrrhus would first conquer Africk, and then Asia, *et tum suaviter agere*, and then live merrily, and take his ease; but, when Cineas the orator told him he might do that already, *id jam posse fieri*, rested satisfied, condemning his own folly. *Si parva licet componere magnis*, thou maist do the like, and therefore be composed in thy fortune. Thou hast enough; he that is wet in a bath, can be no more wet, if he be flung into Tiber, or into the ocean it self; and if thou hadst all the world, or a solid masse of gold as big as the world, thou canst not have more then enough; enjoy thyself at length, and that which thou hast; the minde is all; be content; thou art not poor, but rich, and so much the richer, as [k] Censorinus well writ to Cerellius, *quanto pauciora optas, non quo plura possides*, in wishing less, not having more. I say then, *non adjice opes, sed minue cupiditates* ('tis [l] Epicurus advice); adde no more wealth, but diminish thy desires; and, as [m] Chrysostome well seconds him, *si vis ditari, contemne divitius*, that's true plenty, not to have, but not to want riches; *non habere, sed non indigere, vera abundantia;* 'tis more glory to contemne, then to possesse; *et nihil egere, est Deorum.* How many deaf, dumb, halt, lame, blinde, miserable persons could I reckon up, that are poor, and withall distressed, in imprisonment, banishment, gally-slaves, condemned to the mines, quarries, to gives, in dungeons, perpetuall thraldome, then all which thou art richer, thou art more happy, to whom thou art able to give an almes, a lord, in respect, a petty prince: [n] be contented then, I say; repine and mutter no more; *for thou art not poor in deed, but in opinion.*

Yea, but this is very good counsell, and rightly applied to such as have it, and will not use it, that have a competency, that are able to work and get their living by the sweat of their browes, by their trade, that have something yet: he that hath birds, may catch birds; but what shall we do that are slaves by nature, impotent, and unable to help our selves, meer beggers, that languish and pine away, that have no means at all, no hope of means, no trust of delivery, or of better successe? as those old Britans complained to their lords and masters the Romans, oppressed by the Picts, *mare ad barbaros, barbari ad mare;* the barbarians drove them to the sea, the sea drove them back to the barbarians: our present misery compels us to cry out and howl, to make our moan to rich men; they turn us back with a scornful answer to our misfortune again, and will take no pity of us: they commonly overlooke their poor friends in adversity; if they chance to meet them, they

[k] Hor. ep. lib. 1. [l] O! si nunc morerer, inquit, quanta et qualia mihi imperfecta manerent: sed si mensibus decem vel octo supervixero, omnia redigam ad libellam; ab omni debito creditoque me explicabo. Prætereunt interim menses decem et octo, et cum illis anni, et adhuc restant plura quam prius. Quid igitur speras, o insane, finem, quem rebus tuis non inveneras in juventâ, in senectâ impositurum? O dementiam! quum ob curas et negotia tuo judicio sis infelix, quid putas futurum, quum plura supererint? Cardan. lib. 8. cap. 40. de rer. var. [j] Plutarch. [k] Lib. de natali. cap. 1. [l] Apud. Stobæum, ser. 17. [m] Hom. 12. in 2 Cor. 6. [n] Non in paupertate, sed in paupere (Seneca): non re, sed opinione, laboras.

voluntarily forget and will take no notice of them; they will not, they cannot help us. Insteed of comfort, they threaten us, miscall, scoffe at us, to aggravate our misery, give us bad language; or, if they do give good words, what's that to relieve us? According to that of Thales, *facile est alios monere*; who cannot give good counsell? 'tis cheap; it costs them nothing. It is an easie matter, when ones belly is full, to declame against feasting: *Qui satur est, pleno laudat jejunia ventre. Doth the wilde asse braye when he hath grasse, or loweth the oxe when he hath fodder?* (Job, 6, 5). [o]*Neque enim populo Romano quidquam potest esse lætius:* no man living so jocond, so merry as the people of Rome when they had plenty; but when they came to want, to be hunger-starved, *neither shame, nor lawes, nor armes, nor magistrates, could keep them in obedience.* [p]Seneca pleadeth hard for poverty; and so did those lazie philosophers: but in the mean time he was rich; they had wherewithall to maintain themselves; but doth any poor man extoll it? *There are those* (saith [q]Bernard) *that approve of a mean estate, but on that condition they never want themselves; and some again are meek so long as they may say or do what they list; but, if occasion be offered, how far are they from all patience?* I would to God (as he said) [r]*no man should commend povertie, but he that is poor*, or he that so much admires it, would relieve, help, or ease others.

[s]Nunc, si nos audis, atque es divinus, Apollo,
Dic mihi, qui nummos non habet, unde petat:

Now if thou hear'st us, and art a good man,
Tell him that wants, to get means if you can.

But no man hears us: we are most miserably dejected, the skumme of the world. [t]*Vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum*, We can get no relief, no comfort, no succour; [u]*Et nihil inveni quod mihi ferret opem.* We have tried all means, yet finde no remedy: no man living can express the anguish and bitterness of our souls, but we that endure it; we are distressed, forsaken, in torture of body and mind, in another hell: and what shall we do? When [v]Crassus, the Roman consul, warred against the Parthians, after an unlucky battell fought, he fled away in the night, and left four thousand men sore sick and wounded in his tents, to the furie of the enemie; which when the poor men perceived, *clamoribus et ululatibus omnia complérunt*, they made lamentable moan, and roared down right, as lowd as Homers Mars when he was hurt, which the noise of 10000 men could not drown, and all for fear of present death. But our estate is farre more tragicall and miserable, much more to be deplored; and far greater cause have we to lament: the devil and the world persecute us; all good fortune hath forsaken us; we are left to the rage of beggery, cold, hunger, thirst, nastiness, sickness, irksomness, to continuall torment, labour and pain, to derision and contempt, bitter enemies all, and far worse then any death: death alone we desire, death we seek, yet cannot have it; and what shall we do? *Quod male fers, assuesce, feres bene*——accustome thyself to it, and it will be tolerable at last. Yea, but I may not, I cannot: *In me consumpsit vires fortuna nocendo;* I am in the extremitie of humane adversitie: and, as a shadow leaves the bodie when the sun is gone, I am now left and lost, and quite forsaken of the world. *Qui jacet in terrâ, non habet unde cadat:* comfort thy self with this yet, thou art at the worst: and, before it be long, it will either overcome thee, or thou it. If it be violent, it cannot endure; *aut solvetur, aut solvet.* Let the devil himself, and all the plagues of Egypt, come upon thee at once, *Ne tu cede malis, sed contra audentior ito:* be of good courage; misery is vertues whetstone.

——[w]serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ,
Dulcia virtuti,

as Cato told his souldiers marching in the desarts of Libya; thirst, heat,

[o]Vopiscus, in Aureliano. Sed si populus famelicus inediâ laboret, nec arma, leges, pudor, magistratus, coërcere valent. [p]One of the richest men in Rome. [q]Serm. Quidam sunt, qui pauperes esse volunt, ita ut nihil illis desit; sic commendant, ut nullam patiantur inopiam; sunt et alii mites, quamdiu dicitur et agitur ad eorum arbitrium, &c. [r]Nemo paupertatem commendaret, nisi pauper. [s]Petronius, Catalec. [t]Ovid. [u]Ovid. [v]Plutarch. vit. Crassi. [w]Lucan. lib. 9.

sands, serpents, were pleasant to a valiant man; honourable enterprises are accompanied with dangers and dammages, as experience evinceth: they will make the rest of thy life rellish the better. But put case they continue; thou art not so poor as thou wast born; and, as some hold, much better to be pittied then envied. But be it so thou hast lost all, poor thou art, dejected, in pain of body, grief of mind, thine enemies insult over thee, thou art as bad as Job; yet tell me (saith Chrysostome) *was Job or the devil the greater conquerour? surely Job. The* [v] *devil had his goods: he sate on the muckhil, and kept his good name; he lost his children, health, friends; but he kept his innocency: he lost his mony; but he kept his confidence in God, which was better then any treasure. Do thou then as Job did, triumph as Job did,* [w] and be not molested as every fool is. *Sed quâ ratione potero?* How shall this be done? Chrysostome answers, *facile, si cœlum cogitaveris*, with great facility, if thou shalt but meditate on heaven. [x] Hanna wept sore, and, troubled in mind, could not eat: *but, why weepest thou*, said Elkanah her husband, *and why eatest thou not? why is thine heart troubled? am not I better to thee then ten sons?* and she was quiet. Thou art here vexed [y] in this world; but say to thy self, *Why art thou troubled, O my soule?* Is not God better to thee then all temporalities, and momentary pleasures of the world? be then pacified. And though thou beest now peradventure in extreme want, [z] it may be it is for thy further good, to try thy patience, as it did Jobs, and exercise thee in this life: trust in God, and rely upon him, and thou shalt be [a] crowned in the end. What's this life to eternity? The world hath forsaken thee; thy friends and fortunes all are gone: yet know this, that the very hairs of thine head are numbered, that God is a spectator of all thy miseries; he sees thy wrongs, woes, and wants: [b] *'tis his good will and pleasure it should be so; and he knows better what is for thy good then thou thyself.* His providence is over all, at all times; *he hath set a guard of angels over us, and keeps us as the apple of his eye* (Ps. 17. 8). Some he doth exalt, prefer, blesse with worldly riches, honours, offices, and preferments, as so many glistering stars he makes to shine above the rest: some he doth miraculously protect from theeves, incursions, sword, fire, and all violent mischances: and, as the [c] poet fains of that Lycian Pandarus, Lycaons son, when he shot at Menelaüs the Græcian with a strong arm and deadly arrow, Pallas, as a good mother keeps flies from her childs face asleep, turned by the shaft, and made it hit on the buckle of his girdle; so some he solicitously defends, others he exposeth to danger, poverty, sickness, want, misery, he chastiseth and corrects, as to him seems best, in his deep, unsearchable and secret judgement, and all for our good. The tyrant took the city; (saith [d] Chrysostome) *God did not hinder it; led them away captives, so God would have it; he bound them, God yielded to it: flung them into the furnace, God permitted it: heat the oven hotter, it was granted: and when the tyrant had done his worst, God shewed his power, and the childrens patience:* he freed them: so can he thee, and can help [e] in an instant, when it seems to him good. [f] *Rejoice not against me, O my enemy; for though I fall, I shall rise: when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall lighten me.* Remember all those martyrs, what they have endured, the utmost that humane rage and fury could invent, with what [g] patience they have born, with

[v] An quum super fimo sedit Job, an cum omnia abstulit diabolus, &c. pecunlis privatus fiduciam Deo Habuit, omni thesauro pretiosiorem. [w] Hæc viventes sponte philosophemini, nec insipientum affectibus agitemur. [x] 1 Sam. 1. 8. [y] James 1. 2. My brethren, count it an exceeding joy, when you fall into divers temptations. [z] Afflictio dat intellectum. Quos Deus diligit, castigat. Deus optimum quemque aut malâ valetudine aut luctu afficit. Seneca. [a] Quam sordet mihi terra, quum cœlum intueor! [b] Se[u] nec. de providentiâ, cap. 2. Dîis ita visum; Dii melius nôrunt quid sit in commodum meum. [c] Hom. Iliad. 4. [d] Hom. 9. Voluit urbem tyrannus evertere, &c. Deus non prohibuit; voluit captivos ducere, non impedivit; voluit ligare, concessit, &c. [e] Psal. 113. De terrâ inopem, de stercore erigit pauperem. [f] Micah, 8. 7. [g] Preme, preme; ego cum Pindaro, ἀβάπτιστος εἰμι ὡς φέλλος ὑπὲρ ἅλμα· immersabilis sum, sicut suber super maris septum Lipsius.

what willingness embraced it. *Though he kill me*, saith Job, *I will trust him. Justus* [h] *inexpugnabilis*, as Chrysostome holds, a just man is impregnable and not to be overcome The gout may hurt his hands, lameness his feet, convulsions may torture his joynts, but not *rectam mentem*: his soule is free.

[i] ——————nempe pecus, rem,
Lectos, argentum tollas licet; in manicis et
Compedibus sævo teneas custode——

[j] *Take away his mony; his treasure is in heaven: banish him his country, he is an inhabitant of that heavenly Jerusalem: cast him into bands; his conscience is free: kill his body, it shall rise again: he fights with a shadow that contends with an upright man*: he will not be moved.

——si fractus illabitur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ:

though heaven it self should fall on his head, he will not be offended. He is impenetrable, as an anvile hard, as constant as Job. [k] *Ipse Deus, simul atque volet, me solvet, opinor.* Be thou such a one; let thy misery be what it will, what it can, with patience endure it; thou mayst be restored, as he was. *Terris proscriptus, ad cœlum propera; ab hominibus desertus, ad Deum fuge. The poor shall not alwayes be forgotten; the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever* (Psal. 10. 18. ver. 9.) *The Lord will be a refuge of the oppressed, and a defence in the time of trouble.*

Servus Epictetus, mutilati corporis; Irus
Pauper: at hæc inter carus erat Superis.

Lame was Epictetus, and poor Irus;
Yet to them both God was propitious.

Lodovicus Vertomannus, the famous traveller, indured much misery; yet surely, saith Scaliger, he was *vir Deo carus*, in that he did escape so many dangers; God especially protected him, he was dear unto him. *Modo in egestate, tribulatione, convalle deplorationis, &c. Thou art now in the vale of misery, in poverty, in agony,* [l] *in temptation: rest, eternity, happiness, immortality shall be thy reward*, as Chrysostome pleads, *if thou trust in God, and keep thine innocency. Non, si male nunc, et olim, sic erit semper*; a good houre may come upon a sudden; [m] expect a little.

Yea, but this expectation is it which tortures me in the mean time; [n] *futura exspectans, præsentibus angor*; whilest the grass grow, the horse starves. [o] Despair not, but hope well.

[p] Spera, Batte: tibi melius lux crastina ducet;
Dum spiras, spera——

Chear up, I say, be not dismayd. *Spes alit agricolas: he that sowes in teares, shall reap in joy* (Psal. 126. 7).

Si fortune me tourmente,
Esperance me contente:

hope refresheth, as much as misery depresseth; hard beginnings have many times prosperous events; and that may happen at last, which never was yet. *A desire accomplished delights the soul*, Prov. 13. 19.

[q] Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.
Which makes m' enjoye my joys long wish'd at last,
Welcome that houre shall come when hope is past:

a louring morning may turne to a faire afternoone, [r] *Nube solet pulsâ candidus ire dies. The hope that is defer'd, is the fainting of the heart; but, when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life* (Prov. 13. 12.): [s] *suavissimum est voti compos fieri*, Many men are both wretched and miserable at first, but afterwards most happy; and oftentimes it so falls out, as [t] Machiavel relates

[h] Hic ure, hic seca, ut in æternum parcas. Austin. Diis fruitur iratis: superat et crescit malis. Mucium ignis, Fabricium paupertas, Regulum tormenta, Socratem venenum superare non potuit. [i] Hor. epist. 18. lib. 1. [j] Hom. 5. Auferet pecunias? at habet in cœlis: patriâ dejiciet? at in cœlestem civitatem mittet: vincula injiciet? at habet solutam conscientiam: corpus interficiet? at iterum resurget. Cum umbrâ pugnat, qui cum justo pugnat. [k] Leonides. [l] Modo in pressurâ, in tentationibus; erit postea bonum tuum requies, æternitas, immortalitas. [m] Dabit Deus his quoque finem. [n] Seneca. [o] Nemo desperet meliora lapsus. [p] Theocritus. [q] Hor. [r] Ovid. [s] Thales, lib. 7. [t] Lib. 7 *Flor. hist. Omnium felicissimus, et locupletissimus, &c.* incarceratus æque adolescentiam periculo mortis *habuit, solicitudinis et discriminis plenam, &c.*

of Cosmus Medices, that fortunate and renowned citizen of Europe, *that all his youth was full of perplexity, danger, and misery, till forty yeares were past; and then upon a sudden the sun of his honour brake out, as through a cloud.* Hunniades was fetched out of prison, and Henry the third of Portugall out of a poor monastery, to be crowned kings. *Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra:* beyond all hope and expectation many things fall out; and who knows what may happen? *Nondum omnium dierum soles occiderunt,* as Philippus said: all the sunnes are not yet set; a day may come to make amends for all. *Though my father and mother forsake me, yet the Lord will gather mee up* (Psal. 27. 10). *Waite patiently on the Lord, and hope in him* (Psal. 37. 7). *Bee strong, hope and trust in the Lord; and he will comfort thee, and give thee thine hearts desire* (Psal. 27. vers. 14.) *Sperate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.* Fret not thy self because thou art poor, contemned, or not so well for the present as thou wouldest be, not respected as thou oughtest to be, by birth, place, worth; or that which is a double corrosive, thou hast been happy, honourable and rich, art now distressed and poor, a scorn of men, a burden to the world, irksome to thy self and others; thou has lost all. *Miserum est fuisse felicem,* and, as Boëthius cals it, *infelicissimum genus infortunii:* this made Timon halfe mad with melancholy, to think of his former fortunes and present misfortunes; this alone makes many miserable wretches discontent. I confess it is a great misery to have been happy, the quintessence of infelicity to have been honourable and rich, but yet easily to be endured: [u] security succeeds, and to a judicious man a far better estate. The loss of thy goods and money is no loss; [v] *thou hast lost them; they would otherwise have lost thee.* If thy money be gone, [w] *thou art so much the lighter;* and, as Saint Hierome perswades Rusticus the monke, to forsake all and follow Christ, *gold and silver are too heavy metals for him to carry that seeks heaven.*

[x] Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas, et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiam mali,
Mittamus, scelerum si bene pœnitet.

Zeno the philosopher lost all his goods by shipwrack: [y] he made light of it: fortune had done him a good turne: *opes à me, animum auferre non potest:* she can take away my means, but not my minde. He set her at defiance ever after; for she could not rob him that had naught to lose: for he was able to contemn more then they could possess or desire. Alexander sent an hundred talents of gold to Phocion of Athens for a present, because he heard he was a good man: but Phocion returned his talents back again, with a *permitte me in posterum virum bonum esse,* to be a good man still; let me be as I am: *Non mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium*—— That Theban Crates flung of his own accord his money into the sea; *abite, nummi: ego vos mergam, ne mergar a vobis;* I had rather drown you, then you should drown me. Can Stoicks and Epicures thus contemn wealth, and shall not we that are Christians? It was *mascula vox et præclara,* a generous speech of Cotta in [z] Sallust, *Many miseries have happened unto me at home, and in the wars abroad, of which, by the help of God, some I have endured, some I have repelled, and by mine own valour overcome: courage was never wanting to my designes, nor industry to my intents: prosperity or adversity could never alter my disposition.* A wise mans minde, as Seneca holds, [a] *is like the state of the world above the moon, ever serene.* Come then what can come, befall what may befall, *infractum invictumque* [b] *animum opponas:*

[u] Lætior successit securitas, quæ simul cum divitiis cohabitare nescit. Camden. [v] Pecuniam perdidisti; fortassis illa te perderet manens. Seneca. [w] Expeditior es ob pecuniarum jacturam. Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest. Seneca, [x] Hor. [y] Jubet me posthac fortuna expeditius philosophari. [z] In frag. Quirites, multa mihi pericula domi, militiæ multa adversa fuêre, quorum alia toleravi, alia Deorum auxilio repuli et virtute meâ: nunquam animus negotio defuit, nec decretis labor; nullæ res nec prosperæ nec adversæ ingenium mutabant. [a] Qualis mundi status supra lunam, semper serenus. [b] Bona mens nullum tristioris fortunæ recipit incursum. Val. lib. 4. c. 1. Qui nil potest. sperare, desperet nihil.

Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare. Hor. Od. 11. lib. 2.

ipe and patience are two soveraigne remedies for all, the surest reposals, the test cushions to lean on in adversity;

[d] Durum: sed levius fit patientiâ,
Quidquid corrigere est nefas.

t cannot be helped, or amended, [e] make the best of it; [f] *necessitati qui se commodat, sapit;* he is wise that suits himself to the time. As at a game tables, so do by all such inevitable accidents.

[g] Ita vita est hominum, quasi cum ludas tesseris,
Si illud, quod maxime opus est jactu, non cadit,
Illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas:

thou canst not fling what thou wouldest, play thy cast as well as thou ist. Every thing, saith [h] Epictetus, hath two handles, the one to be held , the other not: 'tis in our choice to take and leave whether we will (all ich Simplicius, his commentator, hath illustrated by many examples); d 'tis in our own power, as they say, to make or mar our selves. Conme thy self then to thy present fortune, and cut thy coat according to thy th: [i] *ut quimus, (quod aiunt) quando, quod volumus, non licet: be conted with thy lot,* state, and calling, whatsoever it is; and rest as well isfied with thy present condition in this life:

o quod es: quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse:
Quod non es, nolis; quod potes esse, velis.

Be as thou art; and as they are, so let
Others be still; what is and may be, covet.

id as he that is [j] invited to a feast, eats what is set before him, and looks no other, enjoy that thou hast, and aske no more of God then what he inks fit to bestow upon thee. *Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum:* we ay not be all gentlemen, all Catos, or Lælii (as Tully telleth us), all honourle, illustrious and serene, all rich: but, because mortall men want many ings, [k] *therefore* (saith Theodoret) *hath God diversly distributed his gifts, ealth to one, skill to another, that rich men might encourage and set poor en a work, poor men might learn severall trades to the common good.* As peece of arras is composed of severall parcels, some wrought of silke, some gold, silver, crewell of divers colours, all to serve for the exornation of the iole; musick is made of divers discords and keyes, a totall summ of many al numbers; so is a common-wealth of severall inequal trades and calgs. [l] If all should be Crœsi and Darii, all idle, all in fortunes equall, who ould till the land? as [m] Menenius Agrippa well satisfied the tumultuous ut of Rome, in his elegant apologue of the belly and the rest of the mem-rs. Who should build houses, make our several stuffs for raiments? We ould all be starved for company (as Poverty declared at large in Aristoanes Plutus), and sue at last to be as we were at first. And therefore God th appointed this inequality of states, orders, and degrees, a subordination, in all other things. The earth yields nourishment to vegetals, sensible eatures feed on vegetals; both are substitutes to reasonable souls; and men e subject amongst themselves, and all to higher powers: so God would have

All things then being rightly examined and duely considered as they ght, there is no such cause of so general discontent; tis not in the matter self, but in our minde, as we moderate our passions and esteem of things. *ihil aliud necessarium, ut sis miser,* (saith [n] Cardan) *quam ut te miserum edas;* let thy fortune be what it will, 'tis thy minde alone that makes thee or or rich, miserable or happy. *Vidi ego* (saith divine Seneca) *in villâ*

Hor. [c] Æquam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem. lib. 2. od. 3. [d] Epict. c. 18. [e] Ter. d act. 4 sc. 7. [f] Unaquæque res duas habet ansas, alteram quæ teneri, alteram quæ non potest; in im manû quam volumus accipere. [g] Ter. And. act. 4. sc. 6. [h] Epictetus. Invitatus ad convivium, e apponuntur comedis, non quæris ultra; in mundo multa rogitas quæ Dii negant. [i] Cap. 6. de provitiâ. Mortales cum sint rerum omnium indigi, ideo Deus aliis divitias, aliis paupertatem distribuit, ut opibus pollent, materiam subministrent; qui vero inopes, exercitatas artibus manus admoveant. [j] Si omnes sumus quales, necesse est ut omnes fame pereant; quis aratro terram sulcaret? quis sementem faret? quis plantas sereret? quis vinum exprimeret? [m] Liv. l. 1. [n] Lib. 3. de cons.

hilari et amœnâ mœstos, et mediâ solitudine occupatos : non locus, sed animus, facit ad tranquillitatem : I have seen men miserably dejected in a pleasant village, and some again, well occupied and at good ease, in a solitary desart: 'tis the mind, not the place, causeth tranquillity, and that gives true content. I will yet add a word or two for a corollary. Many rich men, I dare boldly say it, that lye on down beds, with delicacies pampered every day, in their well furnished houses, live at less hearts ease, with more anguish, more bodily pain, and through their intemperance more bitter hours, then many a prisoner or gally-slave, [o] *(Mæcenas in plumâ æque vigilat ac Regulus in dolio)* those poor starved Hollanders, whom [p] Bartison their captain left in Nova Zembla, an. 1596, or those [q] eight miserable Englishmen, that were lately left behind, to winter in a stove in Greenland in 77 deg. of lat. 1630, so pitifully forsaken, and forced to shift for themselves in a vast dark and desart place, to strive and struggle with hunger, cold, desperation, and death it self. 'Tis a patient and quiet minde (I say it again and again) gives true peace and content. So, for all other things, they are (as old [r] Chremes told us) as we use them.

> Parentes, patriam, amicos, genus, cognatos, divitias—
> Hæc perinde sunt, ac illius animus qui ea possidet;
> Qui uti scit, ei bona; qui utitur non recte, mala.

Parents, friends, fortunes, country, birth, alliance, &c. ebbe and flow with our conceit; please or displease, as we accept and construe them, or apply them to our selves. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ;* and in some sort I may truly say, prosperity and adversity are in our own hands. *Nemo læditur nisi à seipso;* and, which Seneca confirms out of his judgement and experience, [s] *every mans minde is stronger then fortune, and leads him to what side he will; a cause to himself each one is, of his good or bad life.* But will we, or nill we, make the worst of it, and suppose a man in the greatest extremity, 'tis a fortune which some indefinitely prefer before prosperity; of two extremes it is the best. *Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis:* men in [t] prosperity forget God and themselves; they are besotted with their wealth, as birds with henbane: [u] miserable, if fortune forsake them; but more miserable, if she tarry and overwhelm them: for, when they come to be in great place, rich, they that were most temperate, sober, and discreet in their private fortunes, as Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Heliogabalus *(optimi imperatores, nisi imperâssent)* degenerate on a sudden into brute beasts, so prodigious in lust, such tyrannicall oppressors, &c. they cannot moderate themselves, they become monsters, odious, harpies, what not? *cum triumphos, opes, honores adepti sunt, ad voluptatem et otium deinceps se convertunt:* 'twas [v] Catos note, *they cannot contain.* For that cause belike,

> [w] Eutrapelus, cuicunque nocere volebat,
> Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim jam,
> Cum pulchris tunicis, sumet nova consilia et spes;
> Dormiet in lucem; scorto postponet honestum
> Officium——
>
> Eutrapelus, when he would hurt a knave,
> Gave him gay clothes & wealth, to make him brave:
> Because, now rich, he would quite change his minde,
> Keep whores, fly out, set honesty behinde.

On the other side, in adversity many mutter and repine, despair, &c. both bad, I confess,

> [x] ut calceus olim,
> Si pede major erit, subvertet; si minor, uret:

as a shoo too big or too little, one pincheth, the other sets the foot awry; *sed è malis minimum.* If adversity hath killed his thousand, prosperity hath killed his ten thousand: therefore adversity is to be preferred; [y] *hæc fræno indiget, illa solatio: illa fallit, hæc instruit:* the one deceives, the other instructs: the one miserably happy, the other happily miserable: and therefore many philosophers have voluntarily sought adversity, and so much com-

[o] Seneca. [p] Vide Isaacum Pontanum, descript. Amsterdam. lib. 2. c. 22. [q] Vide Ed. Pelhams book edit. 1630. [r] Heautontim. act. 1. sc. 2. [s] Epist. 98. Omni fortunâ valentior, ipse animus in utramque partem res suas ducit, beatæque ac miseræ vitæ sibi caussa est. [t] Fortuna, quem nimium fovet, stultum facit. Pub. Mimus. [u] Seneca, de beat. vit. cap. 14. Miseri, si deserantur ab eâ; miseriores, si obruantur. [v] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [w] Hor. epist. l. 1. ep. 18. [x] Hor. [y] Boëth. 2.

mend it in their precepts. Demetrius, in Seneca, esteemed it a great infelicity, that in his life time he had no misfortune; *miserum, cui nihil unquam accidisset adversi.* Adversity then is not so heavily to be taken; and we ought not, in such cases, so much to macerate ourselves: there is no such odds in poverty and riches. To conclude in [z] Hieroms words, *I will ask our magnificoes, that build with marble, and bestow a whole manor on a thred, what difference betwixt them and Paul the ermite, that bare old man: they drink in jewels, he in his hand: he is poor, and goes to heaven; they are rich, and go to hell.*

MEMB. IV.

Against Servitude, Loss of Liberty, Imprisonment, Banishment.

Servitude, loss of liberty, imprisonment, are no such miseries as they are held to be: we are slaves and servants, the best of us all: as we do reverence our masters, so do our masters their superiours: gentlemen serve nobles, and nobles are subordinate to kings: *Omne sub regno graviore regnum:* princes themselves are Gods servants: *Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis:* they are subject to their own lawes, and as the kings of China endure more than slavish imprisonment, to maintain their state and greatness, they never come abroad. Alexander was a slave to fear, Cæsar of pride, Vespasian to his mony, (*nihil enim refert, rerum sis servus an hominum*) Heliogabalus to his gut, and so of the rest. Lovers are slaves to their mistresses, rich men to their gold, courtiers generally to lust and ambition, and all slaves to our affections, as Evangelus well discourseth in [a] Macrobius, and [b] Seneca the philosopher; *assiduam servitutem, extremam et ineluctabilem*, he calls it; a continual slaving, to be so captivated by vices: and who is free? Why then dost thou repine? *Satis est potens*, Hierom saith, *qui servire non cogitur.* Thou carriest no burdens; thou art no prisoner, no drudge; and thousands want that liberty, those pleasures which thou hast. Thou art not sick; and what wouldst thou have? But *nitimur in vetitum*, we must all eat of the forbidden fruit. Were we injoyned to go to such and such places, we would not willingly go: but, being barred of our liberty, this alone torments our wandring soul, that we may not go. A citizen of ours, saith [c] Cardan, was 60 years of age, and had never been forth of the wals of the city Millan: the prince hearing of it, commanded him not to stir out: being now forbidden that which all his life he had neglected, he earnestly desired; and, being denied, *dolore confectus mortem obiit*, he dyed for grief.

What I have said of servitude, I say again of imprisonment, we are all prisoners. [d] What is our life but a prison? We are all imprisoned in an iland. The world itself to some men is a prison, our narrow seas are so many ditches; and, when they have compassed the globe of the earth, they would fain go see what is done in the moon. In [e] Muscovy and many other northern parts, all over Scandia, they are imprisoned half the year in stoves; they dare not peep out for cold. At [f] Aden in Arabia, they are penned in all day long with that other extreme of heat, and keep their markets in the night. What is a ship but a prison? and so many cities are but as so many hives of bees, anthils: but that which thou abhorrest, many seek: women keep in all winter, and most part of summer, to preserve their beauties; some for love of study: Demosthenes shaved his beard, because he would cut off all occasion of going abroad: how many monks and friers, anchorites, abandon the world! *mona-*

[z] Epist. lib. 3. vit. Paul. Eremit. Libet eos nunc interrogare qui domus marmoribus vestiunt, qui uno filo villarum ponunt pretia, huic seni modo quid unquam defuit? Vos gemmâ bibitis, ille concavis manibus naturæ satisfecit: ille pauper Paradisum capit, vos avaros Gehenna suscipiet. [a] Satur. l. 11. Alius libidini servit, alius ambitioni, omnes spei, omnes timori. [b] Nat. lib. 3. [c] Consol. l. 5. [d] O generose, quid est vita nisi carcer animi? [e] Herbastein. [f] Vertomannus, navig. l. 2. c. 4. Commercia in nundinis noctu horâ secundâ, ob nimios qui sæviunt interdiu æstus, exercent.

chus in urbe, piscis in arido. Art in prison? Make right use of it, and mortifie thyself. [g] *Where may a man contemplate better then in solitariness,* or study more then in quietness? Many worthy men have been imprisoned all their lives; and it hath been occasion of great honour and glory to them, much publick good by their excellent meditation. [h] Ptolomæus, king of Egypt, *cum, viribus attenuatis, infirmâ valetudine laboraret, miro discendi studio affectus, &c.* now being taken with a grievous infirmity of body that he could not stir abroad, became Stratos scholler, fell hard to his book, and gave himself wholly to contemplation; and upon that occasion (as mine author adds) *pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum, &c.* to his great honour built that renowned library at Alexandria, wherein were 40000 volumes. Severinus Boëthius never writ so elegantly as in prison, Paul so devoutly, for most of his epistles were dictated in his bands. Joseph, saith [i] Austin, *got more credit in prison, then when he distributed corn, and was lord of Pharaohs house.* It bring many a lewd riotous fellow home, many wandring rogues it settles, that would otherwise have been like raving tygers, ruined themselves and others.

Banishment is no grievance at all. *Omne solum forti patria, &c. et patria est, ubicunque bene est:* that's a mans country where he is well at ease. Many travel for pleasure to that city, saith Seneca, to which thou art banished: and what a part of the citizens are strangers born in other places? [j] *Incolentibus patria;* 'tis their country that are born in it; and they would think themselves banished to go to the place which thou leavest, and from which thou art so loth to depart. 'Tis no disparagement to be a stranger, or so irksome to be an exile. [k] *The rain is a stranger to the earth, rivers to the sea, Jupiter in Egypt, the sun to us all. The soul is an alien to the body, a nightingale to the ayre, a swallow in an house, and Ganymede in heaven, an elephant in Rome, a phœnix in India;* and such things commonly please us best, which are most strange, and come farthest off. Those old Hebrews esteemed the whole world Gentiles; the Greeks held all barbarians but themselves; our modern Italians account of us as dull transalpines by way of reproach; they scorn thee and thy country which thou so much admirest. 'Tis a childish humour to hone after home, to be discontent at that which others seek; to prefer, as base Islanders and Norvegians do, their own ragged iland before Italy or Greece, the gardens of the world. There is a base nation in the north, saith [l] Pliny, called Chauci, that live amongst rocks and sands by the seaside, feed on fish, drink water: and yet these base people account themselves slaves in respect, when they come to Rome. *Ita est profecto* (as he concludes); *multis fortuna parcit in pœnam:* so it is, Fortune favours some to live at home, to their further punishment; 'tis want of judgement. All places are distant from heaven alike; the sun shines happily as warm in one city as in another; and to a wise man there is no difference of climes: friends are every where to him that behaves himself well; and a prophet is not esteemed in his own country. Alexander, Cæsar, Trajan, Adrian, were so many land-leapers, now in the east, now in the west, little at home; and Polus Venetus, Lod. Vertomannus, Pinzonus, Cadamustus, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Vascus Gama, Drake, Candish, Oliver Anort, Schouten, got all their honour by voluntary expeditions. But you say, such mens travel is voluntary; we are compelled, and, as malefactors, must depart: yet know this of [m] Plato to be true, *ultori Deo summa cura peregrinus est:* God hath an especial care of strangers; *and, when he wants friends and allies, he shall deserve better and*

[g] Ubi verior contemplatio quam in solitudine? ubi studium solidius quam in quiete? [h] Alex. ab Alex. gen. dier. lib. 1. cap. 2. [i] In Ps. 76. Non ita laudatur Joseph cum frumenta distribueret, ac quum carcerem habitaret. [j] Boëthius. [k] Philostratus, in deliciis. Peregrini sunt imbres in terrâ, et fluvii in mari; Jupiter apud Ægyptos; sol apud omnes; hospes anima in corpore, luscinia in aëre, hirundo in domo, Ganymedes cœlo, &c. [l] Lib. 16. cap. 1. Nullam frugem habent; potus ex imbre: et hæ gentes, si vincantur, &c. [m] Lib. 5. de legibus. Cumque cognatis careat et amicis, majorem apud Deos et apud homines misericordiam mereatur.

nd more favour with God and men. Besides the pleasure of peregrination, ıriety of objects will make amends; and so many nobles, Tully, Aristides, hemistocles, Theseus, Codrus, &c. as have been banished, will give sufficient 'edit unto it. Read Pet. Alcionius his two books of this subject.

MEMB. V.

Against sorrow for Death of Friends or otherwise, vain Fear, &c.

Death and departure of friends are things generally grievous: [n] *omnium uæ in humanâ vitâ contingunt, luctus atque mors sunt acerbissima;* the most ıstere and bitter accidents that can happen to a man in this life, *in æternum ıledicere*, to part for ever, to forsake the world and all our friends; 'tis *'timum terribilium*, the last and the greatest terrour, most irkesome and oublesome unto us. [o] *Homo toties moritur, quoties amittit suos.* And ough we hope for a better life, eternall happiness, after these painfull and iserable daies, yet we cannot compose our selves willingly to dye; the reembrance of it is most grievous unto us, especially to such who are fortuıte and rich: they start at the name of death, as an horse at a rotten post. ay what you can of that other world, with [p] Metezuma that Indian prince, *mum est esse hîc*, they had rather be here. Nay many generous spirits, and ave staid men otherwise, are so tender in this, that, at the loss of a dear end, they will cry out, roare, and tear their haire, lamenting some months ter, houling, *O hone*, as those Irish women, and [q] Greeks, at their graves, ommit many undecent actions, and almost go besides themselves. My dear ther, my sweet husband, mine only brothers dead! to whom shall I make my oan? *O me miserum! Quis dabit in lacrymas fontem? &c.* What shall I do?

ıd totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors Abstullit; hei! misero frater adempte mihi!	My brothers death my study hath undone; Woe's me! alas! my brother he is gone!

ezentius would not live after his son:

[r] Nunc vivo, nec adhuc homines lucemque relinquo!
Sed linquam———

ıd Pompeys wife cryed out at the news of her husbands death, *Turpe mori ıst te solo non posse dolore,* [t] *violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi*, as [u] Tacis of Agrippina, not able to moderate her passions. So, when she heard her n was slain, she abruptly broke off her work, changed countenance and lour, tore her hair, and fell a roaring down right:

——subitus miseræ calor ossa reliquit; Excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa:	Evolat infelix, et femineo ululatu, Scissa comam——

ıother would needs run upon the swords point after Euryalus departure,

[v] Figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela
Conjicite, o Rutuli!———

let me dye! some good man or other make an end of me! How did Achilles ke on for Patroclus departure? A black cloud of sorrows overshadowed him, ith Homer. Jacob rent his clothes, put sack-cloth about his loines, sorrowed his son a long season, and could not be comforted, but would needs go down o the grave unto his son (Gen. 37. 37). Many years after, the remembrance such friends, of such accidents, is most grievous unto us, to see or hear of it, ough it concern not our selves, but others. Scaliger saith of himself, that he ver read Socrates death, in Platos Phædon, but he wept: [w] Austin shed tears ıen he read the destruction of Troy. But, howsoever this passion of sorrow be ılent, bitter, and seiseth familiarly on wise, valiant, discreet men, yet it may rely be withstood, it may be diverted. For, what is there in this life, that should be so dear unto us? or that we should so much deplore the departure a friend? The greatest pleasures are common society, to enjoy one anothers

[n] Cardan. de consol. lib. 2. [o] Seneca. [p] Benzo. [q] Summo mane ululatum oriuntur, pectora perlentes, &c. miserabile spectaculum exhibentes. Ortelius, in Græciâ. [r] Catullus. [s] Virgil. ıcan. [t] 3 Annal. [u] Virg. Æn. 9. [w] Confess. l. 1.

presence, feasting, hawking, hunting, brooks, woods, hils, musick, dancing, &c. all this is but vanity and losse of time, as I have sufficiently declared.

——[x] *dum bibimus, dum serta, unguenta, puellas, Poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus.*

Whilst we drink, prank our selves, with wenches
Old age upon's at unawares doth sally. [dally,

As alchymists spend that small modicum they have, to get gold, and never finde out, we lose and neglect eternity, for a little momentary pleasure, which we cannot enjoy, nor shall ever attain to in this life. We abhor death, pain, and grief, all; and yet we will do nothing of that which should vindicate us from, but rather voluntarily thrust our selves upon it. [y] *The lascivious prefers his whore before his life, or good estate; an angry man, his revenge; a parasite, his gut; ambitious, honours; covetous, wealth; a thief, his booty; a souldier, his spoyle; we abhor diseases, and yet we pull them upon us.* We are never better or freer from cares then when we sleep; and yet, which we so much avoid and lament, death is but a perpetuall sleep; and why should it (as [z] Epicurus argues) so much affright us? *When we are, death is not: but when death is, then we are not:* our life is tedious and troublesome unto him that lives best; [a] *'tis a misery to be born, a pain to live, a trouble to die;* death makes an end of our miseries; and yet we cannot consider of it. A little before [b] Socrates drank his potion of *cicuta*, he bid the citizens of Athens cheerfully farewell, and concluded his speech with this short sentence: *My time is now come to be gone, I to my death, you to live on; but which of these is best, God alone knows.* For there is no pleasure here, but sorrow is annexed to it, repentance follows it. [c] *If I feed liberally, I am likely sick or surfeit; if I live sparingly, my hunger and thirst is not allayed: I am well neither full nor fasting; if I live honest, I burn in lust;* if I take my pleasure, I tire and starve my self, and do injury to my body and soul. [d] *Of so small a quantity of mirth, how much sorrow! after so little pleasure, how great misery!* 'Tis both waies troublesome to me, to rise and go to bed, to eat and provide my meat; cares and contentions attend me all day long, fears and suspicions all my life. I am discontented; and why should I desire so much to live? But an happy death will make an end of all our woes and miseries; *Omnibus una meis certa medela malis.* Why shouldst thou not then say, with old Simeon, since thou art so well affected, *Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace;* or, with Paul, *I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ? Beata mors, quæ ad beatam vitam aditum aperit;* 'tis a blessed houre that leads us to a [e] blessed life; and blessed are they that dye in the Lord. But life is sweet; and death is not so terrible in it self as the concomitants of it, a loathsome disease, pain, horrour, &c. and many times the manner of it, to be hanged, to be broken on the wheel, to be burned alive. [f] Servetus the heretick, that suffered in Geneva, when he was brought to the stake, and saw the executioner come with fire in his hand, *homo, viso igne, tam horrendum exclamavit, ut universum populum perterre fecerit*, roared so loud, that he terrified the people. An old Stoick would have scorned this. It troubles some to be unburied, or so:

——[g] *non te optima mater*
Condet humi, patriove onerabit membra sepulcro:
Alitibus linquere feris, et gurgite mersum
Unda feret, piscesque impasti vulnera lambent:

Thy gentle parents shall not bury thee,
Amongst thine ancestors entomb'd to be;
But feral fowle thy carcass shall devoure,
Or drowned corps hungry fish maws shall scoure.

As Socrates told Crito, it concerns me not what is done with me when I am dead; *facilis jactura sepulcri:* I care not, so long as I feel it not: let them set mine head on the pike of Tenariffa, and my quarters in the foure parts of the world, ——— *pascam licet in cruce corvos:* let wolves or bears devoure

[x] Juvenalis. [y] Amator scortum vitæ præponit, iracundus vindictam, parasitus gulam, ambitiosus honores, avarus opes, miles rapinam, fur prædam; morbos odimus et accersimus. Card. [z] Seneca. Quum nos sumus, mors non adest; cum vero mors adest, tum nos non sumus. [a] Bernard. c. 3. med. Nasci miserum, vivere pœna, angustia mori. [b] Plato, Apol. Socratis. Sed jam hora est hinc abire, &c. [c] Comedi ad satietatem, gravitas me offendit; parcius edi, non est expletum desiderium; venereas delicias sequor, hinc morbus, lassitudo, &c. [d] Bern. c. 3. med. De tantillâ lætitiâ, quanta tristitia; post tantam voluptatem, quam gravis miseria! [e] Est enim mors piorum felix transitus de labore ad refrigerium, de exspectatione ad præmium. [f] Vaticanus, vitâ ejus. [g] Luc.

me: ——— *cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam;* the canopy of heaven covers him that hath no tomb. So likewise for our friends, why should their departure so much trouble us? They are better, as we hope; and for what then dost thou lament, as those do, whom Paul taxed in his time, (1 Thes. 4. 13) *that have no hope?* 'Tis fit there should be some solemnity.

[b] Sed sepelire decet defunctum, pectore forti,
Constantes, unumque diem fletu indulgentes.

Jobs friends said not a word to him the first seven daies, but let sorrow and discontent take their course, themselves sitting sad and silent by him. When Jupiter himself wept for Sarpedon, what else did the poet insinuate, but that some sorrow is good?

[i] Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati
Fiere vetet?

who can blame a tender mother, if she weep for her children? Besides, as [j] Plutarch holds, 'tis not in our power not to lament: *indolentia non cuivis contingit:* it takes away mercy and pitty, not to be sad; 'tis a natural passion to weep for our friends, an irresistible passion to lament and grieve. *I know not how,* (saith Seneca) *but sometimes 'tis good to be miserable in misery: and for the most part all grief evacuates itself by teares:*

[k] est quædam flere voluptas:
Expletur lacrymis, egeritur que, dolor:

yet, after a dayes mourning or two, comfort thy self for thy heavinesse (Eccles. 38. 17). [l] *Non decet defunctum ignavo questu prosequi:* 'twas Germanicus advice of old, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievers, to let them tyrannize; there's *indolentiæ ars,* a medium to be kept: we do not (saith [m] Austin) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch. *I forbid not a man to be angry; but I ask for what cause he is so? Not to be sad, but why he is sad? not to fear, but wherefore is he afraid?* I require a moderation as well as a just reason. [n] The Romans, and most civil commonwealths, have set a time to such solemnities: they must not mourn after a certain day; *or if in a family a child be born, a daughter, or a son married, some state or honour be conferred, a brother be redeemed from his bands, a friend from his enemies,* or the like, they must lament no more. And 'tis fit it should be so; to what end is all their funeral pomp, complaints, and tears? When Socrates was dying, his friends Apollodorus and Crito, with some others, were weeping by him; which he perceiving, asked them what they meant: [o] *for that very cause, he put all the women out of the roome; upon which words of his, they were abashed, and ceased from their tears.* Lodovicus Cortesius, a rich lawyer of Padua (as [p] Bernardinus Scardeonius relates) commanded by his last will, and a great mulct if otherwise to his heir, that no funeral should be kept for him, no man should lament; but, as at a wedding, musick and minstrels to be provided; and, instead of black mourners, he took order [q] *that twelve virgins clad in green should carry him to the church.* His will and testament was accordingly performed, and he buried in S[t] Sophies church. [r] Tully was much grieved for his daughter Tulliolas death at first, until such time that he had confirmed his mind with some philosophical precepts: [s] *then he began to triumph over fortune and grief, and, for her reception into heaven, to be much more joyed then before he was troubled*

[b] Il. 9. Homer. [i] Ovid. [j] Consol. ad Apollon. Non est libertate nostrâ positum non dolere; misericordiam abolet, &c. [k] Ovid. 4. Trist. [l] Tacitus, lib. 4. [m] Lib. 9. cap. 9. de civitate Dei. Non quæro cum irascatur, sed cur; non utrum sit tristis, sed unde; non utrum timeat, sed quid timeat. [n] Festus, verbo Minuitur. Luctui dies indicebatur, cum liberi nascantur, cum frater abit, amicus ab hospite, captivus domum redeat, puella desponsetur. [o] Ob hanc caussam mulieres ablegâram, ne talia facerent. Nos, hæc audientes, erubuimus, et destitimus à lacrymis [p] Lib. 1. class. 8. de claris jurisconsultis Patavinis. [q] Innuptæ puellæ amictæ viridibus pannis, &c. [r] Lib. de consol. [s] Præceptis philosophiæ confirmatus adversus omnem fortunæ vim, et te consecratâ in cœlumque receptâ, tantâ affectus lætitiâ sum ac voluptate, quantam animo capere possum, ac exsultare plane mihi videor, victorque de omni dolore et fortunâ triumphare.

for her loss. If an heathen man could so fortifie himself from philosophy, what shall a Christian from divinity? Why doest thou so macerate thy selfe? 'Tis an inevitable chance, the first statute in *Magna Charta*, an everlasting act of parliament, all must [t]die.

[u] Constat æternâ positumque lege est,
Ut constet genitum nihil.

It cannot be revoked: we are all mortal; and these all-commanding gods and princes *die like men:*

[v] Involvit humile pariter et celsum caput,
Æquatque summis infima.

O weak condition of humane estate! Sylvius exclaims: [w]Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, 18 yeeres of youth, in the flower of his age, so potent, rich, fortunate, and happy, in the midst of all his friends, amongst so many [x]physicians, now ready to be [y]married, in 36 houres sickned and died. We must so be gone sooner or later all, and, as Calliopius in the comedy took his leave of his spectators and auditors, *Vos valete et plaudite.—Calliopius recensui.* must we bid the world farewell, (*Exit Calliopius*) and, having now plaid our parts, for ever be gone. Tombs and monuments have the like fate: *Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris;* kingdomes, provinces, towns, and cities, have their periods, and are consumed. In those flourishing times of Troy, Mycenæ was the fairest city in Greece; *Græciæ cunctæ imperitabat;* but it, alas! and that [z]*Assyrian Nineve, are quite overthrown.* The like fate hath that Egyptian and Bœotian Thebes, Delos, *commune Græciæ conciliabulum,* the common councel-house of Greece; [a]and Babylon, the greatest city that ever the sun shone upon, hath now nothing but walls and rubbish left. [b]*Quid Pandioniæ restant, nisi nomen, Athenæ?* Thus [c]Pausanias complained in his times. And where is Troy it self now, Persepolis, Carthage, Cyzicum, Sparta, Argos, and all those Grecian cities? Syracuse and Agrigentum, the fairest towns in Sicily, which had sometimes 700000 inhabitants, are now decayed: the names of Hieron, Empedocles, &c. of those mighty numbers of people, only left. One Anacharsis is remembred amongst the Scythians; the world it self must have an end, and every part of it. *Cæterœ igitur urbes sunt mortales,* as Peter [d]Gillius concludes of Constantinople; *hæc sane, quamdiu erunt homines, futura mihi videtur immortalis;* but 'tis not so: nor site, nor strength, nor sea, nor land, can vindicate a city; but it and all must vanish at last. And, as to a traveller, great mountains seem plains afar off, at last are not discerned at all; cities, men, monuments decay: ——*nec solidis prodest sua machina terris:* the names are only left, those at length forgotten, and are involved in perpetual night.

[e] *Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Ægina toward Megara, I began* (saith Servius Sulpitius, in a consolatory epistle of his to Tully) *to view the country round about. Ægina was behind me, Megara before, Piræeus on the right hand, Corinth on the left, what flourishing towns heretofore, now prostrate and overwhelmed before mine eyes! I began to think with myself, Alas! why are we men so much disquieted with the departure of a friend, whose life is much shorter,* [f]*when so many goodly cities lye buried before us? Remember, O Servius, thou art a man; and with that I was much confirmed, and corrected myself.* Correct then likewise, and comfort thy self in this, that we must necessarily dye, and all dye, that we shall rise again, as Tully held, *jucundiorque multo congressus noster futurus, quam insuavis et acerbus digressus,* our second meeting shall be much more pleasant, then our departure was grievous.

[t] Ut lignum uri natum, arista secari, sic homines mori. [u] Boëth. lib. 2, met. 3. [v] Boëth. [w] Nic. Hensel. Breslagr. fol. 47. [x] Twenty then present. [y] To Magdalen, the daughter of Charles the seventh of France. Obeunt noctesque diesque, &c. [z] Assyriorum regia funditus deleta. [a] Omnium, quot unquam sol aspexit, urbium maxima. [b] Ovid. [c] Arcad. lib. 8. [d] Præfat. Topogr. Constantinop. [e] Epist. Tull. lib. 3. [f] Quum tot oppidorum cadavera ante oculos projecta jacent.

I, but he was my most dear and loving friend, my sole friend:

[g] Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis?

And who can blame my woe? Thou mayst be ashamed, I say with [h] Seneca, to confess it, *in such a* [i] *tempest as this to have but one anchor;* go seek another: and, for his part, thou dost him great injury to desire his longer life. [j] *Wilt thou have him crazed and sickly still,* like a tired traveller that comes weary to his inne, begin his journey afresh, *or to be freed from his miseries? Thou hadst more need rejoice that he is gone.* Another complains of a most sweet wife, a young wife, (*Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem*) such a wife as no mortal man ever had, so good a wife: but she is now dead and gone, *Lethæoque jacet condita sarcophago.* I reply to him, in Senecas words, if such a woman at least ever was to be had, [k] *he did either so find or make her; if he found her, he may as happily find another;* if he made her, as Critobulus in Xenophon did by his, he may as good cheap inform another; *Et bona tam sequitur, quam bona prima fuit:* he need not dispair, so long as the same master is to be had. But was she good? Had she been so tryed peradventure as that Ephesian widow in Petronius, by some swaggering souldier, she might not have held out. Many a man would have been willingly rid of his: before thou wast bound; now thou art free; [l] *and 'tis but a folly to love thy fetters, though they be of gold.* Come into a third place, you shall have an aged father sighing for a sonne, a pretty childe;

[m] Impube pectus, quale vel impia
Molliret Thracum pectora—

—He now lyes asleep,
Would make an impious Thracian weep—

or some fine daughter that dyed young, [n] *Nondum experta novi gaudia prima tori*—or forlorn son for his deceased father. But why? *Prior exiit, prior intravit;* he came first, and he must go first. *Tu frustra pius, heu, &c.* What? wouldst thou have the laws of nature altered, and him to live alwayes? Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Alcibiades, Galen, Aristotle, lost their fathers young. And why on the other side shouldst thou so heavily take the death of thy little son?

[o] *Num,* quia nec fato, meritâ nec morte, peribat,
Sed miser ante diem—

he died before his time perhaps, not yet come to the solstice of his age! yet was he not mortal? Hear that divine [p] Epictetus: *If thou covet thy wife, friends, children, should live alwayes, thou art a fool.* He was a fine child indeed, *dignus Apollineis lacrymis,* a sweet, a loving, a fair, a witty child, of great hope, another Eteoneus, whom Pindarus the poet, and Aristides the rhetorician, so much lament; but who can tell whether he would have been an honest man? He might have proved a thief, a rogue, a spendthrift, a disobedient son, vexed and galled thee more then all the world beside; he might have wrangled with thee and disagreed, or with his brothers, as Eteocles and Polynices, and broke thy heart: he is now gone to eternity, as another Ganymede in the [q] flower of his youth, *as if he had risen,* saith Plutarch, [r] *from the midst of a feast* before he was drunk; *the longer he had lived, the worse he would have been,* and *quo vita longior,* (Ambrose thinks) *culpa numerosior,* more sinful, more to answer he would have had. If he was naught, thou mayst be glad he is gone; if good, be glad thou hadst such a son. Or art thou sure he was good? It may be he was an hypocrite, as many are; and, howsoever he spake thee fair, peradventure he prayed, amongst the rest

[g] Hor. lib. 1. Od. 24. [h] De remed. fortuit. [i] Erubesce, tantâ tempestate quod ad unam anchoram stabas. [j] Vis ægrum, et morbidum, sitibundum? gaude potius quod his malis liberatus sit. [k] Uxorem bonam aut invenisti, aut sic fecisti; si inveneris, aliam habere te posse ex hoc intelligamus: si feceris, bene speres; salvus est artifex. [l] Stulti est compedes, licet aureas, amare. [m] Hor. [n] Hor. lib. 1. Od. 24. [o] Virg. 4. Æn. [p] Cap. 19. Si id studes ut uxor, amici, liberi perpetuo vivant, stultus es. [q] Deus, quos diligit, juvenes rapit. Menan. [r] Consol. ad Apol. Apollonius filius tuus in flore decessit, ante nos ad æternitatem digressus, tanquam è convivio abiens, priusquam in errorem aliquem è temulentiâ incideret, quales in longâ senectâ accidere solent.

that Icaro-Menippus heard at Jupiters whispering place in Lucian, for his fathers death, because he now kept him short, he was to inherit much goods, and many fair manors after his decease. Or put case he was very good, suppose the best, may not thy dead son expostulate with thee, as he did in the same [s] Lucian, *Why dost thou lament my death, or call me miserable that am much more happy then thy self? what misfortune is befaln me? Is it because I am not bald, crooked, old, rotten, as thou art? What have I lost? some of your good chear, gay cloths, musick, singing, dancing, kissing, merry meetings,* thalami lubentias, *&c. is that it? Is it not much better not to hunger at all then to eat: not to thirst then to drink to satisfie thirst: not to be cold then to put on cloths to drive away cold? You had more need rejoyce that I am freed from diseases, agues, cares, anxieties, livor, love, covetousness, hatred, envy, malice, that I fear no more thieves, tyrants, enemies, as you do.* [t] *Id cinerem et manes credis curare sepultos?* Do they concern us all, think you, when we are once dead? Console not others then overmuch; wish not or fear thine own death. [u] *Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes;* 'tis to no purpose.

Excessi è vitæ ærumnis facilisque lubensque,	I left this irksome life with all mine heart,
Ne pejora ipsâ morte dehinc videam:	Lest worse then death should happen to my part.

[v] Cardinal Brundusinus caused this epitaph in Rome to be inscribed on his tomb, to shew his willingness to dye, and taxe those that were so loth to depart. Weep and howl no more then; 'tis to small purpose: and, as Tully adviseth us in the like case, *non quos amisimus, sed quantum lugere par sit, cogitemus:* think what we do, not whom we have lost. So David did, 2 Sam. 22. *While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept; but, being now dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him again? I shall go to him; but he cannot return to me.* He that doth otherwise is an intemperate, a weak, a silly, and undiscreet man. Though Aristotle deny any part of intemperance to be conversant about sorrow, I am of [w] Senecas mind—*he that is wise is temperate; and he that is temperate is constant, free from passion; and he that is such a one, is without sorrow,* as all wise men should be. The [x] Thracians wept still when a child was born, feasted and made mirth when any man was buried: and so should we rather be glad for such as die well, that they are so happily freed from the miseries of this life. When Eteoneus, that noble young Greek, was so generally lamented by his friends, Pindarus the poet faines some god saying, *Silete, homines; non enim miser est, &c.* be quiet, good folks; this young man is not so miserable as you think; he is neither gone to Styx nor Acheron, *sed gloriosus et senii expers heros,* he lives for ever in the Elysian fields; he now enjoyes that happinesse which your great kings so earnestly seek, and wears that garland for which ye contend. If our present weakness is such, we cannot moderate our passions in this behalf, we must divert them by all means, by doing something else, thinking of another subject. The Italians, most part, sleep away care and grief, if it unseasonably seise upon them; Danes, Dutchmen, Polanders, and Bohemians drink it down; our countrymen go to playes. Doe something or other; let it not transpose thee; or, by [y] *premeditation, make such accidents familiar,* as Ulysses, that wept for his dog, but not for his wife, *quod paratus esset animo obfirmato (Plut. de anim. tranq.):* accustome thy self, and harden before hand, by seeing other mens calamities, and applying them to thy present estate: *Prævisum, est levius, quod fuit ante, malum.* I will conclude with [z] Epictetus, *If thou lovest a pot, remember 'tis but a pot thou lovest; and thou wilt not*

[s] Tom. 1. Tract. de luctu. Quod me mortuum miserum vocas, qui te sum multo felicior? aut quid acerbi mihi putas contigisse? an quia non sum calvus, senex, ut tu, facie rugosus, incurvus, &c. O demens! quid tibi videtur in vitâ boni? nimirum amicitias, cœnas, &c. Longe melius non esurire quam edere; non sitire, &c. Gaude potius quod morbos et febres effugerim, angorem animi, &c. Ejulatus quid prodest? quid lacrymæ, &c. [t] Virgil. [u] Mart. [v] Chytræus, delicils Europæ. [w] Epist. 85. [x] Sardus, de mor. gen. [y] Præmeditatione facilem reddere quemque casum. Plutarchus, consolatione ad Apollonium. Assuefacere nos casibus debemus. Tull. lib. 3. Tusculan. quæst. [z] Cap. 8. Si ollam diligas, memento te ollam diligere: non perturbaberis eâ confractâ: si filium aut uxorem, memento hominem à te diligi, &c.

troubled when 'tis broken: if thou lovest a son or wife, remember they ortall; and thou wilt not be so impatient. And for false fears and all ot rtuite inconveniences, mischances, calamities, to resist and prepare lves not to faint, is best: [a] *Stultum est timere quod vitari non potest;* folly to fear that which cannot be avoided, or to be discouraged at all.

[b] Nam quisquis trepidus pavet vel optat,
Abjecit clypeum, locoque motus.
Nectit, qua valeat trahi, catenam:

r he that so faints or fears, and yeelds to his passion, flings away his c apons, makes a cord to bind himself, and puls a beam upon his own hea

MEMB. VI.

Against Envie, Livor, Emulation, Hatred, Ambition, Self-love, and all other Affections.

AGAINST those other [c] passions and affections, there is no better remec en (as mariners, when they go to sea, provide all things necessary to re tempest) to furnish our selves with philosophicall and divine precepts, otl ens examples; [d] *Periculum ex aliis faccre, sibi quod ex usu siet:* to l ace our hearts with love, charity, meekness, patience, and counterpo ose irregular motions of envie, livor, spleen, hatred, with their opposite v es, as we bend a crooked staffe another way; to oppose [e] *sufferance to ur, patience to reproach,* bounty to covetousness, fortitude to pusillanimi eekness to anger, humility to pride; to examine our selves, for what cai are so much disquieted, on what ground, what occasion, is it just or faine d then either to pacifie our selves by reason, to divert by some other obje ntrary passion, or premeditation. [f] *Meditari secum oportet quo pacto a rsam ærumnam ferat, pericla, damna, exsilia: peregre rediens semper c let aut filii peccatum, aut uxoris mortem, aut morbum filiæ; commu ie hæc; fieri posse; ut ne quid animo sit novum:* to make them famili en all kinde of calamities, that, when they happen, they may be lesse troub me unto us (*in secundis meditare, quo pacto feras adversa*), or out of m re judgement to avoid the effect, or disannull the cause, as they do that a ubled with tooth-ach, pull them quite out.

Ut vivat castor, sibi testes amputat ipse:	The beaver bites off 's stones to save the rest
Tu quoque, siqua nocent, abjice, tutus eris.	Do thou the like with that thou art opprest.

', as they that play at wasters, exercise themselves by a few cudgels how oid an enemies blows, let us arm our selves against all such violent incu ns, which may invade our minds. A little experience and practice w ire us to it; *vetula vulpes,* as the proverb saith, *laqueo haud capitur;* l fox is not so easily taken in a snare; an old souldier in the world, r nkes, should not be disquieted, but ready to receive all fortunes, encou s, and, with that resolute captain, come what may come, to make answer

[b] non ulla laborum,	No labour comes at unawares to me;
O virgo, nova mi facies, inopinave, surgit:	For I have long before cast what may be.
Omnia percepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi,	

——non hoc primum mea pectora vulnus
Senserunt; graviora tuli——

e commonwealth of [i] Venice, in their armory, have this inscription, *Hap that citie which in time of peace thinks of war,* a fit motto for every ma vate house: happy is the man that provides for a future assault. B my times we complain, repine and mutter without a cause; we give way ssions, we may resist, and will not. Socrates was bad by nature, enviou he confessed to Zopyrus the physiognomer, accusing him of it) frowar

Seneca. [b] Boëth. lib. 1. pros. 4. [c] Qui invidiam ferre non potest, ferre contemptum cogit r. Heautont. [e] Epictetus, c. 14. Si labor objectus fuerit tolerantiæ, convicium patientiæ, &c consueveris, vitiis non obtemperabis. [f] Ter. Phor. [g] Alciat. Embl. [h] Virg. Æn. [i] N treus, deliciis Europæ. Felix civitas, quæ tempore pacis de bello cogitat.

and lascivious: but, as he was Socrates, he did correct and amend himself. Thou art malicious, envious, covetous, impatient, no doubt, and lascivious; yet, as thou art a Christian, correct and moderate thyself. 'Tis something, I confesse, and able to move any man, to see himself contemned, obscure, neglected, disgraced, undervalued, [j] *left behind:* some cannot endure it, no not constant Lipsius, a man discreet otherwise, yet too weak and passionate in this, as his words expresse—[k] *collegas olim, quos ego sine fremitu non intueor, nuper terræ filios, nunc Mæcenates et Agrippas habeo, . . . summo jam monte potitos.* But he was much to blame for it: to a wise staid man, this is nothing; we cannot all be honoured and rich, all Cæsars; if we will be content, our present state is good, and, in some mens opinion, to be preferred. Let them go on, get wealth, offices, titles, honours, preferments, and what they will themselves, by chance, fraud, imposture, simony, and indirect means, as too many do, by bribery, flattery, and parasiticall insinuation, by impudence, and time-serving: let them climb up to advancement in despite of vertue; let them *go before, crosse me on every side;* [l] *me non offendunt, modo non in oculos incurrant,* (as he said, correcting his former errour) they do not offend me, so long as they run not into mine eyes. I am inglorious and poor, *compositâ paupertate,* but I live secure and quiet: they are dignified, have great means, pompe and state; they are glorious; but what have they with it? [m] *envie, trouble, anxiety, as much labour to maintain their place with credit, as to get it at first.* I am contented with my fortunes, *spectator è longinquo,* and love-*Neptunum procul è terrâ spectare furentem:* he is ambitious, and not satisfied with his: *but what* [n] *gets he by it? to have all his life laid open, his reproaches seen; not one of a thousand, but he hath done more worthy of dispraise and animadversion, then commendation; no better means to help this then to be private.* Let them run, ride, strive as so many fishes for a crum, scrape, climb, catch, snatch, cozen, collogue, temporize, and fleire, take all amongst them, wealth, honour, [o] and get what they can; it offends me not:

> ——[p] me mea tellus
> Lare secreto tutoque tegat,

I am well pleased with my fortunes:—[q] *Vivo et regno simul ista relinquens.* I have learned, *in what state soever I am, therewith to be contented* (Philip. 1. 11.): come what can come, I am prepared: *Nave ferar magnâ an parvâ, ferar unus et idem:* I am the same. I was once so mad to bussell abroad, and seek about for preferment, tyre my self, and trouble all my friends; *sed nihil labor tantus profecit; nam dum alios amicorum mors avocat, aliis ignotus sum, his invisus; alii large promittunt; intercedunt illi mecum soliciti; hi vanâ spe lactant; dum alios ambio, hos capto, illis innotesco, ætas perit, anni defluunt, amici fatigantur, ego deseror, et jam, mundi tædet, humanæque satur infidelitatis, acquiesco.* And so I say still; although I may not deny, but that I have had some [r] bountifull patrons, and noble benefactors, *ne sim interim ingratus,* and I do thankfully acknowledge it, I have received some kindness, *(quod Deus illis beneficium rependat) si non pro votis, fortasse pro meritis,* more peradventure then I deserve, though not to my desire, more of them then I did expect, yet not of others to my desert; neither am I ambitious or covetous, all this while, or a Suffenus to myself; what I have said, without prejudice or alteration shall stand. And now, as a mired horse that struggles at first with all his might and main to get out, but, when he sees no remedy, that his beating will not

[j] Occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est. Hor. [k] Lipsius, epist. quæst. lib. 1. ep. 7. [l] Lipsius, epist. lib. 1. epist. 7. [m] Gloria comitem habet invidiam: pari onere premitur retinendo ac acquirendo. [n] Quid aliud ambitiosus sibi parat, quam ut probra ejus pateant? nemo vivens qui non habet in vitâ plura vituperatione quam laude digna; his malis non melius occurritur, quam si bene latueris. [o] Et omnes Fama per urbes garrula laudet. [p] Sen. Her. Fur. [q] Hor. [r] The right honourable lady Frances Countesse Dowager of Exeter. The Lord Berkley.

serve, lies still, I have laboured in vain, rest satisfied, and, if I may usurpe that of [s] Prudentius,

Inveni portum. Spes et Fortuna, valete!	Mine haven's found: Fortune and Hope, adieu!
Nil mihi vobiscum: ludite nunc alios.	Mock others now: for I have done with you.

MEMB. VII.

Against Repulse, Abuses, Injuries, Contempts, Disgraces, Contumelies, Slanders, Scoffes, &c.

I MAY not yet conclude, or think to appease passions, or quiet the minde, till such time as I have likewise removed some other of their more eminent and ordinary causes, which produce so grievous tortures and discontents. To divert all I cannot hope; to point alone at some few of the chiefest, is that which I aime at.

Repulse.] Repulse and disgrace are two main causes of discontent, but, to an understanding man, not so hardly to be taken. Cæsar himself hath been denied; [t]and when two stand equall in fortune, birth, and all other qualities alike, one of necessitie must lose. Why shouldst thou take it so grievously? It hath been a familiar thing for thee thy self to deny others. If every man might have what he would, we should all be deified, emperours, kings, princes; if whatsoever vain hope suggests, unsatiable appetite affects, our preposterous judgement thinks fit were granted, we should have another chaos in an instant, a meer confusion. It is some satisfaction to him that is repelled, that dignities, honours, offices, are not alwayes given by desert or worth, but for love, affinitie, friendship, affection, [u]great mens letters, or as commonly they are bought and sold. [v] *Honours in court are bestowed, not according to mens vertues and good conditions* (as an old courtier observes); *but, as every man hath means, or more potent friends, so he is preferred.* With us in France ([w]for so their own countrey man relates) *most part the matter is carried by favour and grace; he that can get a great man to be his mediatour, runnes away with all the preferment. Indignissimus plerumque præfertur, Vatinius Catoni, illaudatus laudatissimo:*

> ——servi dominantur: aselli
> Ornantur phaleris; dephalerantur equi.

An illiterate fool sits in a mans seat; and the common people hold him learned, grave, and wise. *One professeth* ([x]Cardan well notes) *for a thousand crownes; but he deserves not ten; when as he that deserves a thousand cannot get ten. Salarium non dat multis salem.* As good horses draw in carts, as coaches; and oftentimes, which Machiavel seconds, [y] *principes non sunt, qui ob insignem virtutem principatu digni sunt;* he that is most worthy wants imployment; he that hath skill to be a pilot wants a ship; and he that could govern a common-wealth, a world it self, a king in conceit, wants means to exercise his worth, hath not a poor office to manage. And yet all this while he is a better man that is fit to reign, *etsi careat regno*, though he want a kingdome, [z] *then he that hath one, and knows not how to rule it.* A lion serves not alwayes his keeper, but oftentimes the keeper the lion; and, as [a] Polydore Virgil hath it, *multi reges, ut pupilli, ob inscitiam non regunt, sed reguntur.* Hieron of Syracuse was a brave king, but wanted a kingdom; Perseus of Macedon had nothing of a king but the bare name and title; for

[s] Distichon ejus in militem Christianum, è Græco. Engraven on the tomb of Fr. Puccius the Florentine, in Rome. Chytreus, in delicijs. [t] Pædaretus, in 300 Lacedæmoniorum numerum non electus, risit, gratulari se dicens civitatem habere 300 cives se meliores. [u] Kissing goes by favour. [v] Æneas Syl. de miser. curial. Dantur honores in curiis, non secundum honores et virtutes; sed ut quisque ditior est atque potentior, eo magis honoratur. [w] Sesellius, lib. 2. de repub. Gallorum. Favore apud nos et gratiâ plerumque res agitur; et qui commodum aliquem nacti sunt intercessorem, aditum fere habent ad omnes præfecturas. [x] Imperitus periti munus occupat, et sic apud vulgus habetur. Ille profitetur mille coronatis, cum nec decem mereatur; alius è diverso mille dignus, vix decem consequi potest. [y] Epist. dedic. disput. Zeubbeo Bondemontio, et Cosmo Rucelaio. [z] Quam is qui regnat, et regnandi sit imperitus. [a] Lib. 22. hist.

he could not govern it: so great places are often ill bestowed, worthy persons unrespected. Many times too the servants have more means then the masters whom they serve; which [b] Epictetus counts an eye-sore and inconvenient. But who can help it? It is an ordinary thing in these dayes to see a base impudent asse, illiterate, unworthy, insufficient, to be preferred before his betters, because he can put himself forward, because he looks big, can busle in the world, hath a fair outside, can temporize, collogue, insinuate, or hath good store of friends and mony; whereas a more discreet, modest, and better deserving man shall lie hid or have a repulse. 'Twas so of old, and ever will be, and which Tiresias advised Ulysses in the [c] poet, *Accipe, quâ ratione queas ditescere, &c.* is still in use; lie, flatter and dissemble: if not, as he concludes, *Ergo pauper eris*, then go like a beggar, as thou art. Erasmus, Melancthon, Lipsius, Budæus, Cardan, liv'd and died poor. Gesner was a silly old man, *baculo innixus*, amongst all those huffing cardinals, swelling bishops, that flourished in his time, and rode on foot-clothes. It is not honesty, learning, worth, wisdom, that prefers men, (*the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong*) but, as the wise man said, [d] *chance*, and sometimes a ridiculous chance: [e] *casus plerumque ridiculus multos elevavit.* 'Tis fortunes doings, as they say, which made Brutus now dying exclaim, *O misera virtus! ergo nihil quam verba eras! atqui ego te tanquam rem exercebam: sed tu serviebas fortunæ.* Beleeve it hereafter, O my friends! Vertue serves fortune. Yet be not discouraged (O my well deserving spirits) with this which I have said: it may be otherwise; though seldom, I confesse, yet sometimes it is. But, to your farther content, Ile tell you a [f] tale. In Moronio pia, or Moronio felix, I know not whether, nor how long since, nor in what cathedrall church, a fat prebend fell void. The carcasse scarce cold, many sutors were up in an instant. The first had rich friends, a good purse; and he was resolved to out-bid any man before he would lose it; every man supposed he should carry it. The second was my Lord Bishops chaplain (in whose gift it was); and he thought it his due to have it. The third was nobly born; and he meant to get it by his great parents, patrons, and allies. The fourth stood upon his worth; he had newly found out strange mysteries in chymistry, and other rare inventions, which he would detect to the publike good. The fifth was a painfull preacher; and he was commended by the whole parish where he dwelt; he had all their hands to his certificate. The sixth was the prebendaries son lately deceased; his father died in debt (for it, as they say), left a wife and many poor children. The seventh stood upon fair promises, which to him and his noble friends had been formerly made for the next place in his Lordship's gift. The eighth pretended great losses, and what he had suffered for the church, what pains he had taken at home and abroad; and besides he brought noble mens letters. The ninth had married a kinswoman, and he sent his wife to sue for him. The tenth was a forrain doctor, a late convert, and wanted means. The eleventh would exchange for another; he did not like the formers site, could not agree with his neighbours and fellows upon any termes; he would be gone. The twelfth and last was (a suitor in conceit) a right honest, civil, sober man, an excellent scholar, and such a one as lived private in the universitie; but he had neither means nor mony to compasse it; besides he hated all such courses: he could not speak for himself, neither had he any friends to solicite his cause, and therefore made no suit, could not expect, neither did he hope for, or look after it. The good bishop, amongst a jury of competitors, thus perplexed, and not yet resolved what to do, or on whom to bestow it, at the last, of his own accord, meer motion, and bountifull nature, gave it freely to the university student, altogether unknown to him

[b] Ministri locupletiores sunt iis quibus ministratur. [c] Hor. lib. 2. Sat. 5. [d] Solomon, Eccles. 9. 11. [e] Sat. Menip. [f] Tale quid est apud Valent. Andream, Apolog. manip. 5. apol. 39.

but by fame; and, to be brief, the academical scholar had the prebend sent him for a present. The newes was no sooner published abroad, but all good students rejoyced, and were much cheered up with it, though some would not beleeve it; others, as men amazed, said it was a miracle: but one amongst the rest thanked God for it, and said, *Nunc juvat tandem studiosum esse, et Deo integro corde servire.* You have heard my tale; but, alas! it is but a tale, a meer fiction; 'twas never so, never like to be; and so let it rest. Well, be it so then, they have wealth and honour, fortune and preferment; every man (there's no remedy) must scramble as he may, and shift as he can; yet Cardan comforted himself with this, [g] *the star Fomahant would make him immortall*, and that [h] after his decease his books should be found in ladies studies. [i] *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.*

But why shouldst thou take thy neglect, thy canvas, so to heart? It may be thou art not fit; but, as a [j] child that puts on his fathers shoes, hat, head piece, brestplate, breeches, or holds his spear, but is neither able to wield the one or wear the other; so wouldst thou doe by such an office, place, or magistracy: thou art unfit; *and what is dignity to an unworthy man*, but (as [k] Salvianus holds) *a gold ring in a swines snowt?* Thou art a brute. Like a bad actor (so [l] Plutarch compares such men) in a tragedy, (*diadema fert, at vox non auditur*) thou wouldst play a kings part, but actest a clowne, speakest like an asse. [m] *Magna petis, Phaëthon, et quæ non viribus istis, &c.* As James and John, the sons of Zebedy, did ask they knew not what; *nescis, temerarie, nescis;* thou dost, as another Suffenus, overween thy self; thou art wise in thine own conceit, but in other mens more mature judgement altogether unfit to manage such a businesse. Or be it thou art more deserving then any of thy rank, God in his providence hath reserved thee for some other fortunes: *sic Superis visum.* Thou art humble, as thou art: it may be, hadst thou been preferred, thou wouldst have forgotten God and thy self, insulted over others, contemned thy friends, [n] been a block, a tyrant, or a demi-god; *sequiturque superbia formam:* [o] *therefore*, saith Chrysostome, *good men do not alwayes finde grace and favour, lest they should be puffed up with turgent titles, grow insolent and proud.*

Injuries, abuses, are very offensive, and so much the more in that they think, *veterem ferendo, invitant novam*, by taking one, they provoke another: but it is an erroneous opinion: for, if that were true, there would be no end of abusing each other; *lis litem generat*; 'tis much better with patience to bear, or quietly to put it up. If an asse kick me, saith Socrates, shall I strike him again? and, when [p] his wife Xantippe stroke and misused him, to some friends that would have had him strike her again, he replied that he would not make them sport, or that they should stand by and say *Eia, Socrates! eia, Xantippe!* as we do when dogs fight, animate them the more by clapping of hands. Many men spend themselves, their goods, friends, fortunes, upon small quarrels, and sometimes at other mens procurements, with much vexation of spirit and anguish of minde; all which, with good advice, or mediation of friends, might have been happily composed, or if patience had taken place. Patience, in such cases, is a most soveraign remedy, to put up, conceal, or dissemble it, to [q] forget and forgive, [r] *not seven, but seventy times seven; as often as he repects, forgive him;* Luk. 17. 3. as our Saviour enjoyns us, stroken, *to turn the other side:* as our [s] Apostle perswades us, *to recompence no man evill, but, as much as is possible, to have peace with all men: not to avenge ourselves, and we shall heap burning coales upon our adversaries head. For, if you put up wrong*, (as Chrysostome

[g] Stella Fomahant immortalitatem dabit. [h] Lib. de lib. propriis. [i] Hor. [j] Qui induit thoracem aut galeam, &c. [k] Lib. 4. de guber. Dei. Quid est dignitas indigno, nisi circulus aureus in naribus suis? [l] In Lysandro. [m] Ovid. Met. [o] Magistratus virum indicat. [o] Ideo boni viri aliquando gratiam non accipiunt, ne in superbiam eleventur ventositate jactantiæ, ne altitudo muneris negligentiores efficiat. [p] Ælian. [q] Injuriarum remedium est oblivio. [r] Mat. 18. 22. Mat. 5. 39. [s] Rom. 12. 17.

[t] comments) *you get the victorie; he that loseth his mony, loseth not the conquest in this our philosophy.* If he contend with thee, submit thy self unto him first; yeeld to him. *Durum et durum non faciunt murum*, as the diverb is; two refractory spirits will never agree; the onely means to overcome, is to relent; *obsequio vinces.* Euclide (in Plutarch), when his brother had angred him, swore he would be revenged; but he gently replied, [u] *Let me not live, if I do not make thee to love me again;* upon which meek answer he was pacified.

[s] Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus: Frangis, si vires experiare tuas. | A branch, if easily bended, yeelds to thee: Pul hard, it breaks: the difference you see.

The noble family of the Columni in Rome, when they were expelled the city by that furious Alexander the sixt, gave the bending branch therefore as an impresse, with this motto, *Flecti potest, frangi non potest*, to signifie that he might break them by force, but so never make them stoop; for they fled, in the midst of their hard usage, to the kingdome of Naples, and were honourably entertained by Frederick the king, according to their calling. Gentleness in this case might have done much more; and, let thine adversary be never so perverse, it may be by that means thou mayst win him; [w] *favore et benevolentiâ etiam immanis animus mansuescit;* soft words pacifie wrath, and the fiercest spirits are so soonest overcome: [x] a generous lion will not hurt a beast that lies prostrate, nor an elephant an innocuous creature, but is *infestus infestis*, a terrour and scourge alone to such as are stubborn, and make resistance. It was the symbole of Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy; and he was not mistaken in it; for

[y] Quo quisque est major, magis est placabilis iræ; Et faciles motus mens generosa capit. | A greater man is soonest pacified, A noble spirit quickly satisfied.

It is reported by [z] Gualter Mapes an old historiographer of ours, (who lived 400 yeers since) that king Edward senior, and Leolin prince of Wales, being at an interview neer Aust upon Severn in Glocestershire, and the prince sent for, refused to come to the king, he would needs goe over to him: which Leolin perceiving, [a] *went up to the armes in water, and imbracing his boat, would have carried him out upon his shoulders, adding that his humility and wisdom had triumphed over his pride and folly;* and thereupon was reconciled unto him, and did his homage. If thou canst not so win him, put it up; if thou beest a true Christian, a good divine, an imitator of Christ, ([b] *for he was reviled and put it up, whipped and sought no revenge*) thou wilt pray for thine enemies, [c] *and blesse them that persecute thee;* be patient, meek, humble, &c. An honest man will not offer thee injury; *probus non vult;* if he were a brangling knave, 'tis his fashion so to do; where is least heart, is most tongue; *quo quisque stultior, eo magis insolescit*, the more sottish he is, still the more insolent. [d] *Doe not answer a fool according to his folly.* If he be thy superiour, [e] bear it by all means; grieve not at it; let him take his course. *Anytus and Melitus* [f] *may kill me, they cannot hurt me*—as that generous Socrates made answer in like case. *Mens immota manet:* though the body be torn in pieces by wild horses, broken on the wheel, pinched with fiery tongs, the soul cannot be distracted. 'Tis an ordinary thing for great men to vilifie and insult, oppress, injure, tyrannise, to take what liberty they list; and who dare speak against? *Miserum est ab eo lædi, à quo non possis queri*, a miserable thing 'tis to be injured of him, from whom is no appeal: [g] and not safe to write against him that can proscribe and punish a man at his pleasure,

[t] Si toleras injuriam, victor evadis; qui enim pecuniis privatus est, non est privatus victoriâ in hac philosophiâ. [u] Dispeream, nisi te ultus fuero: dispeream, nisi ut me deinceps ames effecero. [v] Joach. Camerarius, Embl. 21. cent. 1. [w] Heliodorus. [x] Reipsâ reperi nihil esse homini melius facilitate et clementiâ. Ter. Adelph. [y] Ovid. [z] Camden, in Glouc. [a] Usque ad pectus ingressus est aquam, et cymbam amplectens, sapientissime rex, ait, tua humilitas meam vicit superbiam, et sapientia triumphavit ineptiam; collum ascende quod contra te fatuus erexi, intrabis terram, quam hodie fecit tuam benignitas, &c. [b] Chrysostome. Contumeliis affectus est, et eas pertulit; opprobriis, nec ultus est; verberibus cæsus, nec vicem reddidit. [c] Rom. 12. 14. [d] Pro. [e] Contend not with a greater man. Pro. [f] Occidere possunt. [g] Non facile aut tutum in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere.

which Asinius Pollio was ware of, when Octavianus provoked him. 'Tis hard, I confesse, to be so injured; one of Chilos three difficult things—[h] *to keep counsell, spend his time well, put up injuries:* but be thou patient, and leave revenge unto the Lord. [i] *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord. I know, the Lord* (saith [j] David) *will avenge the afflicted, and judge the poor. No man* (as [k] Plato farther addes) *can so severely punish his adversary, as God will such as oppresse miserable men.*

[l] Iterum ille rem judicatam judicat,
Majoreque mulctâ mulctat.

If there be any religion, any God, and that God be just, it shall be so; if thou beleevest the one, beleeve the other: *erit, erit*, it shall be so. Nemesis comes after, *sero sed serio:* stay but a little; and thou shalt see Gods just judgement overtake him.

[m] Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Thou shalt perceive that verified of Samuel to Agag, 1 Sam. 15. 33: *thy sword hath made many women childlesse; so shall thy mother be childlesse amongst other women.* It shall be done to them as they have done to others. Conradinus, that brave Suevian prince, came with a well prepared army into the kingdom of Naples, was taken prisoner by king Charles, and put to death in the flower of his youth: a little after (*ultionem Conradini mortis*, Pandulphus Collinutius, *Hist. Neap. lib.* 5. calls it,) king Charles his own sonne, with 200 nobles, was so taken prisoner, and beheaded in like sort. Not in this only, but in all other offences, *quo quisque peccat, in eo punietur*, [n] they shall be punished in the same kinde, in the same part, like nature; eye, with or in the eye, head, with or in the head, persecution with persecution, lust with effects of lust: let them march on with ensignes displayed, let drums beat on, trumpets sound *taratantara*, let them sack cities, take the spoil of countries, murder infants, deflower virgins, destroy, burn, persecute, and tyrannize; they shall be fully rewarded at last in the same measure, they and theirs, and that to their desert.

[o] Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et siccâ morte tyranni.

Few tyrants in their beds do die,
But stab'd or maim'd to hell they hie.

Oftentimes too a base contemptible fellow is the instrument of Gods justice to punish, to torture, and vex them, as an ichneumon doth a crocodile. They shall be recompenced according to the works of their hands, as Haman was hanged on the gallowes he provided for Mordochy; *they shall have sorrow of heart, and be destroyed from under the heaven, Thre.* 3. 64, 65, 66. Only be thou patient: [p] *vincit, qui patitur:* and in the end thou shalt be crowned. Yea but 'tis a hard matter to do this; flesh and blood may not abide it: 'Tis *grave! grave!* No (Chrysostome replies) *non est grave, o homo;* 'tis not so grievous; [q] *neither had God commanded it, if it had been so difficult.* But how shall it be done? *Easily*, as he followes it, *if thou shalt look to heaven, behold the beauty of it, and what God hath promised to them that put up injuries.* But, if thou resist and go about *vim vi repellere*, as the custome of the world is, to right thy self, or hast given just cause of offence, 'tis no injury then, but a condign punishment; thou hast deserved as much; *à te principium; in te recidit crimen, quod à te fuit; peccâsti; quiesce*, as Ambrose expostulates with Cain, *lib.* 3. *de Abel et Cain.* [r] Dionysius of Syracuse, in his exile, was made stand without dore; *patienter ferendum; fortasse nos tale quid fecimus, quum in honore essemus;* he wisely put it up, and laid the fault where it was, on his own pride and scorn,

[h] Arcana tacere, otium recte collocare, injuriam posse ferre, difficillimum. [i] Rom. 12. [j] Psa. 140. 12. [k] Nullus tam severe inimicum suum ulcisci potest, quam Deus solet miserorum oppressores. [l] Arcturus, in Plaut. [m] Hor. 3. od. 2. [n] Wisd. 11. 6. [o] Juvenal. [p] Apud Christianos, non qui patitur, sed qui facit injuriam, miser est. Leo. ser. [q] Neque præcepisset Deus, si grave fuisset; sed quâ ratione potero? facile, si cœlum suspexeris, et ejus pulchritudinem, et quod pollicetur Deus, &c. [r] Valer. lib. 4. cap. 5.

which in his prosperity he had formerly shewed others. 'Tis [s]Tullies axiome —*ferre ea molestissime homines non debent, quæ ipsorum culpâ contracta sunt;* self do, self have, as the saying is; they may thank themselves: for he that doth wrong must look to be wronged again; *habet et musca splenem, et formicæ sua bilis inest;* the least fly hath a spleen, and a little bee a sting. [t]An asse overwhelmed a thisselwarps nest; the little bird pecked his gaul'd back in revenge; and the humble bee in the fable flung down the eagles eggs out of Jupiters lap. Brasidas (in Plutarch) put his hand into a mouse nest, and hurt her young ones; she bit him by the finger: [u]*I see now* (saith he) *there is no creature so contemptible, that will not be revenged.* 'Tis *lex talionis*, and the nature of all things so to do. If thou wilt live quietly thyself, [v]do no wrong to others; if any be done thee, put it up, with patience endure it. For [w]*this is thankworthy*, saith our Apostle, *if a man, for conscience towards God, endure grief, and suffer wrong undeserved; for what praise is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently? but if, when you do well, ye suffer wrong, and take it patiently, there is thanks with God: for hereunto verily we are called. Qui mala non fert, ipse sibi testis est per impatientiam quod bonus non est:* he that cannot bear injuries witnesseth against himself that he is no good man, as [x]Gregory holds. *'Tis the nature of wicked men to do injuries, as it is the property of honest men patiently to bear them. Improbitas nullo flectitur obsequio.* The wolf in the [y]emblem sucked the goat (so the shepheard would have it): [z]but he kept nevertheless a wolfs nature: a knave will be a knave. Injury is, on the other side, a good mans foot-boy, his *fidus Achates*, and, as a lackey, follows him wheresoever he goes. Besides, *misera est fortuna, quæ caret inimico*, he is in a miserable estate, that wants enemies: [a]it is a thing not to be avoided, and therefore with more patience to be endured. Cato Censorius, that upright Cato, of whom Paterculus gives that honourable elogium, *bene fecit, quod aliter facere non potuit*, was [b]50 times endited and accused by his fellow citizens; and, as [c]Ammianus well hath it, *quis erit innocens, si clam vel palam accusâsse sufficiat?* if it be sufficient to accuse a man openly or in privat, who shall be free? If there were no other respect then that of Christianity, religion, and the like, to induce men to be long suffering and patient, yet me thinks the nature of injury it self is sufficient to keep them quiet: the tumults, uproars, miseries, discontents, anguish, losse, dangers, that attend upon it, might restrain the calamities of contention: for, as it is with ordinary gamesters, the gains go to the box, so falls it out to such as contend; the lawyers get all; and therefore, if they would consider of it, *aliena pericula cautos*, other mens misfortunes in this kind, and common experience, might detain them. [d]The more they contend, the more they are involved in a labyrinth of woes; and the catastrophe is to consume one another, like the elephant and dragons conflict in Pliny;[e] the dragon got under the elephants belly, and sucked his blood so long, till he fell down dead upon the dragon, and killed him with the fall; so both were ruin'd. 'Tis an hydras head, contention; the more they strive, the more they may; and—as Praxiteles did by his glass, when he saw a scurvy face in it, brake it in pieces; but, for that one, he saw many more as bad in a moment—for one injury done they provoke another *cum fœnore*, and twenty enemies for one. *Noli irritare crabrones;* oppose not thyself to a multitude: but, if thou hast received a wrong, wisely consider of it; and,

[s] Ep. ad Q. frat. [t] Camerarius, emb. 75. cen. 2. [u] Papæ! inquit; nullum animal tam pusillum quod non cupiat ulcisci. [v] Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. [w] 1 Pet. 2. [x] Siquidem malorum proprium est inferre damna, et bonorum pedissequa est injuria. [y] Alciat emb. [z] Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret. [a] By many indignities, we come to dignities. Tibi subjicito quæ fiunt aliis, furtum, convicia, &c. et in iis in te admissis non excandesces. Epictetus. [b] Plutarch. Quinquagies Catoni dies dicta ab inimicis. [c] Lib. 18. [d] Hoc scio pro certo, quod, si cum stercore certo, Vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor. [e] Lib. 8. cap. 2.

if thou canst possibly, compose thy self with patience to bear it This is the safest course; and thou shalt find greatest ease to be quiet.

[f]I say the same of scoffs, slanders, contumelies, obloquies, defamations, detractions, pasquilling libels, and the like, which may tend any way to our disgrace: 'tis but opinion: if we could neglect, contemn, or with patience digest them, they would reflect disgrace on them that offered them at first. [g]A wise citizen, I know not whence, had a scold to his wife: when she brawled, he plaid on his drum, and by that means madded her more, because she saw that he would not be moved. Diogenes in a crowd, when one called him back, and told him how the boys laughed him to scorn, *Ego, inquit, non rideor*, took no notice of it. Socrates was brought upon the stage by Aristophanes, and misused to his face: but he laughed, as if it concerned him not: and, as Ælian relates of him, whatsoever good or bad accident or fortune befel him, going in or coming out, Socrates still kept the same countenance: Even so should a Christian souldier do, as Hierom describes him, *per infamiam et bonam famam grassari ad immortalitatem*; march on through good and bad reports to immortality, [h]not be moved: for honesty is a sufficient reward; *probitas sibi præmium*; and in our times the sole recompence to do well, is, to do well: but naughtiness will punish itself at last: [i]*Improbis ipsa nequitia supplicium*, as the diverbe is,

Qui bene fecerunt, illi sua facta sequentur:	They that do well, shall have reward at last;
Qui male fecerunt, facta sequentur eos.	But they that ill, shall suffer for that's past.

Yea, but I am ashamed, disgraced, dishonoured, degraded, exploded: my notorious crimes and villanies are come to light, (*deprendi miserum est*) my filthy lust, abominable oppression and avarice lies open; my good name's lost; my fortune's gone; I have been stigmatized, whipt at post, arraigned and condemned; I am a common obloquy; I have lost my ears; odious, execrable, abhorred of God and men. Be content; 'tis but a nine dayes wonder; and as one sorrow drives out another, one passion another, one cloud another, one rumour is expelled by another; every day almost, comes new news unto our ears, as how the sun was eclipsed, meteors seen i'th' aire, monsters born, prodigies, how the Turks were overthrown in Persia, an earth-quake in Helvetia, Calabria, Japan, or China, an inundation in Holland, a great plague in Constantinople, a fire at Prage, a dearth in Germany, such a man is made a lord, a bishop, another hanged, deposed, prest to death, for some murder, treason, rape, theft, oppression; all which we do hear at first with a kind of admiration, detestation, consternation; but by and by they are buried in silence: thy father's dead, thy brother rob'd, wife runs mad, neighbour hath kild himselfe; 'tis heavy, gastly, fearful newes at first, in every mans mouth, table talk; but, after a while, who speaks or thinks of it? It will be so with thee and thine offence: it will be forgotten in an instant, be it theft, rape, sodomy, murder, incest, treason, &c. thou art not the first offender, nor shalt thou be the last; 'tis no wonder; every houre such malefactors are called in question; nothing so common, *Quocunque in populo, quocunque sub axe.* Comfort thy self; thou art not the sole man. If he that were guiltless himself should fling the first stone at thee, and he alone should accuse thee that were faultless, how many executioners, how many accusers, wouldst thou have? If every mans sinnes were written in his fore-head, and secret faults known, how many thousands would parallel, if not exceed, thine offence? It may be, the judge that gave sentence, the jury that condemned thee, the spectators that gazed on thee, deserved much more, and were farre more guilty then thou thy self. But it is thine infelicity to be taken, to be made a public example of justice, to be a terror to

[f]Obloquutus est, probrumque tibi intulit quispiam? sive vera is dixerit, sive falsa, maximam tibi coronam texueris, si mansuete convicium tuleris. [g]Chrys. in 6. cap. ad Rom. ser. 10. [h]Tullius, epist. Dolabellæ. Tu forti sis animo; et tua moderatio, constantia, eorum infamet injuriam. [i]Boethius, consol. *lib. 4. pros. 3.*

the rest: yet, should every man have his desert, thou wouldest peradventure be a saint in comparison; *vexat censura columbas;* poor souls are punished; the great ones do twenty thousand times worse, and are not so much as spoken of.

Non rete accipitri tenditur, neque milvio, [tur. | The net's not laid for kites or birds of prey;
Qui male faciunt nobis: illis, qui nil faciunt, tendi- | But for the harmless still our gins we lay.

Be not dismaid then; *humanum est errare;* we are all sinners, daily and hourely subject to temptations; the best of us is an hypocrite, a grievous offender in God's sight, Noah, Lot, David, Peter, &c. how many mortal sins do we commit! Shall I say, be penitent, ask forgiveness, and make amends by the sequel of thy life, for that foul offence thou hast committed? recover thy credit by some noble exploit, as Themistocles did; for he was a most deboshed and vitious youth; *sed juventæ maculas præclaris factis delevit,* but made the world amends by brave exploits: at last become a new man, and seek to be reformed. He that runs away in a battle, as Demosthenes said, may fight again; and he that hath a fall may stand as upright as ever he did before: [j] *Nemo desperet meliora lapsus:* a wicked liver may be reclaimed, and prove an honest man; he that is odious in present, hissed out, an exile, may be received again with all mens favours, and singular applause; so Tully was in Rome, Alcibiades in Athens. Let thy disgrace then be what it will, *quod fit, infectum non potest esse,* that which is past cannot be recalled; trouble not thy selfe, vexe and grieve thy self no more, be it obloquy, disgrace, &c. No better way, then to neglect, contemn, or seem not to regard it, to make no reckoning of it: *Deesse robur arguit dicacitas:* if thou be guiltless, it concerns thee not:

[k] Irrita vaniloquæ quid curas spicula linguæ?
Latrantem curatne alta Diana canem?

Doth the moon care for the barking of a dog? They detract, scoffe, and raile (saith one), [l] and bark at me on every side; but I, like that Albanian dog sometimes given to Alexander for a present, *vindico me ab illis solo contemptu;* I lie still, and sleep, vindicate myself by contempt alone. [m] *Expers terroris Achilles, armatus*—as a tortoise in his shell, *virtute meâ me involvo,* [n] or an urchin round, *nil moror ictus;* [o] a lizard in camomile, I decline their fury and am safe.

Integritas virtusque, suo munimine tuta, | Vertue and integrity are their own fence,
Non patet adversæ morsibus invidiæ. | Care not for envy or what comes from thence.

Let them rail then, scoffe, and slander; *sapiens contumeliâ non afficitur,* a wise man, Seneca thinks, is not moved, because he knows, *contra sycophantæ morsum non est remedium,* there is no remedy for it: kings and princes, wise, grave, prudent, holy, good men, divine, all are so served alike. [p] *O Jane! à tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit?* Antevorta and Postvorta, Jupiters gardians, may not help in this case; they cannot protect. Moses had a Dathan, a Corath, David a Shimei; God himself is blasphemed: *nondum felix es, si te nondum turba deridet.* It is an ordinary thing so to be misused. [q] *Regium est, cum bene feceris, male audire;* the chiefest men and most understanding are so vilified; let him take his [r] course. And—as that lusty courser in Æsop, that contemned the poor asse, came by and by after with his bowels burst, a pack on his back, and was derided of the same asse—*contemnentur ab iis quos ipsi prius contempsêre, et irridebuntur ab iis quos ipsi prius irrisêre;* they shall be contemned and laughed to scorn of those whom they have formerly derided. Let them contemn, defame, or undervalue, insult, oppress, scoffe, slander, abuse, wrong, curse and swear, fain and lye: do thou comfort [s] thy self with a good conscience; *in sinu gaudeas;* when they have all done, *a good conscience is a*

[j] Ter. Phor. [k] Camerar. emb. 61. cent. 3. [l] Lipsius, elect. lib. 3. ult. Latrant me; jaceo ac taceo, &c. [m] Catullus. [n] The symbole of J. Kevenheder a Carinthian baron, saith Sambucus. [o] The symbole of Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. [p] Pers, sat. 1. [q] Magni animi est injurias despicere. Seneca de irâ, cap. 31. [r] Quid turpius quam sapientis vitam ex insipientis sermone pendere? Tullius, 2. de finibus. [s] Tuâ te conscientiâ solare; in cubiculum ingredere, ubi secure requiescas. Minuit se quodammodo probantis conscientiæ secretum. Boëthius, l. 1. pros. 4.

continual feast, innocency will vindicate itself. And, which the poet gave out of Hercules, *Diis fruitur iratis*, enjoy thy self, though all the world be set against thee; contemn, and say with him, *Elogium mihi præ foribus*, my posie is, *not to be moved, that* [t]*my* Palladium, *my brest-plate, my buckler, with which I ward all injuries, offences, lies, slanders; I lean upon that stake of modesty, and so receive and break asunder all that foolish force of livor and spleen.* And whosoever he is that shall observe these short instructions, without all question he shall much ease and benefit himself.

In fine, if princes would do justice, judges be upright, clergie-men truly devout, and so live as they teach, if great men would not be so insolent, if souldiers would quietly defend us, the poor would be patient, rich men would be liberal and humble, citizens honest, magistrates meek, superiours would give good example, subjects peaceable, young men would stand in awe; if parents would be kind to their children, and they again obedient to their parents, brethren agree amongst themselves, enemies be reconciled, servants trusty to their masters, virgins chaste, wives modest, husbands would be loving and less jealous; if we could imitate Christ and his apostles, live after Gods laws, these mischiefs would not so frequently happen amongst us. But being most part so irreconcileable as we are, perverse, proud, insolent, factious and malicious, prone to contention, anger, and revenge, of such fiery spirits, so captious, impious, irreligious, so opposite to vertue, void of grace, how should it otherwise be? Many men are very teasty by nature, apt to mistake, apt to quarrel, apt to provoke and misinterpret to the worst, every thing that is said or done, and thereupon heap unto their selves a great deal of trouble, and disquietness to others: smatterers in other mens matters, tale bearers, whisperers, lyers, they cannot speak in season, or hold their tongues when they should, [u]*et suam partem itidem tacere, cum aliena est oratio;* they will speak more then comes to their share, in all companies, and by those bad courses accumulate much evil to their own souls, (*qui contendit, sibi convicium facit*) their life is a perpetual braul, they snarl like so many dogs, with their wives, children, servants, neighbours, and all the rest of their friends; they can agree with no body. But to such as are judicious, meek, submiss, and quiet, these matters are easily remedied: they will forbear upon all such occasions, neglect, contemn, or take no notice of them, dissemble, or wisely turn it off. If it be a natural impediment, as a red nose, squint eyes, crooked legs, or any such imperfection, infirmity, disgrace, reproach, the best way is to speak of it first thy [v]self, and so thou shalt surely take away al occasions from others to jest at, or contemn, that they may perceive thee to be careless of it. Vatinius was wont to scoffe at his own deformed feet, to prevent his enemies obloquies and sarcasms in that kind; or else by prevention, as Cotys, king of Thrace, that brake a company of fine glasses presented to him, by his own hands, lest he should be overmuch moved when they were broken by chance. And sometimes again, so that it be discreetly and moderately done, it shall not be amiss to make resistance, to take down such a saucy companion: no better means to vindicate himself, to purchase final peace: for he that suffers himself to be ridden, or through pusillanimity or sottishness will let every man baffle him, shall be a common laughing stock for all to flout at. As a cur that goes through a village, if he clap his taile between his legs, and run away, every cur will insult over him: but if he brissle up himself, and stand to it, give but a counter-snarle, there's not a dog dares meddle with him: much is in a mans courage and discreet carriage of himself.

[t] Ringantur licet, et meledicant; Palladium illud pectori oppono, Non moveri: consisto; modestiæ veluti sudi innitens, excipio et frango stultissimum impetum livoris. Putean. lib. 2. epist. 58. [u] Mil. glor. Act. 3. Plautus. [v] Bion said his father was a rogue, his mother a whore, to prevent obloquy, and to shew that nought belonged to him but goods of the mind.

Many other grievances there are, which happen to mortals in this life, from friends, wives, children, servants, masters, companions, neighbours, our own defaults, ignorance, errours, intemperance, indiscretion, infirmities, &c. and many good remedies to mitigate and oppose them, many divine precepts to counterpoise our hearts, special antidotes both in scriptures and humane authors, which who so will observe, shall purchase much ease and quietness unto himself. I will point at a few. These prophetical, apostolical admonitions are well known to all; what Solomon, Siracides, our Saviour Christ himself hath said tending to this purpose, as *Fear God: obey the prince: be sober and watch: pray continually: be angry, but sin not: remember thy last: fashion not your selves to this world, &c. apply your selves to the times: strive not with a mighty man: recompence good for evil: let nothing be done through contention or vain-glory, but with meekness of mind, every man esteeming of others better then himself: love one another;* or that epitome of the law and the prophets, which our Saviour inculcates, *love God above all, thy neighbour as thyself;* and, *whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, so do unto them,* which Alexander Severus writ in letters of gold, and used as a motto, and [w] Hierom commends to Celantia as an excellent way, amongst so many inticements and worldly provocations, to rectify her life. Out of humane authors take these few cautions—[x] *Know thy self.* [y] *Be contented with thy lot.* [z] *Trust not wealth, beauty, nor parasites: they will bring thee to destruction.* [a] *Have peace with all men, war with vice.* [b] *Be not idle.* [c] *Look before you leap.* [d] *Beware of "Had I wist."* [e] *Honour thy parents: speak well of friends. Be temperate in foure things,* linguâ, loculis, oculis, et poculis. *Watch thine eye.* [f] *Moderate thine expences. Hear much: speak little.* [g] Sustine et abstine. *If thou seest ought amiss in another, mend it in thyself. Keep thine own counsel; reveal not thy secrets; be silent in thine intentions.* [h] *Give not ear to tale-tellers, bablers: be not scurrilous in conversation:* [i] *jest without bitterness: give no man cause of offence. Set thine house in order.* [j] *Take heed of suretiship.* [k] Fide et diffide: *as a fox on the ice, take heed whom you trust.* [l] *Live not beyond thy means.* [m] *Give chearfully. Pay thy dues willingly. Be not a slave to thy mony.* [n] *Omit not occasion; embrace opportunity: loose no time. Be humble to thy superiors, respective to thine equals, affable to all,* [o] *but not familiar. Flatter no man.* [p] *Lie not: dissemble not. Keep thy word and promise, be constant in a good resolution. Speak truth. Be not opinative: maintain no factions. Lay no wagers: make no comparisons.* [q] *Find no faults, meddle not with other mens matters. Admire not thyself.* [r] *Be not proud or popular. Insult not.* Fortunam reverenter habe. [s] *Fear not that which cannot be avoided.* [t] *Grieve not for that which cannot be recalled.* [u] *Undervalue not thy self. Accuse no man, commend no man, rashly. Go not to law without great cause. Strive not with a greater man. Cast not off an old friend. Take heed of a reconciled enemy.* [v] *If thou come as a guest, stay not too long. Be not unthankful. Be meek, merciful, and patient. Do good to all. Be not fond of fair words.* [w] *Be*

[w] Lib. 2. ep. 25. [x] Nosce teipsum. [y] Contentus abi. [z] Ne fidas opibus, neque parasitis; trahunt in præcipitium. [a] Pacem cum hominibus habe, bellum cum vitiis. Otho. 2. imperat. symb. [b] Dæmon te nunquam otiosum inveniat. Hieron. [c] Diu deliberandum, quod statuendum est semel. [d] Insipientis est dicere, non putâram. [e] Ames parentem, si æquum; aliter feras; præstes parentibus pietatem, amicis dilectionem. [f] Comprime linguam. Quid de quoque viro et cui dicas sæpo caveto. Libentius audias quam loquaris. Vive ut vivas. [g] Epictetus. Optime feceris, si ea fugeris quæ in alio reprehendis. Nemini dixeris, quæ nolis efferri. [h] Fuge susurrones. Percontatorem fugito, &c. [i] Sint sales sine vilitate. Sen. [j] Sponde, præsto noxa. [k] Camerar. emb. 55. cent. 2. Cave cui credas, vel nemini fidas. Epicharmus. [l] Tecum habita. [m] Bis dat, qui cito dat. [n] Post est occasio calva. [o] Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum. [p] Mendacium servile vitium. [q] Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis ullius unquam; Commissumque teges. Hor. lib. 1. ep. 19. Nec tua laudabis studia, aut aliena reprendes. Hor. ep. lib. 18. [r] Ne te quæsiveris extra. [s] Stultum est timere, quod vitari non potest. [t] De re amissâ irreparabili ne doleas. [u] Tanti eris aliis, quanti tibi fueris. Neminem cito laudes vel accuses. [v] Nullius hospitis grata est mora longa. [w] Solonis lex, apud Aristotelem. Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 12.

not a newter in a faction. Moderate thy passions. [x] *Think no place without a witness.* [y] *Admonish thy friend in secret; commend him in publike. Keep good company.* [z] *Love others, to be beloved thy self.* Ama, tanquam osurus. Amicus tardo fias. *Provide for a tempest.* Noli irritare crabrones. *Do not prostitute thy soul for gain. Make not a fool of thy self, to make others merry. Marry not an old crony, or a fool, for mony. Be not over sollicitous or curious. Seek that which may be found. Seem not greater then thou art. Take thy pleasure soberly.* Ocymum ne terito. [a] *Live merrily as thou canst.* [b] *Take heed by other mens examples. Go as thou wouldst be met: sit as thou wouldst be found.* [c] *Yield to the time; follow the stream. Wilt thou live free from fears and cares?* [d] *Live innocently, keep thy self upright; thou needest no other keeper, &c.* Look for more in Isocrates, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, &c. and for defect, consult with cheese-trenchers and painted cloths.

MEMB. VIII.

Against Melancholy it self.

Every man, saith [e] Seneca, *thinks his own burthen the heaviest;* and a melancholy man, above all others, complains most; weariness of life, abhorring all company and light, fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, bashfulness, and those other dread symptomes of body and mind, must needs aggravate this misery; yet, conferred to other maladies, they are not so hainous as they be taken. For, first, this disease is either in habit or disposition, curable or incurable. If new and in disposition, 'tis commonly pleasant, and it may be helped. If inveterate, or an habit, yet they have *lucida intervalla,* sometimes well, and sometimes ill; or if more continuate, as the [f] Vejentes were to the Romans, 'tis *hostis magis assiduus quam gravis,* a more durable enemy then dangerous; and, amongst many inconveniences, some comforts are annexed to it. First, it is not catching; and, as Erasmus comforted himself, when he was grievously sick of the stone, though it was most troublesome, and an intolerable pain to him, yet it was no whit offensive to others, not lothsome to the spectators, gastly, fulsom, terrible, as plagues, apoplexies, leprosies, wounds, sores, tetters, pox, pestilent agues are, which either admit of no company, terrify or offend those that are present. In this malady, that which is, is wholly to themselves; and those symptomes not so dreadful, if they be compared to the opposite extreams. They are most part bashful, suspicious, solitary, &c. therefore no such ambitious, impudent intruders, as some are, no sharkers, no cunnicatchers, no prolers, no smel-feasts, praters, panders, parasites, bawds, drunkards, whoremasters: necessity and defect compels them to be honest; as Micio told Demea in the comedy,

> [g] Hæc si neque ego neque tu fecimus,
> Non sivit egestas facere nos:

if we be honest, 'twas poverty made us so: if we melancholy men be not as bad as he that is worst, 'tis our dame Melancholy kept us so: *Non deerat voluntas sed facultas.* Besides they are freed in this from many other infirmities; solitariness makes them more apt to contemplate, suspition wary, which is a necessary humour in these times; [h] *nam, pol, qui maxime cavet, sæpe is cautor captus est:* he that takes most heed, is often circumvented and overtaken. Fear and sorrow keep them temperate and sober, and free them

[x] Nullum locum putes sine teste: semper adesse Deum cogita. [y] Secrete amicos admone, landa palam. [z] Ut ameris, amabilis esto. Eros et Anteros gemelli Veneris, amatio et redamatio. Plat. [a] Dum fata sinunt, vivite læti. Seneca. [b] Id apprime in vitâ utile, ex aliis observare sibi quod ex usu siet. Ter. [c] Dum furor in cursu, currenti cede furori. Cretizandum cum Crete. Temporibus servi, nec contra flamina flato. [d] Nulla certior custodia innocentiâ: inexpugnabile munimentum munimento non egere. [e] Uniculque suum onus intolerabile videtur. [f] Livius. [g] Ter. Scen. 2. Adelph. [h] Plautus.

m many dissolute acts, which jollity and boldness thrust men upon; they are refore no *sicarii*, roaring boyes, theeves, or assassinates. As they are soon ected, so they are as soon, by soft words and good perswasions, reared. ɜarisomeness of life makes them they are not so besotted on the transitory n pleasures of the world. If they dote in one thing, they are wise and well derstanding in most other. If it be inveterate, they are *insensati*, most part ting, or quite mad, insensible of any wrongs, ridiculous to others, but most ɔpy and secure to themselves. Dotage is a state which many much magnifie d commend: so is simplicity, and folly, as he said, [i] *Hic furor, O superi, mihi perpetuus*. Some think fools and disards live the merriest lives, as ax in Sophocles; *nihil scire vita jucundissima*; 'tis the pleasantest life to ow nothing; *iners malorum remedium ignorantia*; ignorance is a down-ht remedy of evils. These curious arts and laborious sciences, Galens, llies, Aristotles, Justinians, do but trouble the world, some think; we might e better with that illiterate Virginian simplicity, and gross ignorance; entire ɔts do best; they are not macerated with cares, tormented with fears and xiety, as other wise men are: for, as [j] he said, if folly were a pain, you ɔuld hear them houl, roar, and cry out in every house, as you go by in the eet; but they are most free, jocund, and merry, and, in some [k] countries, as ıongst the Turks, honoured for saints, and abundantly maintained out of the mmon stock. They are no dissemblers, lyers, hypocrites; for fools and mad ɜn tell commonly truth. In a word, as they are distressed, so are they ttied; which some hold better then to be envied, better to be sad then ɜrry, [l] better to be foolish and quiet, *quam sapere et ringi*, to be wise and ll vexed; better to be miserable then happy: of two extremes it is the best.

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

Subsect. I.—*Of Physick which cureth with Medicines.*

After a long and tedious discourse of these six non-naturall things, and eir severall rectifications, all which are comprehended in diet, I am come ɔw at last to *Pharmeceutice*, or that kinde of physick which cureth by me-cines, which apothecaries most part make, mingle, or sell in their shops. any cavill at this kinde of physick, and hold it unnecessary, unprofitable to is or any other disease, because those countries which use it least, live ngest, and are best in health, as [m] Hector Boëthius relates of the isles of rcades, the people are still sound of body and minde, without any use of ıysick; they live commonly 120 yeers; and Ortelius, in his Itinerary, of the habitants of the forrest of Arden, [n] *they are very painfull, long-lived, sound*, c. [o] Martianus Capella, speaking of the Indians of his time, saith, they were nuch like our western Indians now) *bigger then ordinary men, bred coursly, ry long lived, in so much, that he that died at an hundred years of age, ent before his time, &c.* Damianus A-Goes, Saxo Grammaticus, Aubanus ohemus, say the like of them that live in Norway, Lapland, Finmark, Biar-ia, Corelia, all over Scandia, and those northern countries, they are most ɜalthfull, and very long lived; in which places there is no use at all of phy-ck, the name of it is not once heard. Dithmarus Bleskenius, in his accu-ıte description of Island, 1607, makes mention, amongst other matters, of ıe inhabitants, and their manner of living, [p] *which is dried fish in stead of read, butter, cheese, and salt meats; most part they drink water and whey; nd yet, without physick or physician, they live many of them* 250 *yeers*. I

[i] Petronius, Catal. [j] Parmeno Cælestinæ, Act. 8. Si stultitia dolor esset, in nullâ non domo ejulatus dires. [k] Busbequius. Sands, lib. 1. fol. 89. [l] Quis hodie beatior, quam cui licet stultum esse, et rumdam immunitatibus frui? Sat. Menip. [m] Lib. Hist. [n] Parvo viventes, laboriosi, longævi, suo ntenti, ad centum annos vivunt. [o] Lib. 6. de Nup. Philol. Ultra humanam fragilitatem prolixi, ut ımature pereat qui centenarius moriatur, &c. [p] Victus eorum caseo et lacte consistit; potus aqua et rum; places loco panis habent; ita multos annos, sæpe 250, absque medico et medicinâ vivunt.

finde the same relation by Lerius, and some other writers, of Indians in America. [q] Paulus Jovius, in his description of Brittain, and Levinus Lemnius, observe as much of this our island, that there was of old no use of physick amongst us, and but little at this day, except it be for a few nice idle citizens, surfetting courtiers, and stall-fed gentlemen lubbers. The country people use kitchin physick; and common experience tells us, that they live freest from all manner of infirmities, that make least use of apothecaries physick. Many are overthrown by preposterous use of it, and thereby get their bane, that might otherwise have escaped: [r] some think physicians kill as many as they save: and who can tell, [s] *Quot Themison ægros autumno occiderit uno?* how many murders they make in a yeer, *quibus impune licet hominem occidere*, that may freely kill folks, and have a reward for it? and, according to the Dutch proverb, a new physician must have a new church-yard; and who daily observes it not? Many, that did ill under physicians hands, have happily escaped, when they have been given over by them, left to God and Nature, and themselves. 'Twas Plinies *dilemma* of old—[t] *Every disease is either curable or incurable, a man recovers of it, or is killed by it: both wayes physick is to be rejected: if it be deadly, it cannot be cured; if it may be helped, it requires no physician: nature will expell it of it selfe.* Plato made it a great signe of an intemperate and corrupt commonwealth, where lawyers and physicians did abound; and the Romans distasted them so much, that they were often banished out of their city, as Pliny and Celsus relate, for 600 yeers not admitted. It is no art at all, as some hold, no not worthy the name of a liberall science (nor law neither), as [u] Pet. And. Canonherius, a patritian of Rome and a great doctor himself, *one of their own tribe*, proves by 16 arguments, because it is mercenary, as now used, base, and as fidlers play for a reward—*Juridicis, medicis, fisco fas vivere rapto*:—'tis a corrupt trade, no science, art, no profession; the beginning, practice, and progress of it, all is naught, full of imposture, incertainty, and doth generally more harm then good. The devil himself was the first inventor of it: *Inventum est medicina meum*, said Apollo: and what was Apollo, but the divell? The Greeks first made an art of it; and they were all deluded by Apollos sons, priests, oracles, If we may beleeve Varro, Pliny, Columella, most of their best medicines were derived from his oracles. Æsculapius, his son, had his temples erected to his deity, and did many famous cures; but, as Lactantius holds, he was a magician, a meer impostor; and as his successors, Phaon, Podalirius, Melampius, Menecrates (another god), by charmes, spells, and ministery of bad spirits, performed most of their cures. The first that ever wrote in physick to any purpose, was Hippocrates, and his disciple and commentator Galen, whom Scaliger cals *fimbriam Hippocratis*, but, as [v] Cardan censures them, both immethodicall and obscure, as all those old ones are, their precepts confused, their medicines obsolete, and now most part rejected. Those cures which they did, Paracelsus holds, were rather done out of their patients confidence, [w] and good opinion they had of them, then out of any skill of their's, which was very small, he saith, they themselves idiots and infants, as are all their academicall followers. The Arabians received it from the Greeks, and so the Latines, adding new precepts and medicines of their own, but so imperfect still, that, through ignorance of professors, impostors, mountebanks, empericks, disagreeing of sectaries, (which are as many almost as there be diseases) envy, covetousnesse, and the like, they doe much harme amongst

[q] Lib. de 4. complex. [r] Per mortes agunt experimenta, et animas nostras negotiantur; et quod aliis exitiale hominem occidere, iis impunitas summa. Plinius. [s] Juven. [t] Omnis morbus lethalis aut curabilis; in vitam desinit aut in mortem. Utroque igitur modo medicina inutilis; si lethalis, curari non potest; si curabilis, non requirit medicum; natura expellet. [u] In interpretationes politico-morales in 7. Aphorism. Hippoc. libros. [v] Præfat. de contrad. med. [w] Opinio facit medicos: a fair gowne, a velvet cap, the name of a doctor, is all in all.

us. They are so different in their consultations, prescriptions, mistaking many times the parties constitution, [x]disease, and causes of it, they give quite contrary physick. [y] *One saith this, another that*, out of singularity or opposition —as he said of Adrian, *multitudo medicorum principem interfecit*, a multitude of physicians hath killed the emperour; *Plus à medico quam à morbo periculi;* more danger there is from the physician, then from the disease. Besides, there is much imposture and malice amongst them. *All arts* (saith [z]Cardan) *admit of couzening: physick amongst the rest, doth appropriate it to her selfe;* and tells a story of one Curtius, a physician in Venice, because he was a stranger, and practised among them, the rest of the physicians did still crosse him in all his precepts. If he prescribed hot medicines, they would prescribe cold; *miscentes pro calidis frigida, pro frigidis humida, pro purgantibus astringentia*, binders for purgatives, *omnia perturbabant.* If the parties miscarried, *Curtium damnabant;* Curtius killed him, that disagreed from them: if he recovered, then [a]they cured him themselves. Much emulation, imposture, malice, there is amongst them: if they be honest, and mean well, yet a knave apothecary, that administers the physick, and makes the medicine, may do infinite harm, by his old obsolete doses, adulterine druggs, bad mixtures, *quid pro quo, &c.* See Fuchsius, *lib.* 1. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 8. Cordus Dispensatory, and Brassivolas *Examen simpl. &c.* But it is their ignorance that doth more harm then rashness; their art is wholly conjecturall (if it be an art), uncertain, imperfect, and got by killing of men: they are a kind of butchers, leeches, men slayers; chirurgeons and apothecaries especially, that are indeed the physicians hangmen, *carnifices*, and common executioners; though, to say truth, physicians themselves come not far behinde; for, according to that facete epigram of Maximilianus Urentius, what's the difference?

Chirurgus medico quo differt? scilicet isto,
Enecat hic succis; enecat ille manu.

Carnifice hoc ambo tantum differre videntur:
Tardius hi faciunt, quod facit ille cito.

But I return to their skill. Many diseases they cannot cure at all, as apoplexie, epilepsie, stone, strangury, gout, (*Tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram*) quartan agues; a common ague sometimes stumbles them all; they cannot so much as ease, they know not how to judge of it. If by pulses, that doctrine some hold, is wholly superstitious; and I dare boldly say with [b]Andrew Dudeth, *that variety of pulses, described by Galen, is neither observed nor understood of any.* And for urine, that is *meretrix medicorum*, the most deceitfull thing of all, as Forestus and some other physicians have proved at large: I say nothing of critick dayes, errours and indications, &c. The most rationall of them, and skilfull, are so often deceived, that as [c]Tholosanus infers, *I had rather beleeve and commit my selfe to a meer emperick, then to a meer doctor; and I cannot sufficiently commend that custome of the Babylonians; that have no professed physicians, but bring all their patients to the market to be cured;* which Herodotus relates of the Ægyptians; Strabo, Sardus, and Aubanus Bohemus, of many other nations. And those that prescribed physick amongst them, did not so arrogantly take upon them to cure all diseases, as our professours do, but some one, some another, as their skill and experience did serve: [d] *one cured the eyes; a second the teeth, a third the head, another the lower parts, &c.* not for gain, but in charity, to do good; they made neither art, profession, nor trade of it, which in other places was accustomed: and there-

[x] Morbus alius pro alio curatur; aliud remedium pro alio. [y] Contrarias proferunt sententias. Card. [z] Lib. 3. de sap. Omnes artes fraudem admittunt; sola medicina sponte eam accersit. [a] Omnis ægrotus propriâ culpâ perit; sed nemo nisi medici beneficio restituitur. Agrippa. [b] Lib. 3 .Cras. ep. Wenceslao Raphæno. Ausim dicere, tot pulsuum differentias, quas describuntur à Galeno, nec a quoquam intelligi, nec observari posse. [c] Lib. 28. cap. 7. syntax. art. mirab. Mallem ego expertis credere solum, quam mere ratiocinantibus: neque satis laudare possum institutum Babylonicum, &c. [d] Herod. Euterpe, de Ægyptiis. Apud eos singulorum morborum sunt singuli medici, alius curat oculos, alius dentes, alius caput, partes occultas alias.

fore Cambyses (in [e]Xenophon) told Cyrus, that, to his thinking, physicians *were like taylers and coblers; the one mended our sick bodies, as the other did our cloaths.* But I will urge these cavelling and contumelious arguments no farther, lest some physician should mistake me, and deny me physick when I am sick: for my part, I am well perswaded of physick: I can distinguish the abuse from the use, in this and many other arts and sciences: [f]*Aliud vinum, aliud ebrietas;* wine and drunkennesse are two distinct things. I acknowledge it a most noble and divine science, in so much that Apollo, Æsculapius, and the first founders of it, *merito pro Diis habiti*, were worthily counted gods by succeeding ages, for the excellency of their invention. And whereas Apollo at Delos, Venus at Cyprus, Diana at Ephesus, and those other gods, were confined and adored alone in some peculiar places, Æsculapius had his temple and altars everywhere, in Corinth, Lacedæmon, Athens, Thebes, Epidaure, &c. (Pausanias records) for the latitude of his art, deity, worth, and necessity. With all vertuous and wise men, therefore, I honour the name and calling, as I am enjoyned *to honour the physician for necessities sake. The knowledge of the physician lifteth up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be admired. The Lord hath created medicines of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhorre them*, Eccles. 58. 1. But of this noble subject how many panegyricks are worthily written? For my part, as Sallust said of Carthage, *præstat silere, quam pauca dicere*; I have said: yet one thing I will adde, that this kinde of physick is very moderately and advisedly to be used, upon good occasion, when the former of diet will not take place. And 'tis no other which I say, then that which Arnoldus prescribes in his 8. Aphoris. [g]*A discreet and godly physician doth first endeavour to expell a disease by medicinall diet, then by pure medicine:* and in his ninth, [h]*he that may be cured by diet, must not meddle with physick.* So, in 11. Aphoris. [i]*A modest and wise physician will never hasten to use medicines, but upon urgent necessity, and that sparingly too:* because (as he addes in his 13. Aphoris.) [j] *Whoso ever takes much physick in his youth, shall soon bewail it in his old age;* purgative physick especially, which doth much debilitate nature. For which causes, some physicians refrain from the use of purgatives, or else sparingly use them. [k]Henricus Ayrerus, in a consultation for a melancholy person, would have him take as few purges as he could, *because there be no such medicines, which do not steal away some of our strength, and rob the parts of our body, weaken nature, and cause that cacochymia*, which [l]Celsus and others observe, or ill degestion, and bad juyce through all the parts of it. Galen himself confesseth, [m]*that purgative physick is contrary to nature, takes away some of our best spirits, and consumes the very substance of our bodies:* but this without question, is to be understood of such purges as are unseasonably or immoderately taken; they have their excellent use in this, as well as most other infirmities. Of alteratives and cordials no man doubts, be they simples or compounds. I will, amongst that infinite variety of medicines, which I finde in every Pharmacopœia, every physician, herbalist, &c. single out some of the chiefest.

Subsect. II.—*Simples proper to Melancholy, against Exotick Simples.*

Medicines properly applied to melancholy, are either simple or compound. Simples are alterative or purgative. Alteratives are such as correct, strengthen

[e] Cyrop. lib. 1. Velut vestium fractarum resarcinatores, &c. [f] Chrys. hom. [g] Prudens et pius medicus morbum ante expellere satagit cibis medicinalibus, quam puris medicinis. [h] Cuicunque potest per alimenta restitui sanitas, fugiendus est penitus usus medicamentorum. [i] Modestus et sapiens medicus nunquam properabit ad pharmaciam, nisi cogente necessitate. [j] Quicunque pharmacatur in juventute, deflebit in senectute. [k] Hildesh. spic. 2. de mel. fol. 276. Nulla est ferme medicina purgans, quæ non aliquam de viribus et partibus corporis deprædatur. [l] Lib. 1. et Bart. lib. 1. cap. 12. [m] 2 de vict. acut. Omne purgans medicamentum, corpori purgato contrarium, &c. succus et spiritus *abducit, substantiam* corporis aufert.

nature, alter, any way hinder or resist the disease; and they be herbs, stones, minerals, &c. all proper for this humor. For as there be diverse distinct infirmities, continually vexing us,

> [n] Νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ, ῥῳδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
> Αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι, κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
> Σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.
>
> Diseases steal both day and night on men,
> For Jupiter hath taken voice from them:

so there be severall remedies, as [o] he saith, *for each disease a medicine; for every humor;* and, as some hold, every clime, every country, and more then that, every private place, hath his proper remedies growing in it, peculiar almost to the domineering and most frequent maladies of it. As [p] one discourseth, *Wormwood growes sparingly in Italy, because most part there they be misaffected with hot diseases; but henbane, poppy, and such cold herbes: with us in Germany and Poland, great store of it in every wast.* Baracellus (*Horto geniali*) and Baptista Porta (*Physiognomicæ, lib.* 6. *cap.* 23) gave many instances and examples of it, and bring many other proofes. For that cause, belike, that learned Fuchsius of Noremberge, [q] *when he came into a village, considered alwayes what herbs did grow most frequently about it; and those he distilled in a silver limbeck,* making use of others amongst them, as occasion served. I know that many are of opinion, our northern simples are weak, unperfect, not so well concocted, of such force, as those in the southerne parts, not so fit to be used in physick, and will therefore fetch their drugs a far off—sena, cassia out of Ægypt, rubarbe from Barbary, aloes from Zocotora; turbith, agarick, mirabolanes, hermodactils from the East Indies, tobacco from the West, and some as far as China, hellebor from the Anticyræ, or that of Austria which bears the purple flower, which Mathiolus so much approves, and so of the rest. In the kingdome of Valence in Spain, [r] Maginus commends two mountains, Mariola and Renagolosa, famous for simples; [s] Leander Albertus, [t] Baldus a mountain near the lake of Benacus in the territory of Verona, to which all the herbalists in the country continually flock; Ortelius one in Apulia, Munster Mons Major in Histria; others Montpelier in France. Prosper Alpinus preferres Egyptian simples, Garcias ab Horto Indian before the rest, another those of Italy, Crete, &c. Many times they are over-curious in this kind, whom Fuchsius taxeth (*Instit. l.* 1. *sec.* 1. *cap.* 1), [u] *that think they doe nothing, except they rake all over India, Arabia, Æthiopia, for remedies, and fetch their physick from the three quarters of the world, and from beyond the Garamantes. Many an old wife or country woman doth often more good with a few known and common garden herbs, then our bumbast physicians, with all their prodigious, sumptuous, far-fetched, rave, conjecturall medicines.* Without all question if we have not these rare exotick simples, we hold that at home which is in vertue equivalent unto them: ours will serve as well as theirs, if they be taken in proportionable quantity, fitted and qualified aright, if not much better, and more proper to our constitutions. But so 'tis for the most part, as Pliny writes to Gallus, [v] *we are carelesse of that which is neer us, and follow that which is afarre off, to know which we will travell and sail beyond the seas, wholly neglecting that which is under our eyes.* Opium, in Turky, doth scarce offend; with us in a small quantity it stupifies: cicuta, or hemlock is

[n] Hesiod. op. [o] Heurnius, præf. pra. med. Quot morborum sunt ideæ, tot remediorum genera variis potentiis decorata. [p] Penottus, denar. med. Quæcunque regio producit simplicia, pro morbis regionis. Crescit raro absynthium in Italiâ, quod ibi plerumque morbi calidi, sed cicuta, papaver, et herbæ frigidæ; apud nos Germanos et Polonos ubique provenit absynthium. [q] Quum in villam venit, consideravit quæ ibi crescebant medicamenta simplicia frequentiora, et iis plerunque usus distillatis, et aliter, alimbecum ideo argenteum circumferens. [r] Herbæ medicis utiles omnium in Apuliâ feracissimæ. [s] Geog. ad quos magnus herbariorum numerus undique confluit. Sincerus, Itiner. [t] Baldus mons prope Benacum herbilegis maxime notus. [u] Qui se nihil efficisse arbitrantur, nisi Indiam, Æthiopiam, Arabiam, et ultra Garamantas, a tribus mundi partibus exquisita remedia corradunt. Tutius sæpe medetur rustica anus una, &c. [v] Ep. lib. 8. Proximorum incuriosi, longinqua sectamur, et ad ea cognoscenda iter ingredi et mare transmittere solemus; at quæ sub oculis posita negligimus.

strong poyson in Greece; but with us it hath no such violent effects. I conclude with J. Voschius, who, as he much enveighs against those exotick medines, so he promiseth, by our European a full cure, and absolute, of all diseases; *capite ad calcem, nostræ regionis herbæ nostris corporibus magis conducunt*; ur own simples agree best with us. It was a thing that Fernelius much laoured in his French practice, to reduce all his cure to our proper and domesck physick; So did * Janus Cornarius, and Martin Rulandus, in Germany. '. B. with us, as appeareth by a treatise of his divulged in our tongue, 1615, o prove the sufficiency of English medicines to the cure of all manner of diseases. If our simples be not altogether of such force, or so apposite, it may be, if ke industry were used, those far fetched druggs, would prosper as well with us, s in those countries, whence now we have them, as well as cherries, artichokes, obacco, and many such. There have been diverse worthy physicians, which ave tryed excellent conclusions in this kinde, and many diligent, painfull pothecaries, as Gesner, Besler, Gerard, &c. but, amongst the rest, those faous publike gardens of Padua in Italy, Noremberge in Germany, Leiden in Iolland, Montpelier in France, (and ours in Oxford now in *fieri*, at the cost nd charges of the right honourable the Lord Danvers Earl of Danby) are uch to be commended, wherein all exotick plants almost are to be seen, and berall allowance yearly made for their better maintenance, that young students ay be the sooner informed in the knowledge of them; which, as [x] Fuchsius olds, *is most necessary for that exquisite manner of curing*, and as a great ame for a physician not to observe them, as for a workman not to know his xe, saw, square, or any other tool which he must of necessity use.

Subsect. III.—*Alteratives, Herbes, other Vegetals, &c.*

Amongst those 800 simples, which Galeottus reckons up (*lib.* 3. *de promisc. octor. cap.* 3), and many exquisite herbalists have written of, these few folowing alone I finde appropriated to this humour: of which some be alteratives: *which, by a secret force*, saith Renodeus, *and speciall quality, expell future iseases, perfectly cure those which are, and many such incurable effects.* his is as well observed in other plants, stones, minerals, and creatures, as in erbs, in other maladies as in this. How many things are related of a mans ull! what severall vertues of corns in a horse legge, [z] of a wolves liver, &c. diverse [a] excrements of beasts, all good against severall diseases! What exordinary vertues are ascribed unto plants! [b] *Satyrium et eruca penem eriint; vitex et nymphæa semen exstinguunt:* [c] some herbs provoke lust; me again, as agnus castus, waterlilly, quite extinguish seed: poppy causeth eep: cabbige resisteth drunkeness, &c. and that which is more to be admired, at such and such plants should have a peculiar vertue to such particular parts, is to the head anniseeds, foalfoot, betony, calamint, eyebright, lavander, bayes, sen, rue, sage, marjoram, piony, &c.—for the lungs calamint, liquorice, ula campana, hysop, horehound, water germander, &c.—for the heart, ruge, buglosse, saffron, bawm, basil, rosemary, violet, roses, &c. for the mack, wormwood, mints, betony, bawm, centaury, sorel, purslan;—for the er, dartlispine or chamæpitys, germander, agrimony, fennell, endive, succory, erwort, barbaryes;—for the spleen, maiden-hair, finger-ferne, dodder of yne, hoppe, the rinde of ash, betony;—for the kidnies, grumell, parsly, xifrage, plantane, mallowe;—for the womb, mugwort, pennyroyall, fetherfew, vine, &c.; for the joints, camomile, S. Johnswort, organ, rue, cowslips, cen-

Exotica rejecit, domesticis solum nos contentos esse voluit. Melch. Adamus, vit. ejus. [x] Instit. . cap. 8. sec. 1. ad exquisitam curandi rationem, quorum cognitio imprimis necessaria est. [y] Quæ i vi ac specificâ qualitate morbos futuros arcent. lib. 1. cap. 10. Instit. Phar. [z] Galen. lib. Hepar l hepaticos curat. [a] Stercus pecoris ad epilepsiam, &c. [b] Priestpintle, rocket. [c] Sabina im educit. [d] Wecker. Vide Oswaldum Crollium, lib de internis rerum signaturis, de herbis partiribus parti cuique convenientibus.

taury the lesse, &c.;—and so to peculiar diseases. To this of melancholy you shall find a catalogue of herbs proper, and that in every part. See more in Wecker, Renodeus, Heurnius, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 19. *&c.* I will briefly speak of them, as first of alteratives, which Galen, in his third book of diseased parts, prefers before diminutives, and Trallianus brags that he hath done more cures on melancholy men [e] by moistning, then by purging of them.

Borage.] In this catalogue, borage and buglosse may challenge the chiefest place, whether in substance, juice, roots, seeds, flowers, leaves, decoctions, distilled waters, extracts, oils, &c. for such kind of herbs be diversly varied. Buglosse is hot and moist, and therefore worthily reckoned up amongst those herbs which expell melancholy, and [f] exhilarate the heart, (*Galen, lib.* 6. *cap.* 80. *de simpl. med. Dioscorides, lib.* 4. *cap* 123.) Pliny much magnifies this plant. It may be diversly used; as in broth, in [g] wine, in conserves, syrops, &c. It is an excellent cordiall, and against this malady most frequently prescribed; an herb indeed of such soveraignty, that, as Diodorus (*lib.* 7. *bibl.*) Plinius (*lib.* 25. *cap.* 2. *et lib.* 21. *cap.* 22) Plutarch (*sympos. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1) Dioscorides (*lib.* 5. *cap.* 40) Cælius (*lib.* 19. *c.* 3) suppose, it was that famous nepenthes of [h] Homer, which Polydamna, Thonis wife, (then king of Thebes in Egypt) sent Helena for a token, of such rare vertue, that, if taken steept in wine, if wife and children, father and mother, brother and sister, and all thy dearest friends, should die before thy face, thou couldst not grieve or shed a tear for them.

Qui semel id paterâ mixtum nepenthes Iaccho Hauserit, hic lacrymam, non si suavissima proles, | Si germanus ei charus, materque paterque Oppetat, ante oculos ferro confossus atroci——

Helenas commended boul, to exhilarate the heart, had no other ingredient, as most of our criticks conjecture, then this of borage.

Bawme.] Melissa, Bawm, hath an admirable vertue to alter melancholy, be it steeped in our ordinary drink, extracted, or otherwise taken. Cardan (*lib.* 8) much admires this herb. It heats and dries, saith [i] Heurnius, in the second degree, with a wonderfull vertue comforts the heart, and purgeth all melancholy vapors from the spirits; Matthiol. *in lib.* 3. *c.* 10. *in Dioscoridem.* Besides they ascribe other vertues to it, [j] *as to help concoction, to cleanse the braine, expell all carefull thoughts, and anxious imaginations.* The same words in effect are in Avicenna, Pliny, Simon Sethi, Fuchsius, Leobel, Delacampius, *and every herbalist.* Nothing better for him that is melancholy then to steep this and borage in his ordinary drink.

Scorzonera.] Matthiolus, in his fift book of medicinall Epistles, reckons up scorzonera [k] *not against poison only, falling sickness, and such as are vertiginous, but to this malady; the root of it, taken by it self, expells sorrow, causeth mirth and lightness of heart.*

Antonius Musa, that renowned physician to Cæsar Augustus, in his book which he writ of the vertues of betony, *cap.* 6, wonderfully commends that herb: *animas hominum et corpora custodit, securas de metu reddit;* it preserves both body and minde, from fears, cares, griefs; cures falling sickness, this and many other diseases; to which Galen subscribes, *lib.* 7. *simpl. med. Dioscorides, lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. *&c.*

Marigold is much approved against melancholy, and often used therefore in our ordinary broth, as good against this and many other diseases.

Hop.] Lupulus, hop, is a soveraign remedy; Fuchsius (*cap.* 58. *Plant hist.*) much extolls it; [l] *it purgeth all choler, and purifies the blood.* Matthiol. (*cap.* 140. *in* 4. *Dioscor.*) wonders the physicians of his time made

[e] Idem Laurentius, c. 9. [f] Dicor Borago: gaudia semper ago. [g] Vino infusum hilaritatem facit. [h] Odyss. A. [i] Lib. 2. cap. 2. prax. med. Mirâ vi lætitiam præbet, et cor confirmat; vapores melancholicos purgat a spiritibus. [j] Proprium est ejus animum hilarem reddere, concoctionem juvare, cerebri obstructiones resecare, solicitudines fugare, solicitas imaginationes tollere. [k] Non solum ad viperarum morsus comitiales, vertiginosos; sed per se accommodata radix tristitiam discutit, hilaritatemque conciliat. [l] Bilem atramque detrahit, sanguinem purgat.

no more use of it, because it rarifies and cleanseth: we use it to this purpose in our ordinary beer, which before was thick and fulsome.

Wormwood, centaury, pennyroyall, are likewise magnified, and much prescribed (as I shall after shew) especially in hypochondriake melancholy, daily to be used, sod in whey: as Ruffus Ephesius, [m]Aretæus, relate, by breaking winde, helping concoction, many melancholy men have been cured with the frequent use of them alone.

And, because the spleen and blood are often misaffected in melancholy, I may not omit endive, succory, dandelyon, fumetory, &c. which cleanse the blood; scolopendria, cuscuta, ceterache, mugwort, liverwort, ashe, tamerisk, genist, maidenhair, &c. which much help and ease the spleen.

To these I may adde roses, violets, capers, fetherfew, scordium, stœchas, rosemary, ros solis, saffron, ocyme, sweet apples, wine, tobacco, sanders, &c. that Peruvian chamico, *monstrosâ facultate, &c. Linschostens Datura;* and to such as are cold, the [n] decoction of guiacum, china, salsaperilla, sassafras, the flowers of carduus benedictus, which I find much used by Montanus in his consultations, Julius Alexandrinus, Lælius, Egubinus, and others. [o] Bernardus Penottus prefers his *herba solis*, or Dutch-sindaw, before all the rest in this disease, *and will admit of no herb upon the earth to be comparable to it.* It excells Homers moly, cures this, falling sickness, and almost all other infirmities. The same Penottus speaks of an excellent balm out of Aponensis, which, taken to the quantity of three drops in a cup of wine, [p] *will cause a sudden alteration, drive away dumps, and chear up the heart.* Ant. Guianerius, in his Antidotary, hath many such. [q] Jacobus de Dondis, the *Aggregator*, repeats ambergreese, nutmegs, and all spice amongst the rest. But that cannot be generall; amber and spice will make a hot brain mad, good for cold and moist. Garcias ab Horto hath many Indian plants, whose vertues he much magnifies in this disease. Lemnius (*instit. cap.* 58.) admires rue, and commends it to have excellent vertue, *to* [r] *expell vain imaginations, divels, and to ease afflicted souls.* Other things are much magnified by [s] writers, as an old cock, a rams head, a wolfes heart born or eaten, which Mercurialis approves: Prosper Alpinus, the water of Nilus; Gomesius all sea water, and at seasonable times to be sea sick; goats milk, whey, &c.

Subsect. IV.—*Pretious Stones, Metals, Minerals, Alteratives.*

Pretious stones are diversly censured; many explode the use of them or any minerals in physick, of whom Thomas Erastus is the chief, in his Tract against Paracelsus, and in an Epistle of his to Peter Monavius: [t] *that stones can work any wonders, let them beleeve that list: no man shall perswade me: for my part, I have found by experience, there is no vertue in them.* But Matthiolus, in his comment upon [u] Dioscorides, is as profuse on the other side in their commendation; so is Cardan, Renodeus, Alardus, Rueus, Encelius, Marbodeus, &c. [v] Matthiolus specifies in corall: and Oswaldus Crollius, (*Basil. chym.*) prefers the salt of corall. [w] Christoph. Encelius (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 131.) will have them to be as so many severall medicines against melancholy, sorrow, fear, dulnesse, and the like. [x] Renodeus ad-

[m] Lib. 7. cap. 5. Lact. occid. Indiæ descrip. lib. 10. cap. 2. [n] Heurnius, l. 2. consil. 185. Scoltzii consil. 77. [o] Præf. denar. med. Omnes capitis dolores et phantasmata tollit; scias nullam herbam in terris huic comparandam viribus et bonitate nasci. [p] Optimum medicamentum in celeri cordis confortatione, et ad omnes qui tristantur, &c. [q] Rondoletius. Elenum quod vim habet miram ad hilaritatem, et multi pro secreto habent. Sckenkius, observ. med. cen. 5. observ. 86. [r] Afflictas mentes relevat, animi imaginationes et dæmones expellit. [s] Sckenkius, Mezaldus, Rhasis. [t] Cratonis ep. vol. 1. Credat qui vult gemmas mirabilia efficere; mihi, qui et ratione et experientiâ didici aliter rem habere, nullus facile persuadebit, falsum esse verum. [u] L. de gemmis. [v] Margaritæ et corallum ad melancholiam præcipue valent. [w] Margaritæ et gemmæ spiritus confortant et cor, melancholiam fugant, [x] Præfat. ad lap. prec. lib. 2. sec. 2. de mat. med. Regum coronas ornant, digitos illustrant, supellec. tilem ditant, a fascino tuentur, morbis medentur, sanitatem conservant, mentem exhilarant, tristitiam pellunt.

mires them, *besides they adorn kings crowns, grace the fingers, enrich our houshold stuffe, defend us from enchantments, preserve health, cure diseases, they drive away grief, cares, and exhilarate the minde.* The particulars be these.

Granatus, a pretious stone so called, because it is like the kernels of a pomegranate, an unperfect kinde of ruby: it comes from Calecut: [y] *if hung about the neck, or taken in drink, it much resisteth sorrow, and recreates the heart.* The same properties I find ascribed to the iacinth and topaze: [z] they allay anger, grief, diminish madness, much delight and exhilarate the minde. [a] *If it be either carried about, or taken in a potion, it will increase wisdome,* saith Cardan, *expell fear.* He brags that he hath *cured many mad men with it, which, when they laid by the stone, were as mad again as ever they were at first.* Petrus Bayerus, (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. *veni mecum*) Fran. Rueus, (*cap.* 19. *de gemmis*), say as much of the chrysolite, [b] a friend of wisdome, an enemy to folly. Pliny (*lib.* 37), Solinus (*cap.* 52), Albertus (*de lapid.*), Cardan, Encelius (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 66), highly magnifies the vertue of the beryll: [c] *it much availes a good understanding, represseth vain conceits, evil thoughts, causeth mirth, &c.* In the belly of a swallow, there is a stone found, called chelidonius, [d] *which, if it be lapped in a fair cloth, and tied to the right arm, will cure lunaticks, mad men, make them amiable and merry.*

There is a kinde of onyx, called a chalcidonye, which hath the same qualities, [e] *availes much against phantastick illusions which proceed from melancholy,* preserves the vigour and good estate of the whole body.

The eban stone which goldsmiths use to sleeken their gold with, born about or given to drink, [f] hath the same properties, or not much unlike.

Lævinus Lemnius (*Institut. ad vit. cap.* 58), amongst other jewels, makes mention of two more notable, carbuncle and corall, [g] *which drive away childish fears, divels, overcome sorrow, and, hung about the neck, repress troublesom dreams;* which properties almost Cardan gives to that green coloured [h] emmetris, if it be carried about, or worn in a ring; Rueus to the diamond.

Nicholas Cabeus, a Jesuit of Ferrara, in the first book of his magnetical Philosophy, cap. 3, speaking of the vertues of a loadstone, recites many several opinions; some say, that, if it be taken in parcels inward, *si quis per frusta voret, juventutem restituet,* it will, like vipers wine, restore one to his youth; and yet, if carried about them, others will have it to cause melancholy: let experience determine.

Mercurialis admires the emerald for his vertues in pacifying all affections of the mind; others the saphyre, which is *the* [i] *fairest of all precious stones, of skye colour, and a great enemy to black choler, frees the mind, mends manners, &c.* Jacobus de Dondis, in his Catalogue of Simples, hath amber greece, *os in corde cervi,* [j] the bone in a stags heart, a monocerots horn, Bezoars stone [k] (of which elsewhere): it is found in the belly of a little beast in the East Indies, brought into Europe by Hollanders and our countrymen merchants. Renodeus (*cap.* 22. *lib.* 3. *de ment. med.*) saith he saw two of these beasts alive in the castle of the lord of Vitry at Coubert.

Lapis lazuli and armenus, because they purge, shall be mentioned in their place.

[y] Encelius, l. 3. c. 4. Suspensus vel ebibitus tristitiæ multum resistit, et cor recreat. [z] Idem cap. 5. et cap. 6. de Hyacintho et Topazio. Iram sedat, et animi tristitiam pellit. [a] Lapis hic gestatus aut ebibitus prudentiam auget, nocturnos timores pellit; insanos hoc sanavi; et quum lapidem abjecerint, erupit iterum stultitia. [b] Inducit sapientiam, fugat stultitiam. Idem Cardanus, lunaticos juvat. [c] Confert ad bonum intellectum, comprimit malas cogitationes, &c. Alacres reddit. [d] Albertus, Encelius, cap. 44. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 37. cap. 10. Jacobus de Dondis: dextro brachio alligatus sanat lunaticos, insanos, facit amabiles, jucundos. [e] Valet contra phantasticas illusiones ex melancholiâ. [f] Amentes sanat, tristitiam pellit, iram, &c. [g] Valet ad fugandos timores et dæmones, turbulenta somnia abigit, et nocturnos puerorum timores compescit. [h] Somnia læta facit, argenteo annulo gestatus. [i] Atræ bili adversatur, omnium gemmarum pulcherrima, cœli colorem refert, animum ab errore liberat, mores in melius mutat. [j] Longis mœroribus feliciter medetur deliquiis, &c.
[k] Sec. 5. Mem. 1. Subs. 5.

Of the rest in brief thus much I will add out of Cardan, Renodeus, *cap.* 23. *lib.* 3. Rondoletius, *lib.* 1. *de Testat. c.* 15, &c. [l] *that almost all jewels and pretious stones have excellent vertues* to pacifie the affections of the mind; for which cause rich men so much covet to have them: [m] *and those smaller unions which are found in shells amongst the Persians and Indians*, by the consent of all writers, *are very cordial*, and most part avail to the exhilaration of the heart.

Minerals.] Most men say as much of gold, and some other minerals, as these have done of pretious stones. Erastus still maintains the opposite part. *Disput. in Paracelsum, cap.* 4. *fol.* 196. he confesseth of gold, [n] *that it makes the heart merry, but in no other sense but as it is in a misers chest:*

> ——— at mihi plaudo,
> ——— simulac nummos contemplor in arcâ,

as he said in the poet; it so revives the spirits, and is an excellent receit against melancholy,

> [o] For gold in physick is a cordial,
> Therefore he loved gold in special.

Aurum potabile [p] he discommends, and inveighs against it, by reason of the corrosive waters which are used in it: which argument our Dr. Guin urgeth against D. Antonius. [q] Erastus concludes their philosophical stones, and potable gold, &c. *to be no better than poyson*, a meer imposture, a *non ens*; dig'd out of that broody hill, belike, this goodly golden stone is, *ubi nascetur ridiculus mus.* Paracelsus and his chymistical followers, as so many *Promethei*, will fetch fire from heaven, will cure all manner of diseases with minerals, accounting them the only physick on the other side. [r] Paracelsus calls Galen, Hippocrates, and all their adherents, infants, idiots, sophisters, &c. *Apagesis istos qui Vulcanias istas metamorphoses sugillant, inscitiæ soboles, supinæ pertinaciæ alumnos, &c.* not worthy the name of physicians, for want of these remedies; and brags that by them he can make a man live 160 yeers, or to the worlds end. With their [s] *alexipharmacums, panaceas, mummias, unguentum armarium*, and such magnetical cures, *lampas vitæ et mortis, balneum Dianæ, balsamum, electrum, magico-physicum, amuleta Martialia*, &c. what will not he and his followers effect? He brags moreover that he was *primus medicorum*, and did more famous cures then all the physicians in Europe besides: [t] *a drop of his preparations should go farther than a dram, or ounce of theirs*, those loathsome and fulsome filthy potions, heteroclitical pills (so he cals them), horse medicines, *ad quorum aspectum Cyclops Polyphemus exhorresceret.* And, though some condemn their skill and magnetical cures as tending to magical superstition, witchery, charms, &c. yet they admire, stiffly vindicate nevertheless, and infinitely prefer them. But these are both in extreams: the middle sort approve of minerals, though not in so high a degree. Lemnius (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 6. *de occult. nat. mir.*) commends gold inwardly and outwardly used, as in rings, excellent good in medicines; and such mixtures as are made for melancholy men, saith Wecker (*antid. spec. lib.* 1), to whom Renodeus subscribes, (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 2), Ficinus (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 19), Fernel. (*meth. med. lib.* 5. *cap.* 21. *de Cardiacis*), Daniel Sennertus (*lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 9.), Audernacus, Libavius, Quercetanus, Oswaldus Crollius, Euvonymus, Rubeus, and Matthiolus, in the fourth book of his Epistles, Andreas a Blawen (*epist. ad Matthiolum*), as commended and formerly used by Avicenna, Arnoldus, and many others. [u] Mat-

[l] Gestamen lapidum et gemmarum maximum fert auxilium et juvamen; unde, qui dites sunt, gemmas secum ferre student. [m] Margaritæ et uniones, quæ a conchis et piscibus apud Persas et Indos, valde cordiales sunt, &c. [n] Aurum lætitiam generat, non in corde, sed in arcâ virorum. [o] Chaucer. [p] Aurum non aurum. Noxium ob aquas rodentes. [q] Ep. ad Monavium. Metallica omnia in universum, quovis modo parata, nec tuto nec commode intra corpus sumi. [r] In parag. Stultissimus plius occipitis mei plus scit quam omnes vestri doctores; et calceorum meorum annuli doctiores sunt quam vester Galenus et Avicenna; barba mea plus experta est quam vestræ omnes academiæ. [s] Vide Ernestum Burgratium, edit. Franaker 8° 1611. Crollius and others. [t] Plus proficiet gutta mea quam tot eorum drachmæ et unciæ. [u] Nonnulli huic supra modum indulgent: usum, etsi non adeo magnum, [v] adjiciendum censeo.

thiolus in the same place approves of potable gold, mercury, with many such chymical confections, and goes so far in approbation of them, that he holds, [v] *no man can be an excellent physician that hath not some skill in chymistical distillations, and that chronick diseases can hardly be cured without mineral medicines.* Look for antimony among purgers.

Subsect. V.—*Compound Alteratives; censure of Compounds, and mixt Physick.*

Pliny (*lib.* 24. *c.* 1) bitterly taxeth all compound medicines. [w] *Mens knavery, imposture, and captious wits, have invented these shops, in which every mans life is set to sale: and by and by came in those compositions and inexplicable mixtures, far fetcht out of India and Arabia; a medicine for a botch must be had as farre as the Red Sea, &c.* And 'tis not without cause which he saith; for out of question they are much to [x] blame in their compositions, whilst they make infinite variety of mixtures, as [y] Fuchsius notes. *They think they get themselves great credit, excel others, and be more learned then the rest, because they make many variations:* but he accounts them fools; *and, whilst they brag of their skill, and think to get themselves a name, they become ridiculous, bewray their ignorance and error.* A few simples, well prepared and understood, are better then such an heap of nonsense confused compounds, which are in apothecaries shops ordinarily sold; *in which many vain, superfluous, corrupt, exolete things out of date are to be had* (saith Cornarius) *a company of barbarous names given to syrrops, julips, an unnecessary company of mixt medicines; rudis indigestaque moles.* Many times (as Agrippa taxeth) there is by this means [z] *more danger from the medicine then from the disease;* when they put together they know not what, or leave it to an illiterate apothecary to be made, they cause death and horror for health. Those old physicians had no such mixtures; a simple potion of hellebor in Hippocrates time was the ordinary purge; and at this day, saith Matt. Riccius, in that flourishing commonwealth of China, [a] *Their physicians give precepts quite opposite to ours, not unhappy in their physick: they use altogether roots, hearbs, and simples in their medicines; and all their physick in a manner is comprehended in an herbal:* no science, no schoole, no art, no degree; *but, like a trade, every man in private is instructed of his master.* [b] Cardan cracks that he can cure all diseases with water alone, as Hippocrates of old did most infirmities with one medicine. Let the best of our rational physicians demonstrate and give a sufficient reason for those intricate mixtures, why just so many simples in mithridate or treacle, why such and such quantity; may they not be reduced to half or quarter? *Frustra fit per plura,* (as the saying is) *quod fieri potest per pauciora;* 300 simples in a julip, potion, or a little pill, to what end or purpose? I know not what [c] Alkindus, Capivaccius, Montagna, and Simon Eitover, the best of them all, and most rational, have said in this kind; but neither he, they, nor any one of them, gives his reader, to my judgement, that satisfaction which he ought; why such, so many simples? Rog. Bacon hath taxed many errors in his tract *de graduationibus*, explained some things, but not cleared. Mercurialis (in his book *de composit. medicin.*) gives instance in Hamech, and Philonium Romanum, which Hamech an Arabian, and Philonius

[v] Ausim dicere neminem medicum excellentum qui non in hac distillatione chymicâ sit versatus. Morbi chronici devinci citra metallica vix possint, aut ubi sanguis corrumpitur. [w] Fraudes hominum, et ingeniorum capturæ, officinas invenêre istas, in quibus sua cuique venalis promittitur vita; statim compositiones et mixturæ inexplicabiles ex Arabiâ et Indiâ, ulceri parvo medicina à Rubro Mari importatur. [x] Arnoldus, Aphor. 15. Fallax medicus, qui, potens mederi simplicibus, composita dolose aut frustra quærit. [y] Lib. 1. sec. 1. cap. 8. Dum infinita medicamenta miscent, laudem sibi comparare student; et in hoc studio alter alterum superare conatur, dum quisque quo plura miscuerit, eo se doctiorem putat; inde fit, ut suam prodant inscitiam, dum ostentant peritiam, et se ridiculos exhibeant, &c. [z] Multo plus periculi a medicamento quam a morbo, &c. [a] Expedit, in Sinas, lib. 1. c. 5. Præcepta medici dant nostris diversa, in medendo non infelices; pharmacis utuntur simplicibus, herbis, radicibus, &c. tota eorum medicina nostræ herbariæ præceptis continetur; nullus ludus hujus artis; quisque privatus a quolibet magistro eruditur. [b] Lib. de Aquâ. [c] Opusc. de Dos.

a Roman, long since composed, but *crasse* as the rest. If they be so exact, as by him it seems they were, and those mixtures so perfect, why doth Fernelius alter the one, and why is the other obsolete? [d]Cardan taxeth Galen for presuming out of his ambition to correct *theriacum Andromachi*; and we as justly may carp at all the rest. Galens medicines are now exploded and rejected; what Nicholas Meripsa, Mesue, Celsus, Scribanius, Actuarius, &c. writ of old, are most part contemned. Mellichius, Cordus, Wecker, Quercetan, Renodeus, the Venetian, Florentine states, have their several receipts, and magistrals: they of Noremberge have theirs, and *Augustana Pharmacopœia* peculiar medicines to the meridian of their city; London hers; every city, town, almost every private man hath his own mixtures, compositions, receipts, magistrals, precepts, as if he scorned antiquity, and all others in respect of himself. But each man must correct and alter, to shew his skill; every opinionative fellow must maintain his own paradox, be it what it will; *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi:* they dote; and in the mean time the poor patients pay for their new experiments; the commonalty rue it.

Thus others object; thus I may conceive out of the weakness of my apprehension; but, to say truth, there is no such fault, no such ambition, no novelty, or ostentation, as some suppose: but (as [e]one answers) this of compound medicines *is a most noble and profitable invention, found out, and brought into physick, with great judgement, wisdome, counsel, and discretion.* Mixt diseases must have mixt remedies; and such simples are commonly mixt, as have reference to the part affected, some to qualify, the rest to comfort, some one part, some another. Cardan and Brassavola both hold that *nullum simplex medicamentum sine noxâ*, no simple medicine is without hurt or offence; and, although Hippocrates, Erasistratus, Diocles, of old, in the infancy of this art, were content with ordinary simples; yet now, saith [f]Aëtius, *necessity compelleth to seek for new remedies, and to make compounds of simples, as well to correct their harms, if cold, dry, hot, thick, thin, insipid, noysome to smell, to make them savory to the palat, pleasant to taste and take, and to preserve them for continuance, by mixtion of sugar, hony, to make them last monthes and yeares for several*

In such cases compound medicines may be approved; and Arnoldus, in 18 Aphorisme, doth allow of it. [g]*If simples cannot, necessity compels us use compounds;* so for receits and magistrals, *dies diem docet*, one day teacheth another, and they are as so many words or phrases, *Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus* .... ebbe and flow with the season; and, as wits vary, so they may be infinitely varied. *Quisque suum placitum, quo capiatur, habet:* every man as he likes; so many men so many minds, and yet all tending to good purpose, though not the same way. As arts and sciences, so physick is still perfected amongst the rest. *Horæ Musarum nutrices;* and experience teacheth us every day [h]many things which our predecessors knew not of. Nature is not effœte, as he saith, or so lavish, to bestow all her gifts upon an age, but hath reserved some for posterity, to shew her power, that she is still the same, and not old or consumed. Birds and beasts can cure themselves by nature; [i]*naturæ usu ea plerumque cognoscunt, quæ homines vix longo labore et doctrinâ assequuntur;* but men must use much labour and industry to find it out: but I digresse.

Compound medicines are inwardly taken, or outwardly applyed. Inwardly taken, be either liquid or solid; liquid, are fluid or consisting. Fluid, as wines and syrrups. The wines ordinarily used to this disease, are worme-

[d] Subtil. cap. de scientiis. [e] Quercetan. pharmacop. restitut. cap. 2. Nobilissimum et utilissimum inventum summâ cum necessitate adinventum et introductum. [f] Cap. 25. Tetrabib. 4. ser. 2. Necessitas nunc cogit aliquando noxia quærere remedia, et ex simplicibus composita facere, tum ad saporem, odorem, palati gratiam, ad correctionem simplicium, tum ad futuros usus, conservationem, &c. [g] Cum simplicia non possunt, necessitas cogit ad composita. [h] Lips. Epist. [i] Theod. Prodromus Amor. lib. 9.

wood-wine, tamarisk, and buglossatum, wine made of borage and bugloss; the composition of which is specified in Arnoldus Villanovanus, *lib. de vinis*, of borage, bawme, bugloss, cinnamon, &c. and highly commended for its vertues; [j] *it drives away leprosy, scabs, cleers the blood, recreates the spirits, exhilarates the mind, purgeth the brain of those anxious black melancholy fumes, and cleanseth the whole body of that black humour by urine. To which I adde,* saith Villanovanus, *that it will bring mad men, and such raging bedlams as are tied in chains, to the use of their reason again. My conscience bears me witness, that I do not lye: I saw a grave matron helped by this means; she was so cholerick, and so furious sometimes, that she was almost mad, and beside herself: she said and did she knew not what, scolded, beat her maids, and was now ready to be bound, till she drank of this borage wine, and, by this excellent remedy, was cured, which a poor forrainer, a silly beggar, taught her by chance, that came to crave an alms from door to door.* The juyce of borage, if it be clarified, and drunk in wine, will do as much, the roots sliced and steeped, &c. saith Ant. Mizaldus, *art. med.* who cites this story *verbatim* out of Villanovanus; and so doth Magninus a physician of Millan, in his regimen of health. Such another excellent compound water I find in Rubeus, *de distill. sect.* 3, which he highly magnifies, out of Savanarola, [k] *for such as are solitary, dull, heavy or sad without a cause, or to be troubled with trembling of heart.* Other excellent compound waters for melancholy, he cites in the same place, [l] *if their melancholy be not inflamed, or their temperature over hot.* Euonymus hath a pretious *aqua vitæ* to this purpose, for such as are cold. But he and most commend *aurum potabile;* and every writer prescribes clarified whey, with borage, bugloss, endive, succory, &c. of goats milk especially, some indefinitely at all times, some thirty dayes together in the spring, every morning fasting, a good draught. Syrrups are very good, and often used to digest this humour in the heart, spleen, liver, &c. syrrup of borage, (there is a famous syrrup of borage highly commended by Laurentius to this purpose in his tract of melancholy) *de pomis* of king Sabor now obsolete, of thyme and epithyme, hops, scolopendria, fumitory, maidenhair, bizantine, &c. These are most used for preparatives to other physick, mixt with distilled waters of like nature, or in julips otherwise.

Consisting are conserves or confections; conserves of borage, bugloss, bawme, fumitory, succory, maidenhair, violets, roses, wormwood, &c. confections, treacle, mithridate, eclegms, or linctures, &c.—solid, as aromatical confections; hot, *diambra, diamargaritum calidum, dianthus, diamoschum dulce, electuarium de gemmis, lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, diagalinga, diacimynum, dianisum, diatrion piperion, diazinziber, diacapers, diacinnamonum:* cold, as *diamargaritum frigidum, diacorolli, diarrhodon abbatis, diacodion, &c.* as every Pharmacopœia will shew you, with their tables or losinges that are made out of them; with condites, and the like.

Outwardly used as occasion serves, as amulets, oyls hot and cold, as o camomile, stæchados, violets, roses, almonds, poppy, nymphæa, mandrake &c. to be used after bathing, or to procure sleep.

Oyntments composed of the said species, oyls and wax, &c. as *alabastr tum, populeum*, some hot, some cold, to moysten, procure sleep, and corre other accidents.

Liniments are made of the same matter to the like purpose: emplast

[j] Sanguinem corruptum emaculat, scabiem abolet, lepram curat, spiritus recreat, et animum exhil Melancholicos humores per urinam educit, et cerebrum a crassis, ærumnosis melancholiæ fumis pu quibus addo, dementes et furiosos vinculis retinendos plurimum juvat, et ad rationis usum ducit. [k] est mihi conscientia, quod viderim matronam quamdam hinc liberatam, quæ frequentius ex iracundi mens, et impos animi, dicenda tacenda loquebatur, adeo furens ut ligari cogeretur. Fuit ei præstanti remedio vini istius usus, indicatus a peregrino homine mendico, eleemosynam præ foribus dictæ ma implorante. [l] Iis qui tristantur sine caussâ, et vitant amicorum societatem, et tremunt corde. [l] metur melancholiâ, aut calidiore temperamento sint.

herbs, flowers, roots. &c. with oyls. and other liquors mixt and boiled gether.

Cataplasms, salves, or pultises, made of green hearbs, pounded, or sod in ter till they be soft, which are applied to the hypochondries, and other rts, when the body is empty.

Cerotes are applyed to several parts. and frontals, to take away pain, grief, at, procure sleep: fomentations or spunges. wet in some decoctions, &c. ithemata, or those moist medicines, laid on linnen, to bath and cool several rts misaffected.

Sacculi, or little bags of herbs, flowers. seeds. roots, and the like, applied the head, heart, stomack, &c. odoraments, balls, perfumes, posies to smell ; all which have their several uses in melancholy, as shall be shewed, ien I treate of the cure of the distinct species by themselves.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Purging Simples upward.*

Melanagoga, or melancholy purging medicines. are either simple or com- ound, and that gently, or violently, purging upwards or downward. These lowing purge upward. [m]Asarum, or asrabecca, which, as Mesue saith, is t in the second degree, and dry in the third: *it is commonly taken in wine hey*, or, as with us, the juyce of two or three leaves or more sometimes, ounded in posset drink qualified with a little liquorice, or anniseeds, to oid the fulsomness of the taste, or as *diaserum Fernelii*. Brassivola (*in thart.*) reckons it up amongst those simples that only purge melancholy, d Ruellius confirms as much out of his experience, that it purgeth [n]black oler, like hellebor it self. Galen (*lib.* 6. *simplic.*) and [o]Matthiolus ascribe her vertues to it, and will have it purge other humors as well as this.

Laurel, by Heurnius, (*method. ad prax. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24.) is put amongst e strong purgers of melancholy; it is hot and dry in the fourth degree. ioscorides (*lib.* 11. *cap.* 114) adds [p]other effects to it. Pliny sets down berries in drink for a sufficient potion: it is commonly corrected with his posites, cold and moist, as juyce of endive, purslane, and is taken in a tion to seaven grains and a half. But this, and asrabecca, every gentle- man in the country knows how to give: they are two common vomits.

Scilla, or sea onyon, is hot and dry in the third degree. Brassivola, (*in thart.*) out of Mesue, others, and his own experience, will have this simple purge [q]melancholy alone. It is an ordinary vomit, *vinum scilliticum*, ixt with rubel in a little white wine.

White hellebor, which some call sneezing powder, a strong purger upward, ich many reject, as being too violent: Mesue and Averroës will not admit it, [r]*by reason of danger of suffocation*, [s]*great pain and trouble it puts e poor patient to*, saith Dodonæus. Yet Galen (*lib.* 6. *simpl. med.*) and ioscorides (*cap.* 145) allow of it. It was indeed [t]*terrible in former times*, Pliny notes, but now familiar, insomuch that many took it in those dayes, *hat were students, to quicken their wits*; which Persius (*Sat.* 1.) objects to eius the poet—*Ilias Acci ebria veratro*. [v]*It help smelancholy, the falling ickness, madness, gout, &c. but not to be taken of old men, youths, such as e weaklings, nice or effeminate, troubled with headach, high coloured, or ar strangling*, saith Dioscorides. [w]Oribasius, an old physician, hath itten very copiously, and approves of it, *in such affections, which can*

[l] Heurnius: Datur in sero lactis, aut vino. [m] Veratri modo expurgat cerebrum, roborat, memoriam. ehalus. [n] Crassos et biliosos humores per vomitum educit. [o] Vomitum et menses ciet: valet ad irop. &c. [p] Materias atras educit. [q] Ab arte ideo rejiciendum, ob periculum suffocationis. [r] Cap. Magnâ vi educit, at molestiâ cum summâ. [s] Quondam terribile. [t] Multi studiorum gratiâ, ad vehienda acrius quæ commentabantur. [v] Medetur comitialibus, melancholicis, podagricis; vetatur ilibus, pueris, mollibus, et effeminatis. [w] Collect. lib. 8. cap. 3. In affectibus quæ difficulter antur, hellebororum damus.

otherwise hardly be cured. Heurnius (*lib.* 2. *prax. med. de vomitoriis*) will not have it used [x] *but with great caution, by reason of its strength, and then when antimony will do no good,* which caused Hermophilus to compare it to a stout captain (as Codronchus observes, *cap.* 7. *comment. de Helleb.*) that will see all his souldiers go before him, and come *post principia,* like the bragging souldier, last himself. [y] When other helps fail in inveterate melancholy, in a desperate case, this vomit is to be taken. And yet for all this, if it be well prepared, it may be [z] securely given at first. [a] Matthiolus brags, that he hath often, to the good of many, made use of it; and Heurnius, [b] *that he hath happily used it, prepared after his own prescript,* and with good success. Christophorus à Vega (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 41) is of the same opinion, that it may be lawfully given; and our country gentlewomen finde it by their common practice, that there is no such great danger in it. Dr. Turner, speaking of this plant, in his herball, telleth us, that in his time it was an ordinary receipt among good wives, to give hellebor in powder to iid weight; and he is not much against it. But they do commonly exceed, (for who so bold as blinde Bayard ?) and prescribe it by pennyworths, and such irrationall wayes, as I have heard my self market folks ask for it in an apothecaries shop: but, with what success, God knows: they smart often for their rash boldness and folly, break a vein, make their eyes ready to start out of their heads, or kill themselves. So that the fault is not in the physick, but in the rude and undiscreet handling of it. He that will know therefore, when to use, how to prepare it aright, and in what dose, let him read Heurnius, *lib.* 2. *prax. med.* Brassivola, *de Cathart.* Godefridus Stegius the emperour Rodolphus physician, *cap.* 16. Matthiolus in Dioscor. and that excellent commentary of Baptista Codronchus (which is *instar omnium*) *de Helleb. alb.* where he shall finde great diversity of examples and receipts.

Antimony or stibium, which our chymists so much magnifie, is either taken in substance or infusion, &c. and frequently prescribed in this disease. *It helps all infirmities,* saith [c] Matthiolus, *which proceed from black choler, falling sickness, and hypochondriacall passions;* and, for farther proof of his assertion, he gives severall instances of such as have been freed with it: [d] one of Andrew Gallus, a physician of Trent, that, after many other essayes, *imputes the recovery of his health, next after God, to this remedy alone;* another of George Handshius, that, in like sort, when other medicines failed, [e] *was by this restored to his former health, and which, of his knowledge, others have likewise tried, and, by the help of this admirable medicine, been recovered;* a third of a parish priest at Prague in Bohemia, [f] *that was so far gone with melancholy, that he doted, and spake he knew not what; but, after he had taken* 12 *grains of stibium,* (*as I my self saw, and can witness, for I was called to see this miraculous accident*) *he was purged of a deal of black choler, like little gobbets of flesh, and all his excrements were as black blood* (a medicine fitter for a horse then a man): *yet it did him so much good, that the next day he was perfectly cured.* This very story of the Bohemian priest, Sckenkius relates *verbatim,* (*Exoter. experiment. ad. var. morb. cent.* 6. *observ.* 6) with great approbation of it. Hercules de Saxoniâ calls it a profitable medicine, if it be taken after meat, to 6 or 8 grains, of

[x] Non sine summâ cautione hoc remedio utemur; est enim validissimum; et, quum vires antimonii contemnit morbus, in auxilium evocatur, modo valide vires efflorescant. [y] Actius, tetrab. cap. 1. ser. 2. Iis solum dari vult helleborum album, qui secus spem non habent, non iis qui syncopen timent, &c. [z] Cum salute multorum. [a] Cap. 12. de morbis cap. [b] Nos facillime utimur nostro præparato helleboro albo. [c] In lib. 5. Dioscor. cap. 3. Omnibus opitulatur morbis, quos atra bilis excitavit, comitialibus, iisque præsertim qui hypochondriacas obtinent passiones. [d] Andreas Gallus, Tridentinus medicus, salutem huic medicamento post Deum debet. [e] Integræ sanitati, brevi restitutus; id quod aliis accidisse scio, qui hoc mirabili medicamento usi sunt. [f] Qui melancholicus factus plane desipiebat, multaque stulte loquebatur, huic exhibitum 12 gr. stibium, quod paullo post atram bilem ex alvo eduxit (ut ego vidi, qui vocatus tanquam ad miraculum adfui, testari possum,) et ramenta tanquam carnis dissectæ in partes: totum excrementum tanquam sanguinem nigerrimum repræsentabat.

ch are apt to vomit. Rodericus a Fonseca the Spaniard, and late professor Padua in Italy, extols it to this disease (*Tom.* 2. *consul.* 85); so doth Lod. ercatus (*de inter morb. cur. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17), with many others. Jacobus ervinus, a French physician, on the other side, (*lib.* 2. *de venenis confut.*) plodes all this, and saith he took three grains only upon Matthiolus and me others commendation; but it almost killed him; whereupon he con-ıdes, [g] *antimony is rather a poyson than a medicine.* Th. Erastus con-rres with him in his opinion, and so doth Ælian Montaltus, *cap.* 30. *de melan.* ut what do I talk? 'tis the subject of whole books: I might cite a century of thors *pro* and *con.* I will conclude with [h] Zuinger, antimony is like Scander-gs sword, which is either good or bad, strong or weak, as the party is that escribes or useth it; *a worthy medicine, if it be rightly applied to a strong an, otherwise poyson.* For the preparing of it, look in Euonymi *thesaurus,* uercetan, Oswaldus Crollius, Basil. Chim. Basil. Valentius, &c.

Tobacco, divine, rare, superexcellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all eir panaceas, potable gold, and philosophers stones, a soveraign remedy to l diseases. A good vomit, I confesse, a vertuous herb, if it be well quali-d, opportunely taken, and medicinally used; but, as it is commonly used by most men, which take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, violent purger of goods, lands, health, hellish, divelish and damned tobacco, e ruine and overthrow of body and soul.

Subsect. II.—*Simples purging Melancholy downward.*

Polypodie and epithyme are, without all exceptions, gentle purgers of elancholy. Dioscorides will have them void flegm; but Brassivola, out of s experience, averreth that they purge this humor; they are used in decoc-n, infusion, &c. simple, mixt, &c.

Mirabolanes, all five kinds, are happily [i] prescribed against melancholy id quartan agues, Brassivola speaks out [j] *of a thousand* experiences; he ive them in pills, decoction, &c. look for peculiar receipts in him.

Stœchas, fumitory, dodder, herb Mercury, roots of capers, genista or oom, pennyroyall, and half boiled cabbage, I finde in this catalogue of irgers of black choler, origan, fetherfew, ammoniack [k] salt, salt-peter. But ese are very gentle, alypus, dragon root, centaury, ditany, colutea, which uchsius (*cap.* 168) and others take for sene, but most distinguish. Sene is in e middle of violent and gentle purgers downward, hot in the second degree, y in the first. Brassivola calls it [l] *a wonderfull herb against melancholy; scowres the blood, illightens the spirits, shakes off sorrow; a most profitable edicine,* as [m] Dodonæus terms it, invented by the Arabians, and not heard of efore. It is taken diverse wayes, in powder, infusion, but most commonly in e infusion, with ginger or some cordiall flowres added to correct it. Actua-is commends it sod in broath, with an old cock, or in whey, which is the mmon convayer of all such things as purge black choler; or steeped in wine, hich Heurnius accounts sufficient, without any farther correction.

Aloës by most is said to purge choler; but Aurelianus (*lib.* 2. *c.* 6. *de morb. iron.*) Arculanus (*cap.* 6. *in* 9. *Rhasis*), Julius Alexandrinus (*consil.* 185), oltz. Crato (*consil.* 189), prescribe it to this disease, as good for the sto-ack and to open the hæmrods, out of Mesue, Rhasis, Serapio, Avicenna. enardus, (*ep. lib.* 1. *epist.* 1) opposeth it: aloes [n] *doth not open the veines,* move the hæmrods; which Leonartus Fuchsius (*parodox. lib.* 1.) likewise

Antimonium venenum, non medicamentum. [h] Cratonis ep. sect. vel ad Monavium ep. [i] In utramque tem dignissimum medicamentum, si recte utentur, secus venenum. [l] Mœrores fugant; utilissime itur melancholicis et quaternariis. [j] Millies horum vires expertus sum. [k] Sal nitrum, sal ammonia-a, dracontii radix, dictamnum. [l] Calet ordine secundo, siccat primo; adversus omnia vitia atræ bilis et; sanguinem mundat, spiritus illustrat, mœrorem discutit herba mirifica. [m] Cap. 4. lib. 2. [n] Re-thores negant ora venarum resecare.

affirmes; but Brassivola and Dodonæus defend Mesue out of their experience; let [o] Valesius end the controversie.

Lapis Armenus and lazuli are much magnified by [p] Alexander (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 16), Avicenna, Aëtius, and Actuarius, if they be well washed, that the water be no more coloured, fiftie times some say. [q] *That good Alexander* (saith Guianerius) *put such confidence in this one medicine, that he thought all melancholy passions might be cured by it; and I, for my part, have oftentimes happily used it, and was never deceived in the operation of it.* The like may be said of lapis lazuli, though it be somewhat weaker then the other. Garcias ab Horto (*hist. lib.* 1. *cap.* 65) relates, that the [r] physicians of the Moores familiarly prescribe it to all melancholy passions; and Matthiolus (*ep. lib.* 3.) [s] brags of that happy successe which he still had in the administration of it. Nicholas Meripsa puts it amongst the best remedies (*sect.* 1. *cap.* 12 *in Antidotis*); [t] *and if this will not serve,* (saith Rhasis) *then there remaines nothing but Lapis Armenus, and hellebor it self.* Valescus and Jason Pratensis much commend pulvis hali, which is made of it. James Damascen. (2. *cap.* 12) Hercules de Saxoniâ, &c. speake well of it. Crato will not approve this; it, and both hellebors, he saith, are no better than poyson. Victor Trincavelius (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 14) found it, in his experience, [u] *to be very noysome, to trouble the stomack, and hurt their bodies that take it overmuch.*

Black hellebor, that most renowned plant, and famous purger of melancholy, which all antiquity so much used and admired, was first found out by Melanpodius a shepherd, (as Pliny records, *lib.* 25. *cap.* 5.) [v] who, seeing it to purge his goats when they raved, practised it upon Elige and Calene, king Prœtus daughters, that ruled in Arcadia, neer the fountain Clitorius, and restored them to their former health. In Hippocrates time, it was in only request, insomuch that he writ a book of it, a fragment of which remaines yet. Theophrastus, [w] Galen, Pliny, Cœlius Aurelianus, as ancient as Galen, (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 6) Aretæus (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 5) Oribasius (*lib.* 7. *collect.*) a famous Greek, Aëtius (*ser.* 3. *cap.* 112. *et* 113) P. Ægineta, Galens ape, (*lib.* 7. *cap.* 4) Actuarius, Trallianus (*lib.* 5. *cap.* 15), Cornelius Celsus only remaining of the old Latines (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 23), extoll and admire this excellent plant; and it was generally so much esteemed of the ancients for this disease amongst the rest, that they sent all such as were crased, or that doted, to the Anticyræ, or to Phocis in Achaia, to be purged, where this plant was in abundance to be had. In Straboes time it was an ordinary voyage: *Naviget Anticyras;* a common proverb among the Greeks and Latines, to bid a disard or a mad man go take hellebor; as, in Lucian, Menippus to Tantalus, *Tantale, desipis; helleboro epoto tibi opus est, eoque sane meraco:* thou art out of thy little wit, O Tantalus, and must needs drink hellebor, and that without mixture. Aristophanes (*in vespis*), drink hellebor, &c. and Harpax, in the [x] Comœdian, told Simo and Ballio, two doting fellows, that they had need to be purged with this plant. When that proud Menecrates ὁ Ζεὺς had writ an arrogant letter to Phi. of Macedon, he sent back no other answer but this, *Consulo tibi ut ad Anticyram te conferas,* noting thereby that he was crased, *atque helleboro indigere,* had much need of a good purge. Lilius Giraldus saith, that Hercules, after all his mad pranks upon his wife and children, was perfectly cured by a purge of hellebor, which an Anticyrian administered unto him. They that were sound commonly took it to quicken their wits,

[o] An aloë aperiat ora venarum. lib. 9. cont. 3. [p] Vapores abstergit a vitalibus partibus. [q] Tract. 15. c. 6. Bonus Alexander tantam lapide Armeno confidentiam habuit, ut omnes melancholicas passiones ab eo curari posse crederet; et ego inde sæpissime usus sum, et in ejus exhibitione nunquam fraudatus fui. [r] Maurorum medici hoc lapide plerumque purgant melancholiam, &c. [s] Quo ego sæpe feliciter usus sum, et magno cum auxilio. [t] Si non hoc, nihil restat nisi helleborus, et lapis Armenus. Consil. 184. Scoltzii. [u] Multa corpora vidi graviasime hinc agitata, et stomacho multum obfuisse. [v] Cum vidisset ab eo curari capras furentes, &c. [w] Lib. 6. simpl. med. [x] Pseudolo, act. 4. scen. ult. Helleboro hisce hominibus opus est.

as Ennius of old. [r] *Qui non nisi potus ad arma — prosilunt dicenda*, and as ir poets drink wine to improve their inventions: I find it so registered by ...ius. *lib.* 17. *cap.* 12. Carneades the academick, when he was to write gainst Zeno the stoick, purged himself with hellebor first; which [s] Petronius ...s upon Chrysippus. In such esteem it continued for many ages, till at ngth Mesue and some other Arabians began to reject and reprehend it; upon hose authority, for many following insters, it was much debased and quite ...t of request, held to be poyson, and no medicine; and is still oppugned ... this day by [t] Crato and some junior physicians. Their reasons are, because Aristotle (*l.* 1. *de plant. c.* 3. said, henbane and hellebor were poyson; nd Alexander Aphrodisiæus, in the preface of his Problems, gave out, that peaking of hellebor) [u] *Quailes fed on that which was poyson to men.* Galen (*l.* 6. *Epid. com.* 5. *Text* 35) confirms as much: [x] Constantine the emeror, in his *Geoponicks*, attributes no other vertue to it, then to kill mice and ...ts, flies and mouldwarps; and so Mizaldus. Nicander of old, Gervinus, Sckenius, and some other neotericks that have written of poysons, speak of hellebor ... a chief place. [y] Nicholas Leonicus hath a story of Solon, that, besieging I now not what city, steeped hellebor in a spring of water, which by pipes was onveyed into the middle of the town, and so either poysoned, or else made em so feeble and weak by purging, that they were not able to bear arms. otwithstanding all these cavils and objections, most of our late writers do much pprove of it—[z] Gariopontus, (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 13), Codronchus (*com. de helleb.*) alopius, *lib. de med. purg. simpl. cap.* 69. *et consil.* 15. Trincavelii, Montanus, 239. Frisemelica, *consil.* 14, Hercules de Saxonia, so that it be opportunely given. Jacobus de Dondis, *Agg. Amatus, Lusit. cent.* 66. Godef. Stenius, *cap.* 13. Hollerius, and all our herbalists subscribe. Fernelius (*meth. ed. lib.* 5. *cap.* 16) *confesseth it to be a* [a] *terrible purge, and hard to take, et well given to strong men, and such as have able bodies.* P. Forestus and apivaccius forbid it to be taken in substance, but allow it in decoction or insion, both which wayes P. Monavius approves above all others, *Epist.* 231. oltzii. Jacchinus (in 9 Rhasis), commends a receipt of his own preparing; enottus another of his chymically prepared, Euonymus another. Hildesheim *picil.* 2. *de mel.*) hath many examples how it should be used, with diversity of ceipts. Heurnius (*l.* 7. *prax. med. cap.* 14) *calls it an* [b] *innocent medicine, nsoever if it be well prepared.* The root of it is onely in use, which may be pt many yeers, and by some given in substance, as by Falopius and Brassivola nongst the rest, who [c] brags that he was the first that restored it again to his e, and he tels a story how he cured one Melatasta a mad man, that was ought to be possessed, in the duke of Ferraras court with one purge of ack hellebor in substance: the receipt is there to be seen; his excrements were e inke, [d] he perfectly healed at once: Vidus Vidius, a Dutch physician, will t admit of it in substance (to whom most subscribe), but, as before in the coction, infusion, or, which is all in all, in the extract, which he prefers bere the rest, and calls *suave medicamentum*, a sweet medicine, an easie, that ay be securely given to women, children, and weaklings. Baracellus (*horto rialì*) terms it *maximæ præstantiæ medicamentum*, a medicine of great orth and note. Quercetan (in his *Spagir. Phar.*) and many others, tell nders of the extract. Paracelsus, above all the rest, is the greatest admirer this plant; and especially the extract: he calls it *theriacum, terrestre balmum*, another treacle, a terrestriall bawme, *instar omnium, all in all, the*

Hor. [r] In Satyr. [s] Crato, consil. 16. l. 2. Etsi multi magni viri probent, in bonam partem accipi medici, non probem. [t] Vescuntur veratro coturnices, quod hominibus toxicum est. [u] Lib. 23. c. 7. 14. [x] De var. hist. [y] Corpus involuens redidit, et juvenile efficit. [z] Veteres non sine causâ usi t. Difficilis ea hellebori purgatio, et terroris plena, sed robustis datur tamen, &c. [a] Innocens medientum, modo rite paretur. [b] Absit jactantia, ego primus præbere cepi, &c. [c] Barhart. Ex unâ evacuatione furor cessavit, et quietus lucidus fuit. [d] Tale exemplum apud Sc [e] Scoltzium, 91. *P. Monavius* [f] *stolidum curâs* [g] *o tribus aut quatuor*

[j] *sole and last refuge to cure this malady, the gout, epilepsie, leprosie, &c.* If this will not help, no physick in the world can, but minerall: it is the upshot of all. Matthiolus laughs at those that except against it; and, though some abhor it out of the authority of Mesue, and dare not adventure to prescribe it, [k] *yet I* (saith he) *have happily used it six hundred times without offence, and communicated it to divers worthy physicians who have given me great thanks for it.* Look for receipts, dose, preparation, and other cautions concerning this simple, in him, Brassivola, Baracellus, Codronchus, and the rest.

Subsect. III.—*Compound Purgers.*

Compound medicines, which purge melancholy, are either taken in the superior or inferior parts: superior at mouth or nostrils. At the mouth, swallowed or not swallowed: if swallowed, liquid or solid: liquid, as compound wine of hellebor, scilla or sea-onyon, sena, *vinum scilliticum helleboratum*, which, [l] Quercetan so much applauds *for melancholy and madness, either inwardly taken, or outwardly applied to the head, with little pieces of linen dipped warm in it. Oxymel scilliticum, syrupus helleboratus major* and *minor* in Quercetan, and *syrupus genistæ* for hypochondriacall melancholy in the same author, compound syrrup of succory, of fumitory, polypodie, &c. Heurnius his purging cockbroth. Some except against these syrrups, as appears by [m] Udalrinus Leonorus his epistle to Matthiolus, as most pernicious, and that out of Hippocrates, *cocta movere, et medicari, non cruda*, no raw things to be used in physick; but this in the following epistle is exploded and soundly confuted by Matthiolus; many julips, potions, receipts, are composed of these, as you shall finde in Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2. Heurnius, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 14, George Sckenkius, *Ital. med. prax. &c.*

Solid purgers are confections, electuaries, pills by themselves, or compound with others, as *de lapide lazulo, Armeno, pil. Indæ, of fumitory, &c. confection of Hamech*, which though most approve, Solenander (*sec.* 5. *consil.* 22) bitterly inveighs against; so doth Randoletius (*Pharmacop. officina*), Fernelius and others; *diasena, diapolypodium, diacassia, diacatholicon, Weckers electuarie de epithymo, Ptolomyes hierologadium*, of which diverse receipts are daily made.

Aëtius (22. 33) commends *hieram ruffi.* Trincavellius (*consil.* 12. *lib.* 1) approves of *hiera; non, inquit, invenio melius medicamentum;* I finde no better medicine, he saith. Heurnius adds *pil. aggregat.* pills *de epithymo. pil. Ind.* Mesue describes in the Florentine Antidotary, *pillulæ sine quibus esse nolo, pillulæ cochiæ cum helleboro, pil. Arabicæ, fœtida, de quinque generibus mirabolanorum, &c.* More proper to melancholy, not excluding, in the mean time, turbith, manna, rubarb, agarick, elescophe, &c. which are not so proper to this humour. For, as Montaltus holds (*cap.* 30), and Montanus, *cholera etiam purganda, quod atræ sit pabulum*, choler is to be purged because it feeds the others: and some are of opinion, as Erasistratus and Asclepiades maintained of old, against whom Galen disputes, [n] *that no physick doth purge one humour alone, but all alike or what is next.* Most therefore, in their receipts and magistrals which are coined here, make a mixture of severall simples and compounds, to purge all humors in generall as well as this. Some rather use potions then pills to purge this humour, because that, as Heurnius and Crato observe, *hic succus à sicco remedio ægre trahitur*, this juyce is not so easily drawn by dry remedies; and (as Montanus

[j] Ultimum refugium, extremum medicamentum, quod cætera omnia claudit: quæcunque cæteris laxativis pelli non possunt ad hunc pertinent; si non huic, nulli cedunt. [k] Testari possum me sexcentis hominibus helleborum nigrum exhibuisse, incommodo, &c. [l] Pharmacop. Optimum est ad maniam et omnes melancholicos affectus, tum intra assumtum, tum extra, secus capiti cum linteolis in eo madefactis tepide admotum. [m] Epist. Math. lib. 3. Tales syrupi nocentissimi, et omnibus modis extirpandi. [n] Purgantia censebant medicamenta non unum humorem attrahere, sed quæcunque attigerint, in suam naturam convertere.

adviseth, 25. *cons.*) *all* [o] *drying medicines are to be repelled, as aloë, hiera,* and all pills whatsoever, because the disease is dry of it self.

I might here insert many receipts of prescribed potions, boles, &c. the doses of these; but that they are common in every good physician, and that I am loth to incurre the censure of Forestus (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 6. *de urinis*) [p] *against those that divulge and publish medicines in their mother tongue,* and lest I should give occasion thereby to some ignorant reader to practise on himself, without the consent of a good physician.

Such as are not swallowed, but only kept in the mouth, are gargarisms used commonly after a purge, when the body is soluble and loose. Or apophlegmatisms, masticatories, to be held and chewed in the mouth, which are gentle, as hysope, origan, pennyroyal, thyme, mustard; strong, as pellitory, pepper, ginger, &c.

Such as are taken into the nostrils, *errhina*, are liquid or drie, juyce of pimpernell, onyons, &c. castor, pepper, white hellebor, &c. To these you may adde odoraments, perfumes, and suffumigations, &c.

Taken into the inferior parts are clysters strong or weak, suppositories of Castilian soap, hony boiled to a consistence; or stronger of scamony, hellebor, &c.

These are all used, and prescribed to this malady upon severall occasions, as shall be shewed in his place.

MEMB. III.

Chirurgicall Remedies.

In letting of blood three main circumstances are to be considered, [q] *who, how much, when:* that is, that it be done to such a one as may endure it, or to whom it may belong, that he be of a competent age, not too young, nor too old, overweak, fat, or lean, sore laboured, but to such as have need, are full of bad blood, noxious humors, and may be eased by it.

The quantity depends upon the parties habit of body, as he is strong or weak, full or empty, may spare more or less.

In the morning is the fittest time: some doubt whether it be best fasting, or full, whether the moons motion or aspect of planets be to be observed, some affirm, some deny, some grant in acute, but not in chronick diseases, whether before or after physick. 'Tis Heurnius aphorism *à phlebotomiâ auspicandam esse curationem, non à pharmaciâ;* you must begin with blood letting, and not physick; some except this peculiar malady. But what do I? Horatius Augenius, a physician of Padua, hath lately writ 17 books of this subject, Jobertus, &c.

Particular kindes of blood-letting in use [r] are three: first is that opening a vein in the arm with a sharp knife, or in the head, knees, or any other parts, as shall be thought fit.

Cupping-glasses with or without scarification; *ocyssime compescunt*, saith Fernelius, they work presently, and are applied to severall parts, to divert humours, aches, winde, &c.

Horse-leeches are much used in melancholy, applied especially to the hæmrods. Horatius Augenius (*lib.* 10. *cap.* 10), Platerus (*de mentis alineat. cap.* 3), Altomarus, Piso, and many others, prefer them before any evacuations in this kinde.

[s] Cauteries or searing with hot irons, combustions, borings, launcings; which because they are terrible, *dropax* and *sinapismus* are invented, by

[o] Relegantur omnes exsiccantes medicinæ, ut aloë, hiera, pilulæ quæcunque. [p] Contra eos qui linguâ vulgari et vernaculâ remedia et medicamenta præscribunt, et quibusvis communia faciunt. [q] Quis, quantum, quando. [r] Fernelius, lib. 2. cap. 19. [s] Renodeus, lib. 5. cap. 21. de [illegible] Mercurialis, lib. 3. de *composit. med.* cap. 24. Heurnius, lib. 1. prax. med. Wecker, &c.

plaisters to raise blisters, and eating medicines of pitch, mustard-seed, and the like.

Issues still to be kept open, made as the former, and applyed in and to severall parts, have their use here on diverse occasions, as shall be shewed.

SECT. V. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Particular cure of the three severall kindes; of head Melancholy.*

THE generall cures thus briefly examined and discussed, it remains now to apply these medicines to the three particular species or kindes, that, according to the severall parts affected, each man may tell in some sort how to help or ease himself. I will treat of head melancholy first, in which, as in all other good cures, we must begin with diet, as a matter of most moment, able oftentimes of itself to work this effect. I have read, saith Laurentius, *cap.* 8. *de Melanch.* that, in old diseases which have gotten the upper hand or an habit, the manner of living is to more purpose, then whatsoever can be drawn out of the most pretious boxes of the apothecaries. This diet, as I have said, is not only in choice of meat and drink, but of all those other non-naturall things. Let air be clear and moist most part: diet moistning, of good juyce, easie of digestion, and not windie: drink clear, and well brewed, not too strong nor too small. *Make a melancholy man fat*, as [t] Rhasis saith; *and thou hast finished the cure.* Exercise not too remisse, nor too violent. Sleep a little more then ordinary. [u] Excrements daily to be avoided by art or nature; and (which Fernelius enjoins his patient, *consil.* 44), above the rest, to avoid all passions and perturbations of the mind. Let him not be alone or idle (in any kind of melancholy), but still accompanied with such friends and familiars he most affects, neatly dressed, washed, and combed, according to his ability at least, in clean sweet linen, spruce, handsome, decent, and good apparell; for nothing sooner dejects a man than want, ——ualor, and nastiness, foul, or old cloaths out of fashion. Concerning the ·dicinal part, he that will satisfie himself at large (in this precedent of diet), ł see all at once the whole cure and manner of it in every distinct species, him consult with Gordonius, Valescus, with Prosper Calenus, *lib. de atrâ* ² *ad Card. Cæsium*, Laurentius, *cap.* 8. *et* 9. *de mela.* Ælian Montaltus, *mel. cap.* 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. Donat. ab Altomari, *cap.* 7. *artis med.* ·cules de Saxoniâ, *in Panth. cap.* 7. *et Tract. ejus peculiar. de melan. Bolzetam edit. Venetiis* 1620. *cap.* 17. 18. 19. Savanarola, *Rub.* 82. *ct.* 8. *cap.* 1. Sckenkius, *in prax. curat. Ital. med.* Heurnius, *cap.* 12. ·orb. Victorius Faventinus, *pract. Magn. et Empir.* Hildesheim, *Spi-* 2. *de man. et mel.* Fel. Plater, Stokerus, Bruel. P. Bayerus, Forestus, hsius, Capivaccius, Rondoletius, Jason Pratensis, Sallust Salvian. *de re* . *lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. Jacchinus, *in* 9. *Rhasis*, Lod. Mercatus, *de inter. morb. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. Alexan. Messaria, *pract. med. lib.* 1. *cap.* 21. *de mel.* . Hollerius, &c. that have culled out of those old Greeks, Arabians. es, whatsoever is observable or fit to be used. Or let him read those ·els and consultations of Hugo Senensis, *consil.* 13. *et* 14. Reneru ·ander, *cons.* 6. *sec.* 1. *et consil.* 3. *sec.* 3. Crato, *consil.* 16. *lib.* 1 anus, 20. 22. 229. *and his following counsels*, Lælius a Fonte Eugu *consult.* 44. 69. 77. 125. 129. 142. Fernelius, *consil.* 44. 45. 46 æsar Claudinus, Mercurialis, Frambesarius, Sennertus, &c. wherein h· finde particular receipts, the whole method, preparatives, purgers ters, averters, cordials, in great variety and abundance: out of whic[h]

[t] lib. 1. c. 9. Festines ad impinguationem; et cum impinguantur, removetur malum. [u] Ben· ntris.

because every man cannot attend to read or peruse them, I will collect, for the benefit of the reader, some few more notable medicines.

Subsect. II.—*Blood-letting.*

Phlebotomy is promiscuously used before and after physick, commonly before, and upon occasion is often reiterated, if there be any need at least of it. For Galen and many others make a doubt of bleeding at all in this kind of head melancholy. If the malady (saith Piso, *cap.* 23. *et* Altomarus, *cap.* 7. Fuchsius, *cap.* 33) [v] *shall proceed primarily from the mis-affected brain, the patient in such case shall not need at all to bleed, except the blood otherwise abound, the veins be full, inflamed blood, and the party ready to run mad.* In immateriall melancholy, which especially comes from a cold distemperature of spirits, Hercules de Saxoniâ (*cap.* 17) will not admit of phlebotomy; Laurentius (*cap.* 9) approves it out of the authority of the Arabians: but, as Mesue, Rhasis, Alexander appoint, [w] *especially in the head,* to open the veins of the fore-head, nose, and ears, is good. They commonly set cupping-glasses on the parties shoulders, having first scarified the place; they apply horse-leeches on the head; and in all melancholy diseases, whether essential or accidental, they cause the hæmrods to be opened, having the eleventh aphorism of the 6 book of Hippocrates for their ground and warrant, which saith, *that, in melancholy and mad men, the varicous tumour or hæmorrhoides appearing doth heal the same.* Valescus prescribes blood-letting in all three kindes, whom Sallust Salvian follows, [x] *if the blood abound, which is discerned by the fulness of the veins, his precedent diet, the parties laughter, age, &c. begin with the median or middle vein of the arm: if the blood be ruddy and clear, stop it; but if black in the spring time, or a good season, or thick, let it run, according to the parties strength: and some eight or twelve dayes after, open the head vein, and the veins in the forehead, or provoke it out of the nostrils, or with cupping-glasses, &c.* Trallianus allows of this, [y] *if there have been any suppression or stopping of blood at nose, or hemrods, or womens moneths, then to open a vein in the head or about the ankles.* Yet he doth hardly approve of this course, if melancholy be sited in the head alone, or in any other dotage, [z] *except it primarily proceed from blood, or that the malady be increased by it; for blood-letting refrigerates and dries up, except the body be very full of blood, and a kind of ruddiness in the face.* Therefore I conclude with Aretæus, [a] *before you let blood, deliberate of it,* and well consider all circumstances belonging to it.

Subsect. III.—*Preparatives and Purgers.*

After blood-letting, we must proceed to other medicines; first prepare, and then purge, *Augeæ stabulum purgare,* make the body clean, before we hope to do any good. Gualter Bruel would have a practitioner begin first with a clyster of his, which he prescribes before blood-letting: the common sort, as Mercurialis, Montaltus, *cap.* 30. *&c.* proceed from lenitives to preparatives, and so to purgers. Lenitives are well known, *electuarium lenitivum, diaphœnicum, diacatholicon, &c.* Preparatives are usually syrrups of borage, buglosse, apples, fumitory, thyme and epithyme, with double as much of the same decoction or distilled water, or of the waters of buglosse, bawm, hops,

[v] Si ex primario cerebri affectu melancholici evaserint, sanguinis detractione non indigent, nisi ob alias causas sanguis mittatur, si multus in vasis, &c. frustra enim fatigatur corpus, &c. [w] Competit hæc phlebotomia frontis. [x] Si sanguis abundet, quod scitur ex venarum repletione, victûs ratione præcedente, risu ægri, ætate, et aliis, tundatur mediana; et si sanguis apparet clarus et ruber, supprimatur; aut si vere, si niger aut crassus, permittatur fluere pro viribus ægri; dein post 8 vel 12 diem aperiatur cephalica partis magis affectæ, et vena frontis, aut sanguis provocetur setis per nares, &c. [y] Si ex illius consuetæ suæ suppressæ sunt menses, &c. talo secare oportet, aut venâ frontis, si sanguis peccet in cerebro. [z] Nisi ortum ducat a sanguine, ne morbus inde augeatur: phlebotomia refrigerat et exsiccat, si corpus sit valde sanguineum, rubicundum. [a] Cum sanguinem detrahere oportet, deliberatione indiget. Aretæus, lib. 7. c. 5.

endive, scolopendry, fumitory, &c. or these sod in whey, which must be reiterated and used for many dayes together. Purges come last, *which must not be used at all, if the malady may be otherwise helped,* because they weaken nature, and dry so much; and, in giving of them, [b] *we must begin with the gentlest first.* Some forbid all hot medicines, as Alexander, and Salvianus, &c. *ne insaniores inde fiant,* hot medicines increase the disease [c] *by drying too much.* Purge downward rather then upward; use potions rather then pills; and, when you begin physick, persevere and continue in a course; for, as [d] one observes, *movere et non educere in omnibus malum est;* to stir up the humour (as one purge commonly doth) and not to prosecute, doth more harm then good. They must continue in a course of physick, yet not so that they tire and oppress nature, *dandu quies naturæ;* they must now and then remit, and let nature have some rest. The most gentle purges to begin with, are [e] *sena, cassia, epithyme, myrabolanes, catholicon:* if these prevail not, we may proceed to stronger, as the confection of Hamech, *pil. Indæ, fumitoriæ, de Assaieret,* of *lapis Armenus and lazuli, diasena.* Or, if pills be too dry; [f] some prescribe both hellebors in the last place, amongst the rest Aretæus, [g] *because this disease will resist a gentle medicine.* Laurentius and Hercules de Saxoniâ would have antimony tried last, *if the* [h] *party be strong, and it warily given.* [i] Trincavelius prefers *hierologodium,* to whom Francis Alexander (in his *Apol. rad.* 5) subscribes: a very good medicine they account it: but Crato, in a counsell of his for the duke of Bavarias chancellour, wholly rejects it.

I finde a vast chaos of medicines, a confusion of receipts and magistrals, amongst writers, appropriated to this disease: some of the chiefest I will rehearse. [j] To be sea-sick, first, is very good at seasonall times. *Helleborismus Matthioli,* with which he vaunts and boasts he did so many severall cures. [k] *I never gave it,* (saith he) *but, after once or twice, by the help of God they were happily cured.* The manner of making it he sets down at large in his third book of Epist. to George Hankshius a physician. Gualter Bruel and Heurnius make mention of it with great approbation; so doth Skenkius, in his memorable cures, and experimentall medicines, *cen.* 6. *observ.* 37. That famous helleborisme of Montanus, which he so often repeats in his consultations and counsels (as 28, *pro melan. sacerdote, et consil.* 148. *pro hypocondriaco*), *and cracks* [l] *to be a most soveraign remedy for all melancholy persons, which he hath often given without offence, and found by long experience and observation to be such.*

Quercetan prefers a syrrup of hellebor in his *Spagirica Pharmac.* and hellebors extract (*cap.* 5), of his invention likewise, (*a most safe medicine,* [m] *and not unfit to be given children*) before all remedies whatsoever.

Paracelsus, in his book of black hellebor, admits this medicine, but as it is prepared by him. [n] *It is most certain* (saith he) *that the vertue of this herb is great and admirable in effect, and little differing from balm it self; and he that knowes well how to make use of it, hath more art then all their books contain, or all the doctors in Germany can shew.*

Ælianus Montaltus, in his exquisite work *de morb. capitis, cap.* 31. *de mel.* sets a speciall receipt of hellebor of his own, which, in his practice, [o] *he fortunately used: because it is but short I will set it down.*

[b] A lenioribus auspicandum. (Valescus, Piso, Bruel) rariusque medicamentis purgantibus utendum, ni sit opus. [c] Quia corpus exsiccant, morbum augent. [d] Guianerius, Tract. 15. c. 6. [e] Piso. [f] Rhasis, sæpe valent ex helleboro. [g] Lib. 7. Exiguis medicamentis morbus non obsequitur. [h] Modo caute detur, et robustis. [i] Consil 10. l. 1. [j] Plin. l. 31. c. 6. Navigationes ob vomitionem prosunt plurimis morbis capitis, et omnibus ob quæ helleborum bibitur. Idem Dioscorides, lib. 5. cap. 13. Avicenna, tertia imprimis. [k] Nunquam dedimus, quin ex unâ aut alterâ assumptione, Deo juvante, fuerint ad salutem restituti. [l] Lib. 2. Inter composita purgantia melancholiam. [m] Longo experimento a se observatum esse, melancholicos sine offensâ egregie curandos valere. Idem, responsione ad Aubertum, veratrum nigrum, alias timidum et periculosum, vini spiritu etiam et oleo commodum sic usui redditur, ut etiam pueris tuto administrari possit. [n] Certum est, hujus herbæ virtutem maximam et mirabilem esse, parumque distare a balsamo. Et qui nôrit eo recte uti, plus habet artis quam tota scribentium cohors aut omnes doctores in Germania. [o] Quo feliciter usus sum.

[illegible] Bij.
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] this purpose you shall finde in him. Valescus [illegible] after him: the confection of which [illegible] hath lately revived. [p] *Put case* (saith he) [illegible] *God this alone shall do it; and 'tis a* [illegible] be kept in secret.

[illegible] j.
[illegible]
[illegible] sanguis septimanis assumat.

[illegible] or borage wine, before men[illegible] a wonderful wine, and Stockerus [illegible] receipts: Rubeus his [r] compound [illegible] Garians *pulvis hyacinthi*, with [illegible] that he had cured many me[illegible] puts amongst his observ[illegible] [t] he calls God so solemnly [illegible] many excellent cures, and which Scken[illegible] Daniel Sennertus (*lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 12) so [illegible] for melancholy, which (*cent.* 2. *cap.* [illegible] what not? and his absolute [illegible] to be taken three in a [illegible] [u] [illegible] *Emper.*) doubles this number [illegible] three and three in like sort, (which [illegible] *med.* [illegible] with some of the same powder, [illegible] remedy for all melancholy and mad-men.

℞ [illegible] croci grana tria; cinnamomi [illegible]

All these [illegible] chymical preparatives of *aqua Cheli*[illegible] extracts, distillations, oyles, *aurum* [illegible] *edit.* 1600, is all in [illegible] [w] *And* [illegible] *with a wicked and un*[illegible] *yet, in more grievous* [illegible] they are compelled to seek the [illegible] of minerals, though they use them *rashly, unprofitably, slackly, and to* [illegible] *purpose.* Rhenanus, a Dutch chymist, in his book *de Sole e puteo emer*[illegible]*nte*, takes upon him to apologize for Anthony: and sets light by all that [illegible]eak against him. But what do I meddle with this great controversie, which [illegible] the subject of many volumes? let Paracelsus, Quercetan, Crollius, and the [illegible]ethren of the *rosy crosse* defend themselves as they may. Crato, Erastus, [illegible]d the Galenists, oppugn Paracelsus: he brags on the other side, he did more [illegible]nous cures by this means, then all the Galenists in Europe, and calls himself [illegible]monarch; Galen, Hippocrates, infants, illiterate, &c. As Thessalus of old [illegible]led against those ancient Asclepiadean writers, [x] *he condemns others, insults,* [illegible]*umphs, overcomes all antiquity* (saith Galen, *as if he spake to him*), *de*[illegible]*tres himself a conquerour, and crowns his own doings.* [y] *One drop of their*

[illegible] posito quod aliæ medicinæ non valeant, ista tunc, Dei misericordiâ, valebit; et est medicina coro[illegible]a, quæ secretissime tenentur. [q] Lib. de artif. med. [r] Sect. 3. Optimum remedium aqua com[illegible]ita Savanarolæ. [s] Sckenkius, observ. 31. [t] Donatus ab Altomari, cap. 7. Testor Deum, me [illegible]ltos melancholicos hujus solius syrupi usu curâsse, factâ prius purgatione. [u] Centum ova et unum: [illegible]libet mane sumant tria ova sorbilia, cum sequenti pulvere supra ovum aspersa, et contineant quousque [illegible]msumpserint centum et unum; maniacis et melancholicis utilissimum remedium. [v] Quercetan, cap. [illegible] Phar. Oswaldus Crollius. [w] Cap. 1. Licet tota Galenistarum schola mineralia non sine impio et [illegible]ato fastu a suâ practicâ detestentur; tamen in gravioribus morbis, omni vegetabilium derelicto subsidio, [illegible]mineralia confugiunt, licet ea temere, ignaviter, et inutiliter usurpent. Ad finem libri. [x] Veteres [illegible]edictis incessit, vincit, et contra omnem antiquitatem coronatur, ipseque a se victor declaratur. Gal. [illegible]1. meth. c. 2. [y] Codronchus, de sale absynthii.

chymical preparatives shall do more good then all their fulsome potions. Erastus, and the rest of the Galenists, vilifie them on the other side, as hereticks in physick: [z] *Paracelsus did that in physick, which Luther in divinity.* [a] *A drunken rogue he was, a base fellow, a magician; he had the divel for his master, divels his familiar companions; and what he did, was done by the help of the divel.* Thus they contend and raile, and, every mart, write books *pro* and *con; et adhuc sub judice lis est.* Let them agree as they will:—I proceed.

SUBSECT. 4.—*Averters.*

AVERTERS and purgers must go together, as tending all to the same purpose, to divert this rebellious humour, and turn it another way. In this range, clysters and suppositories challenge a chief place, to draw this humour from the brain and heart, to the more ignoble parts. Some would have them still used a few dayes between, and those to be made with the boyled seeds of anise, fennel, and bastard saffron, hops, thyme, epithyme, mallows, fumitory, bugloss, polypody, sene, diasene, hamech, cassia, diacatholicon, hierologodium, oyl of violets, sweet almonds, &c. For, without question, a clyster, opportunely used, cannot choose, in this as most other maladies, but to do very much good: *clysteres nutriunt;* sometimes clysters nourish, as they may be prepared, as I was informed not long since by a learned lecture of our natural philosophy [b]reader, which he handled by way of discourse, out of some other noted physicians. Such things as provoke urine most commend, but not sweat. Trincavelius (*consil.* 16. *cap.* 1) in head melancholy, forbids it. P. Byarus and others approve frictions of the outward parts, and to bath them with warm water. Instead of ordinary frictions, Cardan prescribes rubbing with nettles till they blister the skin, which likewise [c]Basardus Visontinus so much magnifies.

Sneezing, masticatories, and nasals, are generally received. Montaltus, c. 34. Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2. *fol.* 136 and 138, give several receipts of all three. Hercules de Saxoniâ relates of an emperick in Venice [d]*that had a strong water to purge by the mouth and nostrils, which he still used in head melancholy, and would sell for no gold.*

To open mouths and hemroids is very good physick, [e]*if they have been formerly stopped.* Faventinus would have them opened with horse-leeches: so would Hercul. de Sax. Julius Alexandrinus (*consil.* 185 *Scoltzii*) thinks aloes fitter: [f]most approve horse-leeches in this case, to be applied to the forehead, [g]nostrils and other places.

Montaltus (*cap.* 29, out of Alexander and others) prescribes [h]*cupping-glasses, and issues in the left thigh.* Aretæus, (*lib.* 7. *cap.* 5), [i]Paulus Regolinus, Sylvius, will have them without scarification, *applied to the shoulders and back, thighs and feet.* [j]Montaltus (*cap.* 34) *bids open an issue in the arm, or hinder part of the head.* [k]Piso injoyns ligatures, frictions, suppositories, and cupping-glasses, still without scarification, and the rest.

Cauteries and hot irons are to be used [l]*in the suture of the crown, and the seared or ulcerated place suffered to run a good while.* 'Tis not amiss to *bore the skull with an instrument, to let out the fuliginous vapours.* Sallust Salvianus, (*de re medic. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1) [m]*because this humour hardly yeelds to*

[z] Idem Paracelsus in medicinâ, quod Lutherus in theologiâ. [a] Disput. in eundem, parte 1. Magus ebrius, illiteratus, dæmonem præceptorem habuit, dæmones familiares, &c. [b] Master D. Lapworth. [c] Ant. Philos. cap. de melan. Frictio vertice, &c. [d] Aqua fortissima, purgans os, nares, quam non vult auro vendere. [e] Mercurialis, consil. 6. et 30. Hemorrhoïdum et mensium provocatio juvat, modo ex eorum suppressione ortum habuerit. [f] Laurentius, Bruel, &c. [g] P. Bayerus, l. 2. cap. 13. narribus, &c. [h] Cucurbitulæ siccæ, et fontanellæ crure sinistro. [i] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. Vapores a cerebro trahendi sunt frictionibus universi, cucurbitulis siccis humeris ac dorso affixis, circa pedes et crura. [j] Fontanellam aperi juxta occipitium, aut brachium. [k] Balani, ligaturæ, frictiones, &c. [l] Cauterium fiat suturâ coronali; diu fluere permittantur loca ulcerosa. Trepano etiam cranii densitas imminui poterit, ut vaporibus fuliginosis exitus pateat. [m] Quoniam difficultur cedit aliis medicamentis, ideo fiat in vertice cauterium, aut crure sinistro infra genu.

other physick, would have the head cauterized, or the left leg below the knee [n] *and the head bored in two or three places*, for that it much availes to the exhalation of the vapours. [o]*I saw* (saith he) *a melancholy man at Rome, that by no remedies could be healed: but when by chance he was wounded in the head, and the skul broken, he was excellently cured.* Another, to the admiration of the beholders, [p]*breaking his head with a fall from on high, was instantly recovered of his dotage.* Gordonius (*cap.* 13. *part.* 2) would have these cauteries tryed last, when no other physick will serve; [q]*the head to be shaved and bored to let out fumes, which without doubt will do much good. I saw a melancholy man wounded in the head with a sword, his brain pan broken: so long as the wound was open, he was well; but, when his wound was healed, his dotage returned again.* But Alexander Messaria, a professor in Padua, (*lib.* 1. *pract. med. cap.* 21. *de melanchol.*) will allow no cauteries at all: 'tis too stiffe an humor, and too thick, as he holds, to be so evaporated.

Guianerius (*c.* 8. *Tract.* 15) cured a noble man in Savoy, by boring alone, [r]*leaving the hole open a month together*; by means of which, after a two yeers melancholy and madness, he was delivered. All approve of this remedy in the suture of the crown; but Arculanus would have the cautery to be made with gold. In many other parts, these cauteries are prescribed for melancholy men, as in the thighs, (Mercurialis, *consil.* 86.) arms, legs (*Idem, consil.* 6. *et* 19. *et* 25; Montanus, 86; Rodericus a Fonseca, *Tom.* 2. *consult.* 84. *pro hypochond. coxâ dextrâ, &c.*) but most in the head, *if other physick will do no good.*

Subsect. V.—*Alteratives and Cordials, corroborating, resolving the Reliques, and mending the Temperament.*

Because this humor is so maligne of itself, and so hard to be removed, the reliques are to be cleansed, by alteratives, cordials, and such means. The temper is to be altered and amended, with such things as fortifie and strengthen the heart and brain [s]*which are commonly both affected in this malady, and do mutually misaffect one another*; which are still to be given every other day, or some few dayes inserted after a purge, or like physick, as occasion serves, and are of such force, that many times they help alone, and, as [t]Arnoldus holds in his Aphorismes, are to be *preferred before all other medicines, in what kind soever.*

Amongst this number of cordials and alteratives I do not find a more present remedy, then a cup of wine or strong drink, if it be soberly and opportunely used. It makes a man bold, hardy, couragious, [u]*whetteth the wit*, if moderately taken, and, as [v]Plutarch saith, (*Symp.* 7. *quæst.* 12) *it makes those which are otherwise dull, to exhale and evaporate like frankincense*, or quickens (Xenophon adds) [w]as oyl doth fire. [x]*A famous cordial Matthiolus in Dioscoridem calls it, an excellent nutriment, to refresh the body: it makes a good colour, a flourishing age, helps concoction, fortifies the stomack, takes away obstructions, provokes urine, drives out excrements, procures sleep, cleers the blood, expels wind and cold poysons, attenuates, concocts, dissipates all thick vapours, and fuliginous humours*: and, that

[n] Fiant duo aut tria cauteria, cum ossis perforatione. [o] Vidi Romæ melancholicum, qui, adhibitis multis remediis, sanari non poterat; sed, cum cranium gladio fractum esset, optime sanatus est. [p] Et alterum vidi melancholicum, qui, ex alto cadens, non sine astantium admiratione, liberatus est. [q] Radatur caput, et fiat cauterium in capite; proculdubio ista faciunt ad fumorum exhalationem; vidi melancholicum fortunâ gladio vulneratum, et cranium fractum: quamdiu vulnus apertum, curatus optimè; at, cum vulnus sanatum, reversa est mania. [r] Usque ad duram matrem trepanari feci, et per mensem aperta stetit. [s] Cordis ratio semper habenda, quod cerebro compatitur, et sese invicem officiunt. [t] Aphor. 38. Medicina theriacalis præ cæteris eligenda. [u] Galen. de temp. lib. 3. c. 3. Moderate vinum sumptum, acuit ingenium. [v] Tardos aliter et tristes thuris in modum exhalare facit. [w] Hilaritatem, ut oleum flammam, excitat. [x] Viribus retinendis cardiacum eximium, nutriendo corpori alimentum optimum, ætatem floridam facit, calorem innatum fovet, concoctionem juvat, stomachum roborat, excrementis viam parat, urinam movet, somnum concilat; venena, frigidos flatus dissipat, crassos humores attenuat, coquit, discutit, &c.

which is all in all to my purpose, it takes away feare and sorrow. [y] *Curas edaces dissipat Evius. It glads the heart of man*, Psal. 104. 15; *hilaritatis dulce seminarium.* Helenas boule, the sole nectar of the gods, or that true nepenthes in [z] Homer, which puts away care and grief (as Oribasius, 5. *Collect. cap.* 7. and some others will) was naught else but a cup of good wine. *It makes the mind of the king and of the fatherless both one, of the bond and freeman, poor and rich; it turneth all his thoughts to joy and mirth, makes him remember no sorrow or debt, but enricheth his heart, and makes him speak by talents*, Esdras 3. 19, 20, 21. It gives life it self, spirits, wit, &c. For which cause the ancients called Bacchus, *Liber pater, a liberando*, and [a] sacrificed to Bacchus and Pallas still upon an altar. [b] *Wine, measuraòly drunk, and in time, brings gladness and chearfulness of mind; it cheareth God and men*, Judges 9. 12: *lætitiæ Bacchus dator:* it makes an old wife dance, and such as are in misery, to forget evil, and be [c] merry.

Bacchus et afflictis requiem mortalibus affert,	Wine makes a troubled soul to rest,
Crura licet duro compede vincta forent.	Though feet with fetters be oppress.

Demetrius (in Plutarch), when he fell into Seleucus hands, and was prisoner in Syria, [d] *spent his time with dice and drink, that he might so ease his discontented mind, and avoid those continual cogitations of his present condition wherewith he was tormented.* Therefore Solomon (Prov. 31. 6) *bids wine be given to him that is ready to* [e] *perish, and to him that hath grief of heart: let him drink, that he forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more. Solicitis animis onus eximit:* it easeth a burdened soule; nothing speedier, nothing better; which the prophet Zachary perceived, when he said, *that, in the time of Messias, they of Ephraim should be glad, and their heart should rejoyce, as through wine:* all which makes me very well approve of that pretty description of a feast in [f] Bartholomæus Anglicus, when grace was said, their hands washed, and the guests sufficiently exhilarated, with good discourse, sweet musick, dainty fare, *exhilarationis gratiâ, pocula iterum atque iterum offeruntur;* as a corollary to conclude the feast, and continue their mirth, a grace cup came in to cheer their hearts, and they drank healths to one another again and again: which (as J. Fredericus Matenesius, *Crit. Christ. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5, 6, *et* 7) was an old custome in all ages in every commonwealth, so as they be not enforced *bibere per violentiam*, but, as in that royal feast of [g] Assuerus which lasted 180 dayes, *without compulsion they drank by order in golden vessels*, when and what they would themselves. This of drink is a most easie and parable remedy, a common, a cheap, still ready against fear, sorrow, and such troublesome thoughts, that molest the mind; as brimstone with fire, the spirits on a sudden are enlightened by it. *No better physick*, (saith [h] Rhasis) *for a melancholy man: and he that can keep company, and carouse, needs no other medicines;* 'tis enough. His country man Avicenna (3. *doct.* 2. *cap.* 8) proceeds farther yet, and will have him that is troubled in minde, or melancholy, not to drink only, but now and then to be drunk: excellent good physick it is for this and many other diseases. Magninus (*Reg. san. part.* 3. *c.* 31) will have them to be so once a month at least, and gives his reasons for it, [i] *because it scoures the body by vomit, urine, sweat, of all manner of superfluities, and keeps it clean.* Of the same mind is Seneca the philosopher, in his book *de tranquil. lib.* 1. *c.* 15: *nonnunquam, ut in aliis morbis, ad ebrietatem usque veniendum: curas deprimit; tristitiæ medetur;* it is good sometimes

[y] Hor. lib. 2. Od. 11. [z] Odyss. A. [a] Pausanias. [b] Syracides, 31. 28. [c] Legitur et prisci Catonis Sæpe mero caluisse virtus. [d] In pocula et aleam se præcipitavit, et iis *fere* tempus traduxit, ut ægram crapulâ mentem levaret, et conditionis præsentis cogitationes, quibus agitabatur sobrius, vitaret. [e] So did the Athenians of old, as Suidas relates; and so do the Germans at this day. [f] Lib. 6. cap. 23, et 24. de rerum proprietat. [g] Hester. 18. [h] Tract. 1. cont. 1. 1. Non est res laudabilior eo, vel cura melior; qui melancholicus, utatur societate hominum et biberiâ; et qui potest sustinere usum vini, non indiget aliâ medicinâ, quod eo sunt omnia ad unum necessaria hujus passionis. [i] Tum quod sequatur inde sudor, vomitio, urina, a quibus superfluitates a corpore removentur, et remanet corpus mundum.

to be drunk: it helps sorrow, depresseth cares; and so concludes his tract with a cup of wine: *habes, serene charissime, quæ ad tranquillitatem animæ pertinet.* But these are epicureall tenents, tending to looseness of life, luxury, and atheism, maintained alone by some heathens, dissolute Arabians, prophane Christians, and are exploded by Rabbi Moses (*Tract.* 4), Guliel. Placentius (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 8), Valescus de Taranta, and most accurately ventilated by Jo. Sylvaticus, a late writer and physician of Millan, *med. cont. cap.* 14, where you shall finde this tenent copiously confuted.

Howsoever you say, if this be true, that wine and strong drink have such vertue to expell fear and sorrow, and to exhilarate the minde, ever hereafter lets drink and be merry.

——[i] Prome reconditum, Lyde strenua, Cæcubum—— Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos, Et Chia vina aut Lesbia.	Come, lusty Lyda, fill's a cup of sack; And, sirrah drawer, bigger pots we lack, And *Scio* wines that have so good a smack.

I say with him in [k]A. Gellius, *let us maintain the vigor of our souls with a moderate cup of wine,* [l]Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis, *and drink to refresh our minde: if there be any cold sorrow in it, or torpid bashfulness, lets wash it all away——Nunc vino pellite curas:* so saith [m]Horace; so saith Anacreon,

Μέθυοντα γὰρ μὲ κεῖσθαι
Πολὺ κρεῖσσον, ἢ θανόντα.

Let's drive down care with a cup of wine: and so say I too (though I drink none my self); for all this may be done, so that it be modestly, soberly, opportunely used; so that *they be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess;* which our [n]Apostle forewarns; for, as Chrysostome well comments on that place, *ad lætitiam datum est vinum, non ad ebrietatem;* 'tis for mirth wine, but not for madness: and will you know where, when, and how that is to be understood? *Vis discere ubi bonum sit vinum? Audi quid dicat Scriptura;* hear the Scriptures; *give wine to them that are in sorrow,* or, as Paul bid Timothy drink wine for his stomack sake, for concoction, health, or some such honest occasion. Otherwise, as [o]Pliny telleth us, if singular moderation be not had, *nothing so pernicious; 'tis meer vinegar, blandus dæmon, poyson it self.* But hear a more fearfull doom, Habac. 2. 15. and 16. *Wo be to him that makes his neighbour drunk! shamefull spewing shall be upon his glory.* Let not good fellows triumph therefore, (saith Matthiolus) that I have so much commended wine; if it be immoderately taken, *in stead of making glad, it confounds both body and soul; it makes a giddy head, a sorrowfull heart.* And 'twas well said of the poet of old, [p]*Wine causeth mirth and grief;* [q]nothing so good for some, so bad for others, especially, as [r]one observes, *qui a caussâ calidâ male habent,* that are hot or inflamed. And so of spices, they alone, as I have shewed, cause head-melancholy themselves; they must not use wine as an [s]ordinary drink, or in their diet. But to determine with Laurentius (*c.* 8. *de melan.*), wine is bad for mad men, and such as are troubled with heat in their inner parts or brains; but to melancholy, which is cold (as most is), wine, soberly used, may be very good.

I may say the same of the decoction of china roots, sassafrass, sarsaparilla, guaiacum. China, saith Manardus, makes a good colour in the face, takes away melancholy, and all infirmities proceeding from cold; even so sarsaparilla provokes sweat mightily; guaiacum dries. Claudinus (*consult.* 89. *et* 46) Montanus, Capivaccius (*consult.* 188. *Scoltzii*), make frequent and good use of guaiacum, and china, [t]*so that the liver be not incensed,* good

[i] Hor. [k] Lib. 15. 2. noct. Att. Vigorem animi moderato vini usu tueamur: et calefacto simul, refotoque animo, si quid in eo vel frigidæ tristitiæ, vel torpentis verecundiæ fuerit, diluamus. [l] Hor. l. 1. Od. 27. [m] Od. 7. lib. 1. 31. Nam præstat ebrium me, quam mortuum, jacere. [n] Ephes. 5. 18. ser. 19. in cap. 5. [o] Lib. 14. 5. Nihil perniciosius viribus, si modus abest; venenum. [p] Theocritus, Idyl. 13. Vino dari lætitiam et dolorem. [q] Renodeus. [r] Mercurialis, consil. 25. Vinum frigidis optimum, et pessimum ferinâ melancholiâ. [s] Fernelius (consil. 44 et 45) vinum prohibet assiduum, et aromata. [t] Modo jecur non incendatur.

for such as are cold, as most melancholy men are, but by no means to be mentioned in hot.

The Turks have a drink called *coffa* (for they use no wine) so named of a berry as black as soot, and as bitter, (like that black drink which was in use amongst the Lacedæmonians, and perhaps the same) which they sip still of, and sup as warm as they can suffer; they spend much time in those coffa-houses, which are some what like our ale-houses or taverns; and there they sit chatting and drinking to drive away the time, and to be merry together, because they finde by experience that kinde of drink so used helpeth digestion, and procureth alacrity. Some of them take opium to [t]his purpose.

Borage, bawme, saffron, gold, I have spoken of; Montaltus (*c.* 23) commends scorzonera roots condite. Garcias ab Horto (*plant. hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 25) makes mention of an hearb called *datura*, [u] *which, if it be eaten, for* 24 *hours following, takes away all sense of grief, makes them incline to laughter and mirth:* and another called bauge, like in effect to opium, *which puts them for a time into a kinde of extasis*, and makes them gently to laugh. One of the Roman emperours had a seed, which he did ordinarily eat to exhilarate himself. [v] Christophorus Ayrerus prefers bezoars stone, and the confection of alkermes, before other cordials, and amber in some cases. [w] *Alkermes comforts the inner parts;* and bezoar stone hath an especiall vertue against all melancholy affections; [x] *it refresheth the heart, and corroborates the whole body.* [y] Amber provokes urine, helps the body, breaks winde, &c. After a purge, 3 or 4 gr. of bezoar stone, and 3 gr. of amber greece, drunk, or taken in borage or bugloss water, in which gold hot hath been quenched, will do much good; and the purge shall diminish less (the heart so refreshed) of the strength and substance of the body.

℞. confect. Alkermes ℥j ss lap. Bezoar, ℈j.
Succini albi subtiliss. pulverisat. ℈ jj. cum
Syrup. de cort. citri. Fiat electuarium.

To bezoars stone most subscribe, Manardus, and [z] many others; *it takes away sadness, and makes him merry that useth it: I have seen some, that have been much diseased with faintness, swouning, and melancholy, that, taking the weight of three grains of this stone in the water of oxtongue, have been cured.* Garcias ab Horto brags how many desperate cures he hath done upon melancholy men by this alone, when all physicians had forsaken them. But alkermes many except against; in some cases it may help, if it be good, and of the best, such as that of Montpelier in France, which [a] Jodocus Sincerus (*Itinerario Galliæ*) so much magnifies, and would have no traveller omit to see it made. But it is not so generall a medicine as the other. Fernelius (*consil.* 49) suspects alkermes, by reason of its heat; [b] *nothing* (saith he) *sooner exasperates this disease, then the use of hot working meats and medicines, and would have them for that cause warily taken.* I conclude therefore of this and all other medicines, as Thucydides of the plague at Athens: no remedy could be prescribed for it; *nam quod uni profuit, hoc aliis erat exitio:* there is no catholike medicine to be had: that which helps one, is pernicious to another.

Diamargaritum frigidum, diambra, diaboraginatum, electuarium lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, de gemmis, dianthos, diamoschum dulce et amarum,

[t] Per 24 horas sensum doloris omnem tollit, et ridere facit. [u] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. [v] Alkermes omnia vitalia viscera mire confortat. [w] Contra omnes melancholicos affectus confert; ac certum est ipsius usu omnes cordis et corporis vires mirum in modum reflci. [x] Succinum vero albissimum confortat ventriculum, flatum discutit, urinam movet, &c. [y] Garcias ab Horto, aromatum, lib. 1. cap. 15. Adversus omnes morbos melancholicos conducit, et venenum. Ego (inquit) utor in morbis melancholicis, &c. et deploratos hujus usu ad pristinam sanitatem restitui. See more in Bauhinus book de lap. bezoar. c. 45. [z] Edit. 1617. Monspelii electuarium fit pretiosissimum alkerm. &c. [a] Nihil morbum hunc æque exasperat, ac alimentorum vel medicamentorum calidiorum usus. Alkermes ideo suspectus; et quod semel moneam, caute adhibenda calida medicamenta.

electuarium conciliatoris, syrup, cidoniorum de pomis, conserves of roses, violets, fumitory, enula campana, satyrion, limmons, orange-pills, condite, &c. have their good use.

[d] ℞ Diamoschi dulcis et amari, ana ℥ ij.
Diabuglossati, diaboraginati, sacchari violacei,
ana, ℥j. Misce cum syrupo de pomis.

Every physician is full of such receipts: one only I will add for the rareness of it, which I finde recorded by many learned authors, as an approved medicine against dotage, head-melancholy, and such diseases of the brain. Take a [e] rams head, that never meddled with an ewe, cut off at a blow, and the horns only taken away; boyl it well, skin and wooll together: after it is well sod, take out the brains, and put these spices to it, cinnamome, ginger, nutmeg, mace, cloves, *ana* ℥ ss; mingle the powder of these spices with it, and heat them in a platter upon a chafing-dish of coals together, stirring them well, that they do not burn; take heed it be not overmuch dried, or dryer then a calves brains ready to be eaten. Keep it so prepared; and for three daies give it the patient fasting, so that he fast two hours after it. It may be eaten with bread, in an egg or broath, or any way, so it be taken. For 14 daies let him use this diet, drink no wine, &c. Gesner (*hist. animal. lib.* 1. *pag.* 917), Caricterius (*pract. cap.* 13. *in Nich. de metri pag.* 129. *Iatro:* Witenberg. *edit. Tubing. pag.* 62) mention this medicine, though with some variation: he that list may try it, [f] and many such.

Odoraments to smell to, of rose water, violet flowers, bawme, rosecakes, vineger, &c. do much recreate the brains and spirits: according to Solomon, (*Prov.* 27. 9), *they rejoyce the heart,* and, as some say, nourish: 'tis a question commonly controverted in our schools, *an odores nutriant:* let Ficinus (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 18) decide it: [g] many arguments he brings to prove it; as of Democritus, that lived by the smel of bread alone, applyed to his nostrils, for some few daies, when for old age he could eat no meat. Ferrerius (*lib.* 2. *meth.*) speaks of an excellent confection of his making, of wine, saffron, &c. which he prescribed to dull, weak, feeble, and dying men to smell to, and by it to have done very much good; *æque fere profuisse olfactu et potu,* as if he had given them drink. Our noble and learned lord [h] Verulam, in his book *de vitâ et morte,* commends therefore all such cold smels as any way serve to refrigerate the spirits. Montanus (*consil.* 31) prescribes a form, which he would have his melancholy patient never to have out of his hands. If you will have them spagirically prepared, look in Oswaldus Crollius, *basil. Chymica.*

Irrigations of the head shaven, [i] *of the flowers of water lillies, lettuce, violets, camomile, wild mallows, wethers head, &c.* must be used many mornings together. Montan. (*consil.* 31) would have the head so washed once a week. Lælius a fonte Eugubinus, *consult.* 44, for an Italian Count troubled with head melancholy, repeats many medicines which he tried, [j] *but two alone which did the cure; use of whey made of goats milk, with the extract of hellebor, and irrigations of the head with water-lillies, lettuce, violets, camomile, &c. upon the suture of the crown.* Piso commends a rams lungs applied hot to the fore part of the head, [k] or a young lamb divided in the back, exenterated, &c. All acknowledge the chief cure

[d] Sckenkius, l. 1. Observat. de Maniâ; ad mentis alienationem, et desipientiam vitio cerebri obortam, in manuscripto codice Germanico, tale medicamentum reperi. [e] Caput arietis nondum experti venerem, uno ictu amputatum, cornibus tantum demotis, integrum cum lanâ et pelle bene elixabis; tum aperto cerebrum eximes, et addens aromata, &c. [f] Cinis testudinis ustus, et vino potus, melancholiam curat; et rasura cornu rhinocerotis, &c. Sckenkius. [g] Instat in matrice, quod sursum et deorsum ad odoris sensum præcipitatur. [h] Vicount S. Albans. [i] Ex decocto florum nymphææ, lactucæ, violarum, chamomilæ, althææ, capitis vervecum, &c. [j] Inter auxilia multa adhibita, duo visa sunt remedium adferre, usus seri caprini cum extracto hellebori, et irrigatio ex lacte nymphææ, violarum, &c. suturæ coronali adhibita; his remediis sanitatem pristinam adeptus est. [k] Confert et pulmo arietis, calidus agnus per dorsum divisus, exenteratus, admotus sincipiti.

to consist in moistening throughout. Some, saith Laurentius, use powders and caps to the brain: but, forasmuch as such aromatical things are hot and dry, they must be sparingly administred.

Unto the heart we may do well to apply bags, epithemes, oyntments, of which Laurentius (*c.* 9. *de melan.*) gives examples. Bruel prescribes an epitheme for the heart, of bugloss, borage, water-lilly, violet waters, sweet wine, bawme leaves, nutmegs, cloves, &c.

For the belly, make a fomentation of oyle, [l] in which *the seeds of cummin, rue, carrets, dill, have been boyled.*

Baths are of wonderfull great force in this malady, much admired by [m] Galen, [n] Aëtius, Rhasis, *&c.* of sweet water, in which is boyled the leaves of mallows, roses, violets, water-lillies, wethers head, flowers of bugloss, camomile, melilot, &c. Guianer. (*cap.* 8. *tract.* 15) would have them used twice a day, and when they come forth of the baths, their back bones to be anointed with oyle of almonds, violets, nymphæa, fresh capon grease, &c.

Amulets and things to be born about, I finde prescribed, taxed by some, approved by Renodeus, Platerus, (*amuleta, inquit, non negligenda*) and others; look for them in Mizaldus, Porta, Albertus, &c. Bassardus Visontinus (*ant. philos.*) commends hypericon, or S[t]. Johns wort gathered on a [o] Friday, in the hour of Jupiter, *when it comes to his effectual operation* (*that is, about the full moon in July*): *so gathered and born, or hung about the neck, it mightily helps this affection, and drives away all phantasticall spirits.* [p] Philes, a Greek author that flourished in the time of Michael Palæologus, writes that a sheep or kids skin, whom a wolf worried, [q] *Hœdus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi*, ought not at all to be worn about man, *because it causeth palpitation of the heart*, not for any fear, but a secret vertue which amulets have. A ring, made of the hoofe of an asses right fore-foot, carried about, &c. I say with [r] Renodeus, they are not altogether to be rejected. Piony doth cure epilepsie; pretious stones most diseases; [s] a wolfs dung, born with one, helps the colick; [t] a spider an ague, &c. Being in the country in the vacation time not many years since, at Lindly in Lecestershire, my fathers house, I first observed this amulet of a spider in a nut-shell lapped in silke, &c. so applied for an ague by [u] my mother: whom although I knew to have excellent skill in chirurgery, sore eyes, aches, &c. and such experimentall medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks, that were otherwise destitute of help—yet, among all other experiments, this, methought, was most absurd and ridiculous: I could see no warrant for it. *Quid araneæ cum febre?* For what antipathy? till at length, rambling amongst authors (as often I do), I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, repeated by Aldrovandus, *cap. de Araneâ, lib. de insectis.* I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience. Such medicines are to be exploded, that consist of words, characters, spells, and charms, which can do no good at all, but out of a strong conceipt, as Pomponatius proves: or the divels policy, who is the first founder and teacher of them.

Subsect. VI.—*Correctors of Accidents to procure Sleep. Against fearfull Dreams, Redness, &c*

When you have used all good means and helps of alteratives, averters, diminutives, yet there will be still certain accidents to be corrected and amended,

[l] Semina cumini, rutæ, dauci, anethi cocta. [m] Lib. 3. de locis affect. [n] Tetrab. 2. ser. 1. cap. 10. [o] Cap. de mel. collecto die Vener. horâ Jovis, cum ad energiam venit. c. 1. ad pleniluniun Julii; inde gesta et collo appensa hunc affectum apprime juvat, et fanaticos spiritus expellit. [p] L. de proprietat. animal. Ovis a lupo correptæ pellem non esse pro indumento corporis usurpandam; cordis enim palpitationem excitat, &c. [q] Mart. [r] Phar. lib. 1. cap. 12. [s] Aëtius, cap. 31. Tet. 3. ser. 4. [t] Dioscorides, Ulysses Aldrovandus de araneâ. [u] Mistress Dorothy Burton: she died, 1629.

waking, fearfull dreams, flushing in the face to some, to some ruddi-
is, &c.

Waking, by reason of their continuall cares, fears, sorrows, dry brains, is a
nptome that much crucifies melancholy men, and must therefore be speedily
ped, and sleep by all means procured; which sometimes is a sufficient
medy of it self without any other physick. Sckenkius, in his observations,
h an example of a woman that was so cured. The means to procure it are
ard and outward. Inwardly taken, are simples, or compounds; simples, as
ppy, nymphæa, violets, roses, lettuce, mandrake, henbane, nightshade or
anum, saffron, hempseed, nutmegs, willows, with their seeds, juyce, decoc-
ns, distilled waters, &c. Compounds are syrrups, or opiats, syrrup of poppy
lets, verbasco, which are commonly taken with distilled waters.

R. diacodii ℥ j; diascordii ℥ *ss*; aquæ lactucæ ℥ iij *ss*.
Mixta fiat potio, ad horam somni sumenda.

quies Nicholai, *Philonium Romanum*, *triphera magna*, *pilulæ de cyno-
ssa*, *dioscordium*, *laudanum Paracelsi*, *opium*, are in use, &c. Country
s commonly make a posset of hempseed, which Fuchsius in his herball so
ch discommends: yet I have seen the good effect; and it may be used
ere better medicines are not to be had.

Laudanum Paracelsi is prescribed in two or three grains, with a dram of
scordium, which Oswald. Crollius commends. Opium it self is most part
d outwardly, to smell to in a ball, though commonly so taken by the Turks
the same quantity [w] for a cordiall, and at Goa in the Indies; the dose 40 or
grains.

Rulandus calls *requiem Nicholai*, *ultimatum refugium*, the last refuge; but
this and the rest, look for peculiar receipts in Victorius Faventinus, *cap. de
renesi*; Heurnius, *cap. de Manid*; Hildesheim, *spicil.* 4. *de somno et vigil*,
. Outwardly used, as oyl of nutmegs by extraction or expression, with
ewater, to annoint the temples, oyls of poppy, nenuphar, mandrake, purs-
n, violets, all to the same purpose.

Montan. (*consil.* 24 & 25) much commends odoraments of opium, vineger,
d rosewater. Laurentius (*cap.* 9) prescribes pomanders and nodules; see
e receipts in him; Codronchus, [x] wormwood to smell to.

Unguentum Alabastritum, *populeum*, are used to anoint the temples, nos-
ls; or, if they be too weak, they mix saffron and opium. Take a grain or
o of opium, and dissolve it with three or four drops of rosewater in a spoon,
d after mingle with it as much *unguentum populeum* as a nut: use it as
fore: or else take half a dram of opium, *unguentum populeum*, oyl of ne-
phar, rose-water, rose-vineger, of each half an ounce, with as much virgin
ax as a nut; annoint your temples with some of it, *ad horam somni*.

Sacks of wormwood, [y] mandrake, [z] henbane, roses, made like pillows and
id under the patients head, are mentioned by [a] Cardan and Mizaldus: *to
noint the soles of the feet with the fat of a dormouse, the teeth with eare-
ax of a dog, swines gall, hares ears*: charms, &c.

Frontlets are well known to every good wife, rose-water and vineger, with
little womans milk, and nutmegs grated upon a rose-cake, applied to both
mples.

For an emplaster, take of castorium a dram and half, of opium half a
ruple, mixt both together with a little water of life: make two small plasters
ereof, and apply them to the temples.

Rulandus (*cent.* 1. *cur.* 17. *cent.* 3. *cur.* 94) prescribes epithemes and lotions

[w] Solo somno curata est citra medici auxilium, fol. 154. [x] Bellonius, observat. l. 3. c. 15. Lassitudi-
m et labores animi tollunt; inde Garcias ab Horto, lib. 1. cap. 4. simp. med. [z] Absynthium somnos
licit olfactu. [y] Read Lemnius, lib. her. bib. cap. 2. of mandrake. [z] Hyoscyamus sub cervicali
ridis. [a] Plantam pedis inungere pinguedine gliris dicunt efficacissimum, et quod vix credi potest;
ntes inunctos ex sordibus aurium canis somnum profundum conciliare, &c. Cardan de rerum varietat.

of the head, with the decoction of flowers of nymphæa, violet-leaves, mandrake roots, henbane, white poppy. Herc. de Saxoniâ, *stillicidia*, or droppings, &c. Lotions of the feet do much avail of the said herbs: by these means, saith Laurentius, I think you may procure sleep to the most melancholy man in the world. Some use horse-leeches behinde the ears, and apply opium to the place.

[b] Bayerus (*lib.* 2. *c.* 13) sets down some remedies against fearfull dreams, and such as walk and talk in their sleep. Baptista Porta. (*Mag. nat. l.* 2. *c* 6.) to procure pleasant dreams and quiet rest, would have you take hippoglossa, or the hearb horsetongue, bawme, to use them or their distilled waters after supper, &c. Such men must not eat beans, pease, garlick, onions, cabbidge, venison, hare, use black wines; or any meat hard of digestion at supper, or lye on their backs, &c.

Rusticus pudor, bashfulness, flushing in the face, high colour, ruddiness, are common grievances, which much torture many melancholy men: when they meet a man, or come in [c] company of their betters, strangers, after a meal, or if they drink a cup of wine or strong drink, they are as red and flect, and sweat, as if they had been at a maiors feast, *præsertim si metus accesserit*, it exceeds; [d] they think every man observes, takes notice of it: and fear alone will effect it, suspicion without any other cause. Sckenkius (*observ. med. lib.* 1) speaks of a waiting gentlewoman in the duke of Savoyes court, that was so much offended with it, that she kneeled down to him, and offered Biarus, a physician, all that she had, to be cured of it. And 'tis most true, that [e] Antony Lodovicus saith in his book *de Pudore, Bashfulness either hurts or helps;* such men I am sure it hurts. If it proceed from suspicion or fear, [f] Felix Plater prescribes no other remedy but to reject and contemn it: *id populus curat scilicet!* as a [g] worthy physician in our town said to a friend of mine in like case, complaining without a cause, suppose one look red, what matter is it? make light of it; who observes it?

If it trouble at or after meals, (as [h] Jobertus observes, *med. pract. l.* 1. *c.* 7) after a little exercise or stirring, (for many are then hot and red in the face, or if they do nothing at all, especially women (he would have them let blood in both arms, first one, then another, two or three daies between, if blood abound, to use frictions of the other parts, feet especially, and washing of them, because of that consent which is betwixt the head and the feet; [i] and withall to refrigerate the face, by washing it often with rose, violet, nenuphar, lettuce, lovage waters, and the like: but the best of all is that *lac virginale*, or strained liquor of litargy. It is diversly prepared; by Jobertus thus; ℞ *lithar. argent. unc: j. cerussæ candidissimæ* ʒjjj. *caphuræ* ϑjj. *Dissolvantur aquarum solani, lactucæ, et nenupharis, ana, unc.* jjj. *aceti vini albi. unc.* jj. *Aliquot horas resideat; deinde transmittatur per philt. Aqua servetur in vase vitreo, ac eâ bis terve facies quotodie irroretur.* [j] Quercetan (*spagir. phar. cap.* 6.) commends the water of frogs spawn for ruddiness in the face. [k] Crato (*consil.* 283 *Scoltzii*) would fain have them use, all summer, the condite flowers of succory, strawberry water, roses (cupping-glasses are good for the time, *consil.* 285. *et* 286) and to defecate impure blood with the infusion of sene, savory, bawme water. [l] Hollerius knew one cured alone with the use of succory boyled, and drunk for five months, every morning in the summer.

[m] It is good overnight to annoint the face with hares blood, and in the

[b] Veni mecum lib. [c] Aut si quid incautius exciderit, aut, &c. [d] Nam, quâ parte pavor, simul est pudor additus illi. Statius. [e] Olysipponensis medicus; pudor aut juvat aut lædit. [f] De mentis alienat. [g] M. Doctor Ashworth. [h] Facies nonnullis maxime calet rubetque si se paululum exercuerint: nonnullis quiescentibus idem accidit, feminis præsertim; caussa quidquid fervidum aut halituosum sanguinem facit. [i] Interim faciei prospiciendum, ut ipsa refrigeretur; utrumque præstabit frequens potio ex aquâ rosarum, violarum, nenupharis, &c. [j] Ad faciei ruborem aqua spermatis ranarum. [k] Recte utantur in æstate floribus cichorii saccharo conditis, vel saccharo rosaceo, &c. [l] Solo usu decocti cichorii. [m] Utile imprimis noctu faciem illinire sanguine leporino, et mane aquâ fragorum, vel aquâ floribus verbasci cum succo limonum distillato abluere.

morning to wash it with strawberry and cowslip water, the juyce of distil'd lemmons, juyce of cowcumbers, or to use the seeds of melons, or kernels of peaches beaten small, or the roots of aron, and mixt with wheat bran to bake it in an oven, and to crumble it in strawbury water, [n] or to put fresh cheese curds to a red face.

If it trouble them at meal times that flushing, as oft it doth, with sweating or the like, they must avoid all violent passions and actions, as laughing, &c. strong drink, and drink very little,—[o] one draught, saith Crato, and that about the midst of their meal; avoid at all times indurate salt, and especially spice and windy meat.

[p] Crato prescribes the condite fruit of wild rose, to a nobleman his patient, to be taken before dinner or supper, to the quantity of a chesnut. It is made of sugar, as that of quinces. The decoction of the roots of sowthistle before meat, by the same author, is much approved. To eat of a baked apple some advise, or of a preserved quince, comminseed prepared with meat instead of salt, to keep down fumes: not to study or to be intentive after meals.

R. Nuclorum persic. seminis melonum, ana, unc. ℈ ss.
aqua fragorum l. jj. Misce: utatur mane.

[q] To apply cupping glasses to the shoulders is very good. For the other kinde of ruddiness which is settled in the face with pimples, &c. because it pertains not to my subject, I will not meddle with it. I refer you to Cratos Counsels, Arnoldus (*lib.* 1. *breviar. cap.* 39. 1), Rulande, Peter Forestus *de Fuco, lib.* 31. *observ.* 2) to Platerus, Mercurialis, Ulmus, Randoletius, Heurnius, Menadous, and others, that have written largely of it.

Those other grievances and symptomes of headach, palpitation of heart, *vertigo, deliquium, &c.* which trouble many melancholy men, because they are copiously handled apart in every physician, I do voluntarily omit.

MEMB. II.

Cure of Melancholy over all the Body.

Where the melancholy blood possesseth the whole body with the brain, [r] it is best to begin with blood-letting. The Greeks prescribe the [s] *median* or middle vein to be opened, and so much blood to be taken away, as the patient may well spare; and the cut that is made must be wide enough. The Arabians hold it fittest to be taken from that arm, on which side there is more pain and heaviness in the head: if black blood issue forth, bleed on: if it be clear and good, let it be instantly suppressed, [t] *because the malice of melancholy is much corrected by the goodness of the blood.* If the parties strength will not admit much evacuation in this kinde at once, it must be assayed again and again: if it may not be conveniently taken from the arm, it must be taken from the knees and ancles, especially to such men or women whose hæmrods or months have been stopped. [u] If the malady continue, it is not amiss to evacuate in a part in the fore-head, and to virgins in the ancles, which are melancholy for love-matters; so to widows that are much grieved and troubled with sorrow and cares: for bad blood flows in the heart, and so crucifies the minde. The hæmrods are to be opened with an instrument or horse-leeches, &c. See more in Montaltus, *cap.* 29. [x] Sckenkius hath an example of one that was cured by an accidentall wound in his thigh: much bleeding freed him from melancholy.

[n] Utile rubenti faciei caseum recentem imponere. [o] Consil. 21. lib. Unico vini haustu sit contentus. [p] Idem, consil. 283. Scoltzii. Laudatur conditus rosæ caninæ fructus ante prandium et cœnam ad magnitudinem castaneæ. Decoctum radicum sonchi, si ante cibum sumatur, valet plurimum. [q] Cucurbit, ad scapulas appositæ. [r] Piso. [s] Mediana præ cæteris. [t] Succi melancholici malitia a sanguinis bonitate corrigitur. [u] Perseverante malo, ex quâcunque partis sanguis detrahi debet. [x] Observat. fol. 154 Curatus ex vulnere in crure ob cruorem amissum.

Diet, diminutives, alteratives, cordials, correctors, as before, intermixt as occasion serves; [w] *all their study must be to make a melancholy man fat; and then the cure is ended. Diuretica*, or medicines to procure urine, are prescribed by some in this kinde, hot and cold: hot, where the heat of the liver doth not forbid; cold, where the heat of the liver is very great. [x] Amongst hot are parsely roots, lovage, fennel, &c. cold, melonseeds, &c. with whey of goats milk, which is the common conveigher.

To purge and purify the blood, use sowthistle, succory, sena, endive, carduus benedictus, dandelion, hop, maidenhair, fumatory, bugloss, borage, &c. with their juyce, decoctions, distilled waters, syrrups, &c.

Oswaldus Crollius (*basil. Chym.*) much admires salt of corals in this case; and Aëtius (*tetrabib. ser. 2. cap.* 114) hieram Archigenis, which is an excellent medicine to purify the blood: *for all melancholy affections, falling sickness, none to be compared to it.*

MEMB. III.

Subsect I.—*Cure of Hypochondriacall Melancholy.*

In this cure, as in the rest, is especially required the rectification of those six non-naturall things above all, as good diet, which Montanus (*consil.* 27) enjoyns a French nobleman, [y] *to have an especiall care of it, without which all other remedies are in vain.* Blood-letting is not to be used, except the patients body be very full of blood, and that it be derived from the liver and spleen to the stomack and his vessels, then, [z] to draw it back, to cut the inner vein of either arm, some say the *salvatella;* and, if the malady be continuate, [a] to open a vein in the forehead.

Preparatives and alteratives may be used as before, saving that there must be respect had as well to the liver, spleen, stomach, hypochondries, as to the heart and brain. To comfort the [b] stomack, and inner parts against winde and obstructions, by Aretæus, Galen, Aëtius, Aurelianus, &c. and many later writers, are still prescribed the decoctions of wormwood, centaury, pennyroyall, betony sod in whey, and daily drunk: many have been cured by this medicine alone.

Prosper Alpinus, and some others, as much magnifie the water of Nilus against this malady, an especiall good remedy for windie melancholy. For which reason, belike, Ptolomæus Philadelphus, when he married his daughter Berenice to the King of Assyria, (as *Celsus, lib.* 2. records) *magnis impensis Nili aquam afferri jussit*, to his great charge caused the water of Nilus to be carried with her, and gave command, that, during her life, she should use no other drink. I finde those that commend use of apples, in splenetick and this kinde of melancholy, (lambswool some call it) which, howsoever approved, must certainly be corrected of cold rawness and winde.

Codronchus (in his book *de sale absin.*) magnifies the oyl and salt of wormwood above all other remedies, [c] *which works better and speedier then any simple whatsoever, and much to be preferred before all those fulsome decoctions and infusions, which must offend by reason of their quantity. This alone, in a small measure taken, expels winde, and that most forcibly, moves urine, cleanseth the stomack of all gross humours, crudities, helps appetite,*

[w] Studium sit omne ut melancholicus impinguetur: ex quo enim pingues et carnosi, illico sani sunt. [x] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. Inter calida radix petroselini, apii, fœniculi; inter frigida emulsio seminis melonum cum sero caprino, quod est commune vehiculum. [y] Hoc unum præmoneo, domine, ut sis diligens circa victum; sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibentur. [z] Laurentius cap. 15. Evulsionis gratiâ, venam internam alterius brachii secamus. [a] Si pertinax morbus, venam fronte secabis Bruell. [b] Ego maximam curam stomacho delegabo. Octa. Horatianus, lib. 2. c. 5. [c] Citius et efficacius suas vires exercet, quam solent decocta ac diluta in quantitate multâ, et magnâ cum assumentium molestiâ, desumpta. Flatus hic sal efficaciter dissipat, urinam movet, humores crassos abstergit, stomachum egregie confortat, cruditatem, nauseam, appetentiam mirum in modum renovat, &c.

&c. Arnoldus hath a wormwood wine which he would have used, which every Pharmacopœia speaks of.

Diminutives and purgers may [d] be taken as before, of hiera, manna, cassia, which Montanus (*consil.* 230. for an Italian abbot) in this kind prefers before all other simples: [e] *and these must be often used, still abstaining from those which are more violent, lest they do exasperate the stomack, &c. and the mischief by that means be increased;* though, in some physicians, I finde very strong purgers, hellebor it self, prescribed in this affection. If it long continue, vomits may be taken after meat, or otherwise gently procured with warm water, oxymel, &c. now and then. Fuchsius (*cap.* 33) prescribes hellebor; but still take heed in this malady, which I have often warned, of hot medicines, [f] *because* (as Salvianus adds) *drought follows heat, which increaseth the disease:* and yet Baptista Sylvaticus (*controv.* 32) forbids cold medicines, [g] *because they increase obstructions, and other bad symptomes.* But this varies as the parties do; and 'tis not easie to determine which to use. [h] *The stomach most part in this infirmity is cold, the liver hot; scarce therefore* (which Montanus insinuates, *consil.* 229, for the Earl of Monfort) *can you help the one, and not hurt the other:* much discretion must be used; take no physick at all, he concludes, without great need. Lælius Eugubinus, *consil.* 77 for an hypochondriacall German prince, used many medicines; *but it was after signified to him in* [i] *letters, that the decoction of china and sassafras, and salt of sassafras, wrought him an incredible good.* In his 108. *consult.* he used as happily the same remedies. This, to a third, might have been poison, by overheating his liver and blood.

For the other parts, look for remedies in Savanarola, Gordonius, Massaria, Mercatus, Johnson, &c. One for the spleen, amongst many others, I will not omit, cited by Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2. prescribed by Mat. Flaccus, and out of the authority of Benevenius. Antony Benevenius, in an hypochondriacall passion, [j] *cured an exceeding great swelling of the spleen, with capers alone, a meat befitting that infirmity, and frequent use of the water of a smiths forge; by this physick he helped a sick man, whom all other physicians had forsaken, that for seven yeers had been splenetick.* And of such force is this water, [k] *that such creatures as drink of it, have commonly little or no spleen.* See more excellent medicines for the spleen in him, and [l] Lod. Mercatus, who is a great magnifier of this medicine. This *chalybs præparatus*, or steel-drink, is much likewise commended to this disease by Daniel Sennertus (*l.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 12), and admired by J. Cæsar Claudinus (*Respons.* 29): he cals steel the proper [m] *alexipharmacum* of this malady, and much magnifies it: look for receipts in them. Averters must be used to the liver and spleen, and to scoure the mesaraick veins; and they are either to open or provoke urine. You can open no place better then the hemrods, *which if by horse-leeches they be made to flow,* [n] *there may be again such an excellent remedy*, as Plater holds. Salust. Salvian will admit no other phlebotomy but this: and, by his experience in an hospitall which he kept, he found all mad and melancholy men worse for other blood-letting. Laurentius (*cap.* 15.) cals this of horse-leeches a sure remedy to empty the spleen and mesaraick membrane. Only Montanus (*consil.* 241) is against it; [o] *to other men* (saith he) *this opening*

[d] Piso Altomarus. Laurentius, c. 15. [e] His utendum sæpius iteratis; a vehementioribus semper abstinendum, ne ventrem exasperent. [f] Lib. 2. cap. 1. Quoniam caliditate conjuncta est siccitas, quæ malum auget. [g] Quisquis frigidis auxiliis hoc morbo usus fuerit, is obstructionem aliaque symptomata augebit. [h] Ventriculus plerumque frigidus, hepar calidum; quomodo ergo ventriculum calefaciet, vel refrigerabit hepar, sine alterius maximo detrimento? [i] Significatum per literas, incredibilem utilitatem ex decocto chinæ, et sassafras percepisse. [j] Tumorem splenis incurabilem solâ cappari curavit, cibo tali ægritudini aptissimo, soloque usu aquæ, in quâ faber ferrarius sæpe candens ferrum exstinxerat, &c. [k] Animalia quæ apud hos fabros educantur, exiguos habent lienes. [l] Lib. 1. cap. 17. [m] Continuus ejus usus semper felicem in ægris finem est assequutus. [n] Si hæmorrhoïdes fluxerint, nullum præstantius esset remedium, quæ sanguisugis admotis provocari poterunt. Observat. lib. 1. pro hypoc. legulejo. [o] *Alils apertio hæc in hoc morbo videtur utilissima; mihi non admodum probatur, quia sanguinem tenuem attrahit, et crassum relinquit.*

of the hæmrods seems to be a profitable remedy; for my part, I do not approve of it, because it drawes away the thinnest blood, and leaves the thickest behind.

Aëtius, Vidus Vidius, Mercurialis, Fuchsius, recommend diureticks, or such things as provoke urine, as anniseeds, dil, fennel, germander, ground pine, sod in water, or drunk in powder: and yet [p]P. Bayerus is against them; and so is Hollerius: *all melancholy men* (saith he) *must avoid such things as provoke urine, because by them the subtile or thinnest is evacuated, the thicker matter remains.*

Clysters are in good request. Trincavelius (*lib.* 3. *consil.* 38, for a young nobleman) esteems of them in the first place; and Hercules de Saxoniâ (*Panth. lib.* 1. *cap.* 16) is a great approver of them. [q]*I have found* (saith he) *by experience, that many hypochondriacall melancholy men have been cured by the sole use of clysters;* receipts are to be had in him.

Besides those fomentations, irrigations, inunctions, odoraments, prescribed for the head, there must be the like used for the liver, spleen, stomack, hypochondries, &c. [r]*In crudity* (saith Piso) *'tis good to binde the stomack hard*, to hinder winde and to help concoction.

Of inward medicines I need not speak: use the same cordials as before. In this kinde of melancholy, some prescribe treacle in winter, especially before or after purges, [s]or in the spring, as Avicenna, [t]Trincavelius, mithridate; [u]Montaltus, piony seeds, unicorns horn; *os de corde cervi, &c.*

Amongst topicks or outward medicines, none are more precious than baths: but of them I have spoken. Fomentations to the hypochondries are very good, of wine and water, in which are sod southernwood, melilot, epithyme, mugwort, sena, polypody, as also [v]cerots, [w]plaisters, liniments, oyntments for the spleen, liver and hypochondries, of which look for examples in Laurentius, Jobertus, (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. *pra. med.*) Montanus (*consil.* 231), Montaltus (*cap.* 33), Hercules de Saxoniâ, Faventinus. And so of epithemes, digestive powders, bags, oils, Octavius Horatianus (*lib.* 2. *c.* 5) prescribes caustic cataplasms, or dry purging medicines; Piso, [x]dropaces of pitch, and oil of rue, applied at certain times to the stomack, to the metaphrene, and part of the back which is over against the heart; Aëtius sinapisms. Montaltus (*cap.* 35.) would have the thighs to be [y]cauterized; Mercurialis prescribes beneath the knees; Lælius Eugubinus (*cons.* 77. for an hypochondriacall Dutchman) will have the cautery made in the right thigh; and so Montanus, *consil.* 55. The same Montanus (*consil.* 34) approves of issues in the arms or hinder parts of the head. Bernardus Paternus (in Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2) would have [z]issues made in both the thighs: [a]Lod. Mercatus prescribes them neer the spleen, *aut prope ventriculi regimen*, or in either of the thighs. Ligatures, frictions, and cupping-glasses above or about the belly, without scarification, (which [b]Felix Platerus so much approves) may be used as before.

Subsect. II.—*Correctors to expell winde, against costiveness, &c.*

In this kinde of melancholy, one of the most offensive symptomes is winde, which, as in the other species, so in this, hath great need to be corrected and expelled. The medicines to expell it are either inwardly taken, or outwardly. Inwardly, to expell winde, are simples or compounds; simples are herbs, roots, &c. as galanga, gentian, angelica, enula, calamus aromaticus, valerean, zeodoti, iris, condit-ginger, aristolochy, cicliminus, china, dittander, pennyroyall, rue, calamint, bay-berries, and bay-leaves, betany, rosemary, hysope, sabine, centaury,

[p] Lib. 2. cap. 13. Omnes melancholici debent omittere urinam provocantia, quoniam per ea educitur subtile, et remanet crassum. [q] Ego Experientiâ probavi, multos hypochondriacos solo usu clysterum fuisse sanatos. [r] In cruditate optimum, ventriculum arctius alligari. [s] ℥j. theriacæ, vere presertim et æstate. [t] Cons. 12. l. 1. [u] Cap. 33. [v] Trincavelius, consil. 15. Cerotum pro sene melancholico ad jecur optimum. [w] Emplastra pro splene. Fernel. consil. 45. [x] Dropax e pice navali et oleo rutaceo affigatur ventriculo, et toti metaphreni. [y] Cauteria cruribus inusta. [z] Fontanellæ sint utroque crure. [a] Lib. 1. c. 17. [b] De mentis alienat. c. 3. Flatus egregie discutiunt, materiamque evocant.

nt, camomile, stæchas, agnus castus, broom-flowres, origan, orang pills, &c. ices, as saffron, cinnamome, bezoar stone, myrrhe, mace, nutmegs, pepper, ves, ginger, seeds of annis, fennel, amni, cary, nettle, rue, &c. Juniper ries, grana paradisa:—compounds, *dianisum, diagalanga, diaciminum, dialaminth, electuarium de baccis lauri, benedicta laxativa, pulvis ad flatus. tid. Florent. pulvis carminativus, aromaticum rosatum, treacle, mithridate,* . This one caution of [c]Gualter Bruell is to be observed in the administring of se hot medicines and dry, *that, whilst they covet to expell winde, they do not lame the blood, and increase the disease. Sometimes* (as he saith) *medicines st more decline to heat, sometimes more to cold, as the circumstances may uire, and as the parties are inclined to heat or cold.*

Outwardly taken, to expell winde, are oils, as of camomile, rue, baies, &c. nentations of the hypochondries, with the decoctions of dill, pennyroyall, , bay-leaves, cummin, &c. bags of camomile flowres, anniseed, cummin, yes, rue, wormwood, ointments of the oil of spikenard; wormwood, rue, &c. retæus prescribes cataplasms of camomile-flowres, fennell, aniseeds, cummin, emary, wormwood-leaves, &c.

[d]Cupping-glasses applied to the hypocondries, without scarification, do nderfully resolve winde. Fernelius (*consil.* 43) much approves of them at lower end of the belly: [f]Lod. Mercatus calls them a powerfull remedy, l testifies moreover, out of his own knowledge, how many he hath seen ldenly eased by them. Julius Cæsar Claudinus (*respons. med. resp.* 33) mires these cupping-glasses, which he calls (out of Galen) [g]*a kinde of hantment, they cause such present help.*

Empiricks have a myriade of medicines, (as to swallow a bullet of lead, &c.) ich I voluntarily omit. Amatus Lusitanus (*cent.* 4. *curat.* 54), for an hypondriacall person that was extreamly tormented with winde, prescribes a ange remedy. Put a pair of bellows end into a clyster pipe; and, applying nto the fundament, open the bowels, so draw forth the winde: *natura non mittit vacuum.* He vants that he was the first invented this remedy, and, means of it, speedily eased a melancholy man. Of the cure of this flatuous lancholy, read more in *Fienus de flatibus, cap.* 26, *et passim alias.*

Against head-ach, vertigo, vapours which ascend forth of the stomack to lest the head, read Hercules de Saxonià, and others.

If costiveness offend in this, or any other of the three species, it is to be rected with suppositories, clysters, or lenitives, powder of sene, condite ines, &c. R. Elect. lenit. e succo rosar. ana ℥ j. misce.

ke as much as a nutmeg at a time, half an hour before dinner or supper, *pil. mastichin.* ℥ j. in six pills, a pill or two at a time. See more in Mon. *consil.* 229; Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2. P. Cnemander and Montanus comnd [h]*Cyprian turpentine, which they would have familiarly taken, to the antity of a small nut, two or three hours before dinner and supper, twice thrice a week, if need be; for, besides that it keeps the belly soluble, it ars the stomack, opens obstructions, cleanseth the liver, provokes urine.*

These, in brief, are the ordinary medicines which belong to the cure of melanoly, which, if they be used aright, no doubt may do much good. *Si non levando, tem leniendo valent peculiaria bene selecta,* saith Bessardus; a good choice particular receipts must needs ease, if not quite cure, not one, but all or st, as occasion serves. *Et, quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant.*

[c]avendum hic diligenter a multum calefacientibus atque exsiccantibus, sive alimenta fuerint hæc, sive [d]licamenta: nonnulli enim, ut ventositates et rugitus compescant, hujusmodi utentes medicamentis, plurim peccant, morbum sic augentes: debent enim medicamenta declinare ad calidum vel frigidum, secium exigentiam circumstantiarum, vel ut patiens inclinat ad cal. et frigid. [e]Cap. 5. lib. 7. [f]Pisonl. Mire flatus resolvit. [g]Lib. 1. c. 17. Nonnullos prætensione ventris deploratos lilico restitutos ridemus. [h]Velut incantamentum quoddam ex flatuoso spiritu dolorem ortum levant. [i]Terebinn Cypriam habeant familiarem: ad quantitatem degiutiant nucis parv[æ] [k]oris ante prandium vel am, ter singulis septimanis, prout expedire videbitur; nam, præterea [l]um mollem efficit, ructiones aperit, ventriculum [m]nam provocat, hepar mundifi

THE

SYNOPSIS

OF THE

THIRD PARTITION.

Love and love melancholy, *Memb.* 1. *Sect.* 1.

- Preface or Introduction. *Subsect.* 1.
- Loves definition, pedegree, object, fair, amiable, gracious and pleasant, from which comes beauty, grace, which all desire and love, parts affected.
- Division or kinds, *Subs.* 2.
  - Natural, in things without life, as love and hatred of elements; and with life, as vegetal, vine and elm, sympathy, antipathy, &c.
  - Sensible, as of beasts, for pleasure, preservation of kind, mutual agreement, custome, bringing up together, &c.
  - or
  - Rational.
    - Simple, which hath 3 objects, as *M.* 1.
      - Profitable, *Subs.* 1. — Health, wealth, honor, we love our benefactors: nothing so amiable as profit, or that which hath a shew of commodity.
      - Pleasant, *Subs.* 2. — Things without life, made by art, pictures, sports, games, sensible objects, as hauks, hounds, horses. Or men themselves for similitude of manners, natural affection, as to friends, children, kinsmen, &c. for glory, such as commend us.
        - Of women, as
          - Before marriage, as *Heroical*, *Mel. Sect.* 2. *vide* ♈
          - Or after marriage, as *Jealousie*, *Sect.* 3. *vide* ♉
      - or
      - Honest, *Subs.* 3. — Fucate in shew, by some error or hypocrisie; some seem and are not; or truly for vertue, honesty, good parts, learning, eloquence, &c.
    - Mixt of all three, which extends to *M.* 3. — Common good, our neighbour, country, friends, which is charity; the defect of which is cause of much discontent and melancholy.
      - or God, *Sect.* 4.
        - In excess, *vide* ♊.
        - In defect, *vide* ♋.

♈ Heroical or Love-Melancholy, in which consider,

- *Memb.* 1.
  - His pedegree, power, extent to vegetals and sensible creatures, as well as men, to spirits, divels, &c.
  - His name, definition, object, part affected, tyranny.
- Causes *Memb.* 2.
  - Stars, temperature, full dyet, place, country, clime, condition, idlenesss, *S.* 1.
  - Natural allurements, and causes of love, as beauty, its praise, how it allureth.
  - Comeliness, grace, resulting from the whole or some parts, as face, eyes, hair, hands, &c. *Subs.* 2.
  - Artificial allurements, and provocations of lust and love, gestures, apparel, dowry, mony, &c.
  - *Quæst.* Whether beauty owe more to Art or Nature? *Subs.* 3.
  - Opportunity of time and place, conference, discourse, musick, singing, dancing, amorous tales, lascivious objects, familiarity, gifts, promises, &c. *Subs.* 4.
  - Bawds and Philters, *Subs.* 5.
- Symptomes or signs *Memb.* 3.
  - Of body
    - Dryness, paleness, leanness, waking, sighing, &c.
    - Quaest. *An detur pulsus amatorius?*
  - or
  - Of mind.
    - Bad, as
      - Fear, sorrow, suspicion, anxiety, &c.
      - An hell, torment, fire, blindness, &c.
      - or
      - Dotage, slavery, neglect of business.
    - Good, as
      - Spruceness, neatness, courage, aptness to learn musick, singing, dancing, poetry, &c.
- Prognosticks; Despair, madness, phrensie, death, *Memb.* 4.
- Cures *Memb.* 5.
  - By labour, diet, physick, abstinence, *Subs.* 1.
  - To withstand the beginnings, avoid occasions, fair and foul means, change of place, contrary passion, witty inventions, discommend the former, bring in another, *Subs.* 2.
  - By good counsel, persuasion, from future miseries, inconveniences, &c. *S.* 3.
  - By philters, magical, and poetical cures, *S.* 4.
  - To let them have their desire disputed pro and con. Impedements removed, reasons for it. Subs. 5.

His name, definition, extent, tyranny, *Mem!*. 1.

Division, Æquivocations, kinds, *Subs.* 1.
- Improper or Proper
  - Improper: To many beasts; as swans, cocks, bulls. To kings and princes, of their subjects, successors. To friends, parents, tutors over their children or otherwise.
  - Proper: Before marriage, corrivals, &c. After, as in this place our present subject.

Causes, *Sect.* 2.
- In the parties themselves, or From others
  - In the parties themselves: Idleness, impotency in one party, melancholy, long absence. They have been naught themselves. Hard usage, unkindness, wontonness, inequality of years, persons, fortunes, &c.
  - From others: Outward inticements and provocations of others.

Symptomes, *Memb.* 2. Fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, strange actions, gestures, looks, speeches, locking up, outrages, severe laws, prodigious tryals, &c.

Prognosticks *Memb.* 3. Despair, madness to make away themselves, and others.

Cures, *Memb.* 4.
- By avoiding occasions, always busie, never to be idle.
- By good counsel, advice of friends, to contemn or dissemble it. *Subs.* 1.
- By prevention before marriage. Platos communion.
- To marry such as are equal in years, birth, fortunes, beauty, of like conditions, &c.
- Of a good family, good education. To use them well. *Subs.* 2.

A proof that there is such a species of melancholy, name, object God, what his beauty is, how it allureth, part and parties affected, superstitious, idolaters, prophets, hereticks, &c. *Subs.* 1.

Causes, *Sub.* 2.
- From others Or from themselves.
  - From others: The divels allurements, false miracles, priests for their gain. Polititians to keep men in obedience, bad instructors, blind guides.
  - from themselves: Simplicity, fear, ignorance, solitariness, melancholy, curiosity, pride, vain-glory, decayed image of God.

In excess, of such as do that which is not required. *Mem.* 1.

Symptomes, *Subs.* 3.
- General Or Particular.
  - General: Zeal without knowledge, obstinacy, superstition, strange devotion, stupidity, confidence, stiff defence of their tenents, mutual love and hate of other sects, belief of incredibilities, impossibilities.
  - Or: Of hereticks, pride, contumacy, contempt of others, wilfulness, vain glory, singularity, prodigious paradoxes.
  - Particular: In superstitious blind zeale, obedience, strange works, fasting, sacrifices, oblations, prayers, vows, pseudo-martyrdome, mad and ridiculous customes, ceremonies, observations. In pseudo-prophets, visions, revelations, dreams, prophecies, new doctrines, &c. of Jews, Gentiles, Mahometans, &c.

Prognosticks, *Subs.* 4. New doctrines, paradoxes, blasphemies, madness, stupidity, despair, damnation.

Cures, *Subs.* 5. By physick if need, conference, good counsel, persuasion, compulsion, correction, punishment. *Quæritur an cogi debent? Affir.*

Secure, void of grace and fears, Epicures, atheists, magicians, hypocrites, such as have cauterised consicences, or else are in a reprobate sense, worldly-secure, some philosophers, impenitent sinners, *Subs.* 1.

In defect, as *Mem.* 2.

Or, His definition, Æquivocations. parties and parts affected, *Subs.* 2.

Distrustful or too timorous, as desperat.

Causes, *Subs.* 3. The divel and his allurements, rigid preachers, that wound their consciences, melancholy, contemptation, solitariness. How melancholy and dispair differ. Distrust, weakness of faith. Guilty conscience for offence committed misunderstanding Scr.

In despair consider,
- Symptomes, *Subs.* Fear, sorrow, anguish of mind, extream tortures and horror of consciences fearful dreams, conceits, visions, &c.
- Prognosticks. Blasphemy, violent death, *Subs.* 5.
- Cures, *Subs.* 6. Physick as occasion serves, conference, not to be idle or alone. Good counsel, good company, all comforts and contents, &c.

THE

THIRD PARTITION.

LOVE-MELANCHOLY.

THE FIRST { SECTION. MEMBER. SUBSECTION.

The Preface.

THERE will not be wanting, I presume, one or other that will much discommend some part of this Treatise of Love-Melancholy, and object, which [i] Erasmus, in his preface to S^r. Thomas Moore, suspects of his) *that it is too light for a divine, too commical a subject* to speak of love-symptomes, too phantastical, and fit alone for a wanton poet, a feeling young love-sick gallant, an effeminate courtier, or some such idle person. And tis true they say: for, by the naughtiness of men, it is so come to pass, as [k] Caussinus observes, *ut castis auribus vox amoris suspecta sit, et invisa*, the very name of love is odious to chaster ears: and therefore some again out of an affected gravity, will dislike all for the names sake, before they read a word; dissembling with him in [l] Petronius, and seem to be angry that their ears are violated with such obscene speeches, that so they may be admired for grave philosophers, and staid carriage. They cannot abide to hear talk of love toyes, or amorous discourses,—*vultu, gestu, oculis*, in their outward actions averse; and yet, in their cogitations, they are all out as bad, if not worse then others.

[m] Erubuit, posuitque meum Lucretia librum,
Sed coram Bruto; Brute, recede, leget.

But let these cavillers and counterfeit Catos know, that, as the lord John answered the queen (in that Italian [n] Guazzo), an old, a grave, discreet man is fittest to discourse of love matters, because he hath likely more experience, observed more, hath a more staid judgement, can better discern, resolve, discusse, advise, give better cautions, and more solid precepts, better inform his auditors in such a subject, and, by reason of his riper years, sooner divert. Besides, *nihil in hâc amoris voce subtimendum*, there is nothing here to be excepted at: love is a species of melancholy, and a necessary part of this my treatise, which I may not omit; *operi suscepto inserviendum fuit*; so Jacobus Micyllus pleadeth for himself in his translation of Lucians dialogues; and so do I; I must and will perform my task. And that short excuse of Mercerus, for his edition of Aristænetus, shall be mine; [o] *If I have spent my time ill to write, let not them be so idle as to read.* But I am perswaded it is not so ill spent; I ought not to excuse or repent my self of this subject, on which many grave and worthy men have written whole volumes, Plato, Plu-

[i] Encom. Moriæ. Leviores esse nugas quam ut theologum deceant. [k] Lib. 8. Eloquent. cap. 14. de affectibus. Mortalium vitio fit, qui præclara quæque in pravos usus vertunt. [l] Quoties de amatoriis mentio facta est, tam vehementer exclamat; tam severâ tristitiâ violari aures meas obsceno sermone nolui, ut me tanquam unum ex philosophis intuerentur. [m] Martial. [n] Lib. 4. of civil conversation. [o] Si male locata est opera scribendo, ne ipsi locent in legendo.

ch, Plotinus, Maximus Tyrius, Alcinoüs, Avicenna, Leon, Hebreus in three ge dialogues, Xenophon, *sympos.* Theophrastus, if we may believe Athe- us, *lib.* 13. *cap.* 9. Picus Mirandula, Marius Æquicola, both in Italian, rumannus, *de linea Amoris, lib.* 3. Petrus Godefridus hath handled in ee books, P. Hædus, and which almost every physician, as Arnoldus, Vil- ovanus, Valleriola (*observat. med. lib.* 2. *observ.* 7.) Ælian Montaltus, and urentius in their Treatises of Melancholy, Jason Pratensis, *de morb. cap.* lescus de Taranta, Gordonius, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Savanarola, Langius, . have treated of apart, and in their works. I excuse myself therefore with ter Godefridus, Valleriola, Ficinus, and in [p] Langius words—Cadmus Mi- ius writ fourteen books of love; *and why should I be ashamed to write an istle in favour of young men, of this subject?* a company of stern readers like the second of the Æneads, and Virgils gravity, for inserting such orous passions in an heroical subject: but [q] Servius, his commentator, tly vindicates the poets worth, wisdome, and discretion in doing as he did. stalio would not have young men read the [r] Canticles, because, to his nking, it was too light and amorous a tract, a ballade of ballades, as our l English translation hath it. He might as well forbid the reading of Ge- sis, because of the loves of Jacob and Rachel, the stories of Sichem and nah, Judah and Thamar; reject the book of Numbers, for the fornications the people of Israel with the Moabites; that of Judges, for Sampson and lilahs embracings; that of the Kings, for David and Bathshebas adulteries, incest of Amnon and Thamar, Solomons concubines, &c. the stories of ther, Judith, Susanna, and many such. Dicæarchus, and some other, rp at Platos majesty, that he would vouchsafe to indite such love toyes; ongst the rest, for that dalliance with Agatho,

> Suavia dans Agathoni, animam ipse in labra tenebam;
> Ægra etenim properans tunquam abitura fuit.

For my part, saith [s] Maximus Tyrius, a great Platonist himself, *me non ntum admiratio habet, sed etiam stupor*, I do not only admire, but stand azed to read that Plato and Socrates both should expel Homer from their y, because he writ of such light and wanton subjects, *Quod Junonem cum Jove Idâ concumbentes inducit, ab immortali nube contectos*, Vulcans net, Mars d Venus fopperies before all the gods, because Apollo fled, when he was rsecuted by Achilles, the [t] gods were wounded and ran whining away, as Mars at roared lowder then Stentor, and covered nine akers of ground with his fall; ulcan was a summers day falling down from heaven, and in Lemnos ile brake s leg, &c. with such ridiculous passages; when as both Socrates and Plato, his testimony, writ lighter themselves: *quid enim tam distat* (as he follows it) *tam amans a temperante, formarum admirator a demente?* what can be ore absurd then for grave philosophers to treat of such fooleries, to admire ntilochus, Alcibiades, for their beauties as they did, to run after, to gaze, dote on fair Phædrus, delicate Agatho, young Lysis, fine Charmides? *eccine philosophum decent?* Doth this become grave philosophers? Thus radventure Callias, Thrasymachus, Polus, Aristophanes, or some of his versaries and æmulators might object; but neither they nor [u] Anytus and elitus his bitter enemies, that condemned him for teaching Critias to tyran- ze, his impiety for swearing by dogs and plane trees, for his jugling sophistry, . never so much as upbraided him with impure love, writing or speaking that subject; and therefore without question, as he concludes, both crates and Plato in this are justly to be excused. But suppose they had

Med. epist. l. 1. ep. 14. Cadmus Milesius, teste Suidâ, de hoc erotico amore 14 libros scripsit; nec me ebit, in gratiam adolescentum, hanc scribere epistolam. [q] Comment. in 2. Æneid. [r] Meros amores, am impudicitiam sonare videtur, nisi, &c. [s] Ser. 8. [t] Quod risum et eorum amores commemoret. ium multa ei objecissent, quod Critiam tyrannidem docuisset, quod Platonem juraret loquacem sophis- , &c. accusationem amoris nullam fecerunt. Ideoque honestus amor. &c.

been a little overseen, should divine Plato be defamed? no, rather as he said of Catos drunkenness, if Cato were drunk, it should be no vice at all to be drunk. They reprove Plato then, but without cause (as [v]Ficinus pleads); *for all love is honest and good; and they are worthy to be loved that speak well of love.* Being to speak of this admirable affection of love, (saith [w]Valleriola) *there lyes open a vast and philosophical field to my discourse, by which many lovers become mad: let me leave my more serious meditations, wander in these philosophical fields, and look into those pleasant groves of the Muses, where, with unspeakable variety of flowers, we may make garlands to our selves, not to adorn us only, but with their pleasant smell and juyce to nourish our souls, and fill our minds desirous of knowledge, &c.* After an harsh and unpleasing discourse of melancholy, which hath hitherto molested your patience, and tired the author, give him leave, with [x]Godefridus the lawyer, and Laurentius (*cap.* 5), to recreate himself in this kinde after his laborious studies, *since so many grave divines and worthy men have, without offence to manners, to help themselves and others, voluntarily written of it.* Heliodorus, a bishop, penned a love story of Theagenes and Chariclea; and, when some Catos of his time reprehended him for it, chose rather, saith [y]Nicephorus, to leave his bishoprick then his book. Æneas Sylvius, an ancient divine, and past 40 years of age, (as [z]he confesseth himself, after Pope Pius Secundus) endited that wanton history of Euryalus and Lucretia. And how many superintendents of learning could I reckon up, that have written of light phantastical subjects? Beroaldus, Erasmus, Alpheratius, twenty foure times printed in Spanish, &c. Give me leave then (to refresh my Muse a little, and my weary readers), to expatiate in this delightsome field, *hoc deliciarum campo*, as Fonseca terms it, to [a]season a surly discourse, with a more pleasing aspersion of love matters. *Edulcare vitam convenit*, as the poet invites us, *curas nugis, &c.* 'tis good to sweeten our life with some pleasing toyes to rellish it, and as Pliny tells us, *magna pars studiosorum amœnitates quærimus*, most of our students love such pleasant [b]subjects; though Macrobius teach us otherwise, [c]*that those old sages banished all such light tracts from their studies, to nurses cradles, to please only the ear;* yet, out of Apuleius, I will oppose as honourable patrons, Solon, Plato, [d]Xenophon, Adrian, &c. that as highly approve of these treatises. On the other side me thinks they are not to be disliked, they are not so unfit. I will not peremptorily say, as one did, [e]*tam suavia dicam facinora, ut male sit ei qui talibus non delectetur.* I will tell you such pretty stories, that foul befall him that is not pleased with them; *neque dicam ea quæ vobis usui sit audivisse, et voluptati meminisse*, with that confidence, as Beroaldus doth his enarrations on Propertius. I will not expect or hope for that approbation, which Lipsius gives to his Epictetus; *pluris facio quum relego, semper ut novum, et, quum repetivi, repetendum*, the more I read, the more shall I covet to read. I will not presse you with my pamphlets, or beg attention; but if you like them, you may. Pliny holds it expedient and most fit, *severitatem jucunditate etiam in scriptis condire*, to season our works with some pleasant discourse; Synesius approves it; *licet in ludicris ludere*; the [f]poet admires it: *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci:* And there be those, with-

[v] Carpunt alii Platonicam majestatem, quod amori nimium indulserit; Dicæarchus et alii; sed male. Omnis amor honestus et bonus; et amore digni, qui bene dicunt de amore. [w] Med. obser. lib. 2. cap. 7. De admirando amoris affectu dicturus; ingens patet campus et philosophicus, quo sæpe homines ducuntur ad insaniam; libeat modo vagari, &c. Quæ non ornent modo, sed fragrantiâ et succulentiâ jucundâ plenius alant, &c. [x] Lib. 1. præfat. de amoribus agens, relaxandi animi caussâ laboriosissimis studiis fatigati; quando et theologi se his juvari et juvare illæsis moribus volunt. [y] Hist. lib. 12. cap. 34. [z] Præfat. Quid quadragenario convenit cum amore? Ego vero agnosco amatorium scriptum mihi non convenire; qui jam meridiem prætergressus in vesperem feror. Æneas Silvius. [a] Ut severiora studia iis amœnitatibus lector condire possit. Accius. [b] Discum quam philosophum audire malunt. [c] In Som. Scip. E sacrario suo tum ad cunas nutricum sapientes eliminârunt, solas aurium delicias profitentes [d] Babylonius et Ephesius, qui de amore scripserunt, uterque amores Myrrhæ, Cyrenes, et Adonidis. Suidas. [e] Pet. Aretine, dial. Ital. [f] Hor.

question, that are more willing to read such toyes, then [g]I am to write. me not live, saith Aretines Antonia, *if I had not rather hear thy disrse,* [h]*then see a play!* no doubt but there be more of her minde, ever have n, ever will be, as [i]Hierome bears me witnesse. *A far greater part had her read Apuleius then Plato:* Tully himself confesseth he could not unstand Platos Timæus, and therefore cared lesse for it, but every school-boy h that famous testament of Grunnius Corocotta Porcellus at his fingers ls. The comicall poet,

——Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas—

de this his onely care and sole study to please the people, tickle the ear, l to delight; but mine earnest intent is as much to profit and to please; *non u ut populo placerem, quam ut populum juvarem;* and these my writings, ope, shall take like guilded pills, which are so composed as well to tempt appetite, and deceive the palat, as to help and medicinally work upon the ole body; my lines shall not only recreate, but rectifie the minde. I think ave said enough: if not, let him that is otherwise minded, remember that [j]Madaurensis, *he was in his life a philosopher* (as Ausonius apologizeth for ı;) *in his epigrams a lover, in his precepts most severe, in his epistle to rellia a wanton.* Annianus, Sulpitius, Euenus, Menander, and many old ts besides, did *in scriptis prurire*, write Fescennines, Attellanes, and lasious songs;[k] *lætam materiam;* yet they had *in moribus censuram et seritatem*, they were chast, severe, and upright livers.

—Castum esse decet pium poëtam
Ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est,
Qui tum denique habent salem et leporem.

m of Catullus opinion, and make the same apologie in mine own behalf: *etiam, quod scribo, pendet plerumque ex aliorum sententiâ et auctoritate; ipse forsan insanio, sed insanientes sequor. Atqui detur hoc insanire : semel insanivimus omnes, et tute ipse opinor insanis aliquando, et is, et , et ego scilicet. Homo sum: humani a me nihil alienum puto:* and, ich he urgeth for himself, accused of the like fault, I as justly plead, [k]*Lasciva nobis pagina; vita proba est;* howsoever my lines erre, my life is honest, *ita verecunda est, Musa jocosa, mihi.* But I presume I need no such apolo-s; I need not, as Socrates in Plato, cover his face when he spake of love, or ish and hide mine eyes, as Pallas did in her hood, when she was consulted by piter about Mercuries marriage, *quod super nuptiis virgo consulitur:* it is no h lascivious, obscene or wanton discourse; I have not offended your chaster rs with any thing that is here written, as many French and Italian authors in eir modern language of late have done, nay some of our Latine pontificall iters, Zanches, Asorius, Abulensis, Burchardus, &c. whom [m]Rivet accuseth to more lascivious then Virgil in Priapeiis, Petronius in Catalectis, Aristophanes Lysistrata, Martialis, or any other pagan prophane writer, *qui tam atrociter* one notes) *hoc genere peccârunt, ut multa ingeniosissimè scripta obscœnitum gratiâ castæ mentes abhorreant.* Tis not scurrile this, but chast, honest, ost part serious, and even of religion it self. [o]*Incensed* (as he said) *with the ve of finding love, we have sought it, and found it.* More yet, I have gmented and added something to this light treatise (if light), which was not the former editions: I am not ashamed to confess it, with a good [p]author, *iod extendi et locupletari hoc subjectum plerique postulabant, et eo-m importunitate victus, animum, utcunque renitentem, eo adegi, ut jam*

[g]Legendi cupidiores, quam ego scribendi, saith Lucian. [h]Plus capio voluptatis inde, quam spectanin theatro ludis. [i]Proœmio in Isaiam. Multo major pars Milesias fabulas revolventium quam tonis libros. [j]In vitâ philosophus, in epigram, amator, in epistolis petulans, in preceptis severus. art. [k]Ovid. [m]Isago. ad sac. scrip. cap. 13. [n]Barthius, notis in Cœlestinam, fudum Hisp. cinus, Comment. c. 17. Amore incensi inveniendi amoris, amorem quæsivimus et invenimus. [p]Auc. Cœlestinæ, Barth. interprete.

sextâ vice calamum in manum sumerem, scriptionique longè et à studiis et professione meâ alienæ me accingerem, horas aliquas à seriis meis occupationibus interim suffuratus, easque veluti ludo cuidam ac recreationi destinans;

[q] Cogor ——— retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Olim relictos.———

etsi non ignorarem novos fortasse detractores novis hisce interpolationibus meis minime defuturos.

And thus much I have thought good to say by way of preface, lest any man (which [r] Godefridus feared in his book) should blame in me lightness, wantonness, rashness, in speaking of loves causes, entisements, symptomes, remedies, lawfull and unlawfull loves, and lust it self. [s] *I speak it, only to tax and deter others from it; not to teach, but to* shew the [t] vanities and fopperies of this heroicall or Herculean love, and to *apply remedies unto it.* I will treat of this with like liberty as of the rest.

[u] Sed dicam vobis: vos porro dicite multis
Millibus; et facite hæc charta loquatur anus.

Condemn me not, good reader, then, or censure me hardly, if some part of this Treatise, to thy thinking, as yet be too light; but consider better of it. *Omnia munda mundis:* [v] a naked man, to a modest woman, is no otherwise then a picture, as Augusta Livia truly said; and [w] *mala mens, malus animus;* 'tis as 'tis taken. If in thy censure it be too light, I advise thee, as Lipsius did his reader for some places of Plautus, *istos quasi Sirenum scopulos prætervehare;* if they like thee not, let them pass; or oppose that which is good to that which is bad, and reject not therefore all. For, to invert that verse of Martial, and, with Hierom Wolfius, to apply it to my present purpose, *Sunt mala, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt bona plura;* some is good, some bad, some is indifferent. I say farther with him yet, I have inserted. ([x] *levicula quædam et ridicula ascribere non sum gravatus, circumforanea quædam è theatris, è plateis, etiam è popinis*) some things more homely, light, or comicall, *litans Gratiis,* &c. which I would request every man to interpret to the best: and, as Julius Cæsar Scaliger besought Cardan, (*si quid urbaniusculè lusum à nobis, per Deos immortales te oro, Hieronyme Cardane, ne me malè capias*) I beseech thee, good reader, not to mistake me, or misconstrue what is here written; *Per Musas et Charites, et omnia poëtarum numina, benigne lector oro te, ne me malè capias.* 'Tis a comicall subject; in sober sadness I crave pardon of what is amiss, and desire thee to suspend thy judgement, wink at small faults, or to be silent at least; but, if thou likest, speak well of it, and wish me good success. *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.*

I am resolved however, *velis, nolis, audacter stadium intrare,* in the Olympicks, with those Æliensian wrestlers in Philostratus, boldly to shew my self in this common stage, and in this trage-comedy of love, to act severall parts, some satyrically, some comically, some in a mixt tone, as the subject I have in hand gives occasion, and present scene shall require, or offer it self.

Subsect. II.—*Loves Beginning, Object, Definition, Division.*

Loves limits are ample and great; and a spatious walk it hath, beset with thorns, and for that cause (which [y] Scaliger reprehends in Cardan), *not lightly to be passed over.* Least I incur the same censure, I will examine all the kinds of love, his nature, beginning, difference, objects, how it is honest or dishonest, a vertue or vice, a naturall passion or a disease, his power and effects,

[q] Hor. lib. 1. Ode 34. [r] Hæc prædixi, ne quis temere nos putaret scripsisse de amorum lenociniis, de praxi, fornicationibus, adulteriis, &c. [s] Taxando et ab his deterrendo humanam lasciviam et insaniam, sed et remedia docendo: non igitur candidus lector nobis succenseat, &c. Commonitio erit juvenibus hæc, hisce ut abstineant magis, et omissâ lasciviâ quæ homines reddit insanos, virtutis incumbant studiis (Æneas Silv.): et curam amoris si quis nescit, hinc poterit scire. [t] Martianus Capella, lib. 1. de nupt. philol. Virginali suffusa rubore, oculos peplo obnubens, &c. [u] Catullus. [v] Viros nudos castæ feminæ nihil a statuis distare. [w] Hony soyt qui mal y pense. [x] Præf. Suid. [y] Exerc. 301. Campus amoris maximus et spinis obsitus, nec levissimo pede transvolandus.

w far it extends: of which although something hath been said in the fi
rtition, in those sections of perturbations ([a] *for love and hatred are the fi
d most common passions, from which all the rest arise, and are attenda*
Picolomineus holds, or as Nich. Caussinus, the *primum mobile* of all ot
ections, which carry them all about them) I will now more copiously dila
ough all his parts and severall branches, that so it may better appear wl
e is, and how it varies with the objects, how in defect, or (which is m
linary and common) immoderate, and in excess, causeth melancholy.
Love, universally taken, is defined to be *desire*, as a word of more am
nification: and though Leon. Hebreus, the most copious writer of this s
t, in his third dialogue make no difference, yet in his first he distinguish
m again, and defines love by desire. [a] *Love is a voluntary affection, a
ire to enjoy that which is good.* [b] *Desire wisheth; love enjoyes; the
the one is the beginning of the other: that which we love is prese
t which we desire is absent.* [c] *It is worth the labour*, saith Plotinus
nsider well of *love, whether it be a god or a divell, or passion of the min
partly god, partly divell, partly passion.* He concludes love to parti
te of all three, to arise from a desire of that which is beautiful and fair, a
ines it to be *an action of the minde, desiring that which is good.* [d] Pl
ls it the great divell, for its vehemency, and soveraignty over all other p
ns, and defines it an appetite, [e] *by which we desire some good to be prese
inus*, in his comment, addes the word *fair* to this definition—love is a des
enjoying that which is good and fair. Austin dilates this common defi
n, and will have love to be a delectation of the heart, [f] *for something wh
seek to win, or joy to have, coveting by desire, resting in joy.* [g] Scali
xerc. 301) taxeth these former definitions, and will not have love to be d
l by desire or appetite; *for, when we enjoy the things we desire, th
nains no more appetite:* as he defines it, *love is an affection by which
e united to the thing we love, or perpetuate our union;* which agrees
rt with Leon. Hebreus.
Now this love varies as its object varies, which is alwayes good, amiab
r, gracious, and pleasant. [h] *All things desire that which is good*, as
taught in the ethicks, or at least that which seems to them to be goo
id enim vis mali, (as Austin well inferres) *dic mihi? puto nihil in omnil
tionibus;* thou wilt wish no harm I suppose, no ill in all thine actio
ughts or desires; *nihil mali vis;* [i] thou wilt not have bad corn, bad s
naughty tree, but all good; a good servant, a good horse, a good s
good friend, a good neighbour, a good wife. From this goodness con
uty; from beauty, grace, and comeliness, which result as so many ra
m their good parts, make us to love, and so to covet it: for, were it r
easing and gracious in our eyes, we should not seek. [j] *No man lo
ith Aristotle, 9 mor. cap. 5) but he that was first delighted with come
s and beauty.* As this fair object varies, so doth our love; for,
oclus holds, *omne pulchrum amabile*, every fair thing is amiable; a
at we love is fair and gratious in our eyes; or at least we do so app
d and still esteem of it. [k] *Amiableness is the object of love; the sco*

[a] rad. 1. cap. 29. ex Platone. Primæ et communissimæ perturbationes, ex quibus cæteræ oriuntur
im sunt pedissequæ. [b] Amor est voluntarius affectus et desiderium re bonâ fruendi. [c] Desideri
ntis; amor eorum quibus fruimur; amoris principium, desiderii finis; amatum adest. [d] Principi
mores. Operæ pretium est de amore considerare, utrum Deus, an dæmon, an passio quædam animæ
lim Deus, partim dæmon, passio partim, &c. Amor est actus animi bonum desiderans. [e] Mag
mon, convivio. [f] Boni pulchrique fruendi desiderium. [g] Godefridus, l. 1. cap. 2. Amor est de
o cordis alicujus ad aliquid, propter aliquod desiderium in appetendo, et gaudium perfruendo, per d
um currens, requiescens per gaudium. [h] Non est amor desiderium aut appetitus, ut ab omnibus h
is traditum; nam, cum potimur amatâ re, non manet appetitus; est igitur affectus, quo cum re am
unimur, aut unionem perpetuamus. [i] Omnia appetunt bonum. [j] Terram non vis malam, mal
etam, sed bonam arborem, equum bonum, &c. [k] Nemo amore capitur, nisi qui fuerit ante formâ a
ue delectatus. [l] Amabile objectum amoris et scopus, cujus adeptio est finis, cujus gratiâ amam
mus enim aspirat ut eo fruatur; et formam boni habet, et præcipue videtur et place
l. 7. cap. 2. et grad. 8. cap. 35.

and end is to obtain it, for whose sake we love, and which our minde covets to enjoy. And it seems to us especially fair and good: for good, fair, and unity, cannot be separated. Beauty shines, Plato saith, and by reason of its splendor and shining, causeth admiration; and the fairer the object is, the more eagerly is it sought. For, as the same Plato defines it, [l]*beauty is a lively shining or glittering brightness, resulting from effused good, by ideas, seeds, reasons, shadowes, stirring up our mindes, that by this good they may be united and made one.* Others will have beauty to be the perfection of the whole composition, [m]*caused out of the congruous symmetry, measure, order and manner of parts: and that comeliness which proceeds from this beauty is called grace; and from thence all fair things are gracious:* for grace and beauty are so wonderfully annexed, [n]*so sweetly and gently win our souls, and strongly allure, that they confound our judgement, and cannot be distinguished. Beauty and grace are like those beams and shinings that come from the glorious and divine sun,* which are diverse, as they proceed from the diverse objects, to please and affect our several senses; [o]*as the species of beauty are taken at our eyes, ears, or conceived in our inner soul, as Plato disputes at large in his Dialogue de Pulchro, Phædro, Hippias,* and, after many sophisticall errours confuted, concludes that beauty is a grace in all things, delighting the eyes, ears, and soul it self; so that, as Valesius infers hence, whatsoever pleaseth our ears, eyes, and soul, must needs be beautifull, fair, and delightsome to us. [p]*And nothing can more please our ears than musick, or pacifie our minds.* Fair houses, pictures, orchards, gardens, fields, a fair hawk, a fair horse, is most acceptable unto us; whatsoever pleaseth our eyes and ears, we call beautifull and fair. [q]*Pleasure belongeth to the rest of the senses, but grace and beauty to these two alone.* As the objects vary and are diverse, so they diversely affect our eyes, ears, and soul it self: which gives occasion to some, to make so many severall kindes of love as there be objects: one beauty ariseth from God, of which and divine love, [r]S[t]. Dionysius, with many fathers and Neotericks, have written just volumes, *De amore Dei,* as they term it, many paræneticall discourses; another from his creatures; there is a beauty of the body, a beauty of the soul, a beauty from vertue, *formam martyrum* Austin calls it, *quam videmus oculis animi,* which we see with the eyes of our minde, which beauty (as Tully saith) if we could discern with these corporeal eyes, *admirabiles sui amores excitaret,* would cause admirable affections, and ravish our souls. This other beauty which ariseth from those extreme parts, and graces which proceed from gestures, speeches, severall motions, and proportions of creatures, men and women, (especially from women, which made those old poets put the three Graces still in Venus company, as attending on her, and holding up her train) are infinite almost, and vary their names with their objects, as love of mony, covetousness, love of beauty, lust, immoderate desire of any pleasure, concupiscence, friendship, love, good will, &c. and is either vertue or vice, honest, dishonest, in excesse, defect, as shall be shewed in his place;—heroicall love, religious love, &c. which may be reduced to a twofold division, according to the principall parts which are affected, the braine and liver; *amor et amicitia,* which Scaliger (*exercitat.* 301), Valesius, and Melancthon, warrant out of Plato, φιλεῖν & ἐρᾶν, from that speech of Pausanias, belike, that makes two

[l] Forma est vitalis fulgor ex ipso bono manans, per ideas, semina, rationes, umbras effusus, animos excitans, ut per bonum in unum rediganter. [m] Pulchritudo est perfectio compositi, ex congruente ordine, mensurâ, et ratione partium consurgens; et venustâ inde prodiens gratia dicitur, et res omnes pulchræ gratiosæ. [n] Gratia et pulchritudo ita suaviter animos demulcent, ita vehementer allicunt, et admirabiliter connectuntur, ut in unum confundantur, et distingui non possunt; et sunt tanquam radii et splendores divini solis in rebus variis vario modo fulgentes. [o] Species pulchritudinis hauriuntur oculis, auribus, aut concipiuntur internâ mente. [p] Nihil hinc magis animos conciliat quam musica, pulchræ picturæ, ædes, &c. [q] In reliquis sensibus voluptas, in his pulchritudo et gratia. [r] Lib. 4. de divinis. Convivio Platonis.

eneres and two Loves. [t] *One Venus is ancient, without a mother, and descended from heaven, whom we call celestiall: the younger, begotten of Jupiter and Dione, whom commonly we call Venus.* Ficinus, in his comment upon this ace. cap. 8. following Plato, calls these two Loves, two divels, [u]or good and d angels according to us, which are still hovering about our souls. [v] *The one urs to heaven; the other depresseth us to hell; the one good, which stirs up to the contemplation of that divine beauty, for whose sake we perform stice, and all godly exercises, study philosophy, &c. the other base, and, though d, yet to be respected, for indeed both are good in their own natures: ocreation of children is as necessary as that finding out of truth, but erefore called bad, because it is abused, and withdrawes our soul from the eculation of that other, to viler objects:* so far Ficinus. S[t]. Austin (*lib.* 15. *civ. Dei et sup. Psal.* 64) hath delivered as much in effect. [w] *Every creare is good, and may be loved* well or ill: and [x] *two cities make two loves, rusalem and Babylon, the love of God the one, the love of the world the her; of these two cities we are all citizens, as by examination of ourselves may soon finde, and of which:* the one love is the root of all mischief, the her of all good. So, in his 15 *cap. lib. de amor. Ecclesiæ*, he will have those ar cardinal vertues to be naught else but love rightly composed; in his 15 ok *de civ. Dei, cap.* 22, he calls vertue the order of Love; when-Thomas llowing (1. *part.* 2. *quæst.* 55. *art.* 1. *and quæst.* 56. 3. *quæst.* 62. *art.* 2) nfirmes as much, and amplifies in many words. [y] Lucian to the same purse hath a division of his own; *one love was born in the sea, which is as rious and raging in young mens brests as the sea it self, and causeth burng lust: the other is that golden chain which was let down from heaven, d with a divine fury ravisheth our souls, made to the image of God, and rs us up to comprehend the innate and incorruptible beauty, to which we re once created.* Beroaldus hath expressed all this in an epigram of his:

Dogmata divini memorant si vera Platonis,
Sunt Geminæ Veneres, et geminatus Amor.
Cœlestis Venus est nullo generata parente,
Quæ casto sanctos nectit amore viros.
Altera sed Venus est totum vulgata per orbem,
Quæ Divûm mentes alligat, atque hominum;
Improba, seductrix, petulans, &c.

If divine Platos tenents they be true,
Two Veneres, two Loves there be;
The one from heaven unbegotten still,
Which knits our souls in unitie;
The other famous over all the world,
Binding the hearts of gods and men;
Dishonest, wanton, and seducing, she
Rules whom she will, both where and when.

This twofold division of love, Origen likewise followes in his Comment on *anticles*, one from God, the other from the divell, as he holds (understanding it in the worser sense); which many others repeat and imitate. Both hich (to omit all subdivisions) in excesse or defect, as they are abused, or generate, cause melancholy in a particular kinde, as shall be shewed in his ace. Austin, in another tract, makes a threefold division of this love, which may use well or ill: [z] *God, our neighbour, and the world; God above us, r neighbour next us, the world beneath us. In the course of our desires, od hath three things, the world one, our neighbour two. Our desire to God, either from God, with God, or to God, and ordinarily so runs. From od, when it receives from him, whence, and for which it should love him: th God, when it contradicts his will in nothing: to God, when it seeks repose and rest it self in him. Our love to our neighbour may proceed om him, and run with him, not to him: from him, as when we rejoyce his good safety, and well doing: with him, when we desire to have him a*

[t] Duæ Veneres, duo Amores; quarum una antiquior et sine matre, cœlo nata, quam cœlestem Venerem cupamus; altera vero junior, à Jove et Dione prognata, quam vulgarem Venerem vocamus. [u] Alter superna erigit, alter deprimit ad inferna. [v] Alter excitat hominem ad divinam pulchritudinem lustranda, cujus causâ philosophiæ studia et justitiæ, &c. [w] Omnis creatura cum bona sit, et bene amari potest et male. [x] Duas civitates duo faciunt amores; Jerusalem facit amor Dei, Babylonem amor seculi; inquisque se, quid amet, interroget; et inveniet unde sit civis. [y] Alter mari ortus, ferox, varius, fluctuans, inanis, juvenum, mare referens, &c. alter aurea catena cœlo demissa, bonum furorem mentibus intexens, &c. [z] Tria sunt, quæ amari à nobis bene vel male possunt; Deus, proximus, mundus: Deus supra nos; juxta nos proximus; infra nos mundus. Tria Deus, duo proximus, unum mundus habet, &c.

fellow and companion of our journey in the way of the Lord; not in him, because there is no aid, hope, or confidence in man. From the world our love comes, when we begin to admire the Creator in his works, and glorify God in his creatures. With the world it should run, if, according to the mutability of all temporalties, it should be dejected in adversity, or over elevated in prosperity; to the world, if it would settle it self in its vain delights and studies. Many such partitions of love I could repeat, and subdivisions; but least (which Scaliger objects to Cardan, *Exercitat.* 501) [g] *I confound filthy burning lust, with pure and divine love,* I will follow that accurate division of Leon. Hebreus, *dial.* 2. betwixt Sophia and Philo, where he speaks of *naturall, sensible* and *rationall* love, and handleth each apart. Naturall love or hatred is that sympathy or antipathy, which is to be seen in animate and inanimate creatures, in the four elements, mettals, stones: *gravia tendunt deorsum,* as a stone to his centre, fire upward, and rivers to the sea. The sun, moon, and stars go still round, [a] *amantes naturæ debita exercere,* for love of perfection. This love is manifest, I say, in inanimate creatures. How comes a load-stone to draw iron to it, jet chaff, the ground to covet showers, but for love? No creature, S[t]. Hierom concludes, is to be found, *quod non aliquid amat,* no stock, no stone, that hath not some feeling of love. 'Tis more eminent in plants, hearbs, and is especially observed in vegetals; as betwixt the vine and elm a great sympathy; betwixt the vine and the cabbage, betwixt the vine and olive ([b] *Virgo fugit Bromium*), betwixt the vine and baies, a great antipathy; the vine loves not the bay, [c] *nor his smell, and will kill him, if he grow near him;* the bur and the lintle cannot endure one another; the olive [d] and the mirtle embrace each other, in roots and branches, if they grow neer. Read more of this in Picolomineus (*grad.* 7. *cap.* 1), Crescentius (*lib.* 5. *de agric.*) Baptista Porta (*de mag. lib.* 1. *cap. de plant. odio et Element. sym.*) Fracastorius (*de sym. et antip.*) Of the love and hatred of planets, consult with every astrologer: Leon. Hebreus gives many fabulous reasons, and moralizeth them withall.

Sensible love is that of brute beasts, of which the same Leon. Hebreus, (*dial.* 2) assigns these causes; first, for the pleasure they take in the act of generation, male and female love one another:—secondly, for the preservation of the species, and desire of young brood:—thirdly, for the mutuall agreement, as being of the same kinde; *Sus sui, canis cani, bos bovi, et asinus asino pulcherrimus videtur,* as Epicharmus held; and, according to that adagy of Diogenianus, *Adsidet usque graculus apud graculum,* they much delight in one anothers company: [e] *Formicæ gratu est formica, cicada cicadæ,* and birds of a feather will gather together:—fourthly, for custome, use, and familiarity; as, if a dog be trained up with a lion and a bear, contrary to their natures, they will love each other. Hawks, dogs, horses, love their masters and keepers. Many stories I could relate in this kinde: but see Gillius, *de hist. anim. lib.* 3. *cap.* 14, those two epistles of Lipsius, of dogs and horses, Agellius, &c.—fifthly, for bringing up, as if a bitch bring up a kid, a hen ducklings, an hedge sparrow a cuckow, &c.

The third kinde is *amor cognitionis,* as Leon calls it, rationall love, *intellectivus amor,* and is proper to men, on which I must insist. This appears in God, angels, men. God is love it self, the fountain of love, the disciple of love, as Plato stiles him; the servant of peace, the God of love and peace; have peace with all men, and God is with you.

[f] Quisquis veneratur Olympum,
Ipse sibi mundum subjicit, atque Deum.

[g] *By this love* (saith Gerson) *we purchase heaven,* and buy the kingdom

[a] Ne confundam vesanos et fœdos amores beatis, sceleratum cum puro, divino, et vero, &c. [a] Fonseca, cap. 1. Amor ex Augustini forsan lib. 11. de Civit. Dei. Amore inconcussus stat mundus, &c. [b] Alciat. [c] Porta. Vitis laurum non amat, nec ejus odorem; si prope crescat, enecat. Lappa lenti adversatur. [d] Sympathia olei et myrti ramorum et radicum se complectentium. Misaldus, secret. cent. 1. 47. [e] Theocritus, Idyll. 9. [f] Mantuan. [g] Caritas munifica, quâ mercamur de Deo regnum Dei.

God. This [h] love is either in the Trinity it self, for the Holy Ghost is the ve of the Father and the Son, &c. *Joh.* 3. 35. and 5. 20. and 14. 31. or wards us his creatures, as in making the world. *Amor mundum fecit;* ve built cities; *mundi anima;* invented arts, sciences, and all [i] good things, cites us to vertue and humanity, combines and quickens; keepes peace on rth, quietness by sea, mirth in the windes and elements, expells all fear, ger, and rusticity; *circulus à bono in bonum,* a round circle still from good good; for love is the beginner and end of all our actions, the efficient and strumental cause, as our poets in their symbols, impresses, [j] emblemes of gs, squares, &c. shadow unto us,

Si rerum quæris fuerit quis finis et ortus,
Desine; nam causas est unica solus amor.

If first and last of any thing you wit,
Cease; love's the sole and only cause of it.

ve, saith [k] Leo, made the world; and afterwards in redeeming of it, *God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son for it. John,* 3. 16. *ehold what love the Father hath shewed on us, that we should be called the ns of God.* 1 *John,* 3. 1. Or by his sweet providence, in protecting of it; her all in generall, or his saints elect and church in particular, whom he eps as the apple of his eye, whom he loves freely (as Hosea, 14. 4. speaks), d dearly respects. [l] *Carior est ipsis homo, quam sibi:* not that we are fair, r for any merit or grace of ours; for we are most vile and base; but out of s incomparable love and goodness, out of his divine nature. And this is at Homers golden chain, which reacheth down from heaven to earth, by ich every creature is annexed, and depends on his Creator. He made all, ith [m] Moses; *and it was good;* and he loves it, as good.

The love of angels and living souls is mutuall amongst themselves, towards militant in the church, and all such as love God; as the sun beams irra- te the earth from those celestiall thrones, they by their well wishes reflect us, [n] *in salute hominum promovendâ alacres, et constantes administri;* ere is joy in heaven for every sinner that repenteth; they pray for us, are licitous for our good, [o] *casti genii.*

Ubi regnat caritas, suave desiderium,
Lætitiaque et amor Deo conjunctus.

ve proper to mortall men is the third member of this sub-division, and the bject of my following discourse.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Love of men, which varies as his objects, profitable, pleasant, honest.*

Valesius (*lib.* 3. *contr.* 13.) defines this love, which is in men, to be [p] *an ffection of both powers, appetite and reason.* The rational resides in the ain, the other in the liver (as before hath been said out of Plato and ers). The heart is diversly affected of both, and carried a thousand ies by consent. The sensitive faculty most part over-rules reason; the ul is carried hood-winkt, and the understanding captive like a beast. [q] *The heart is variously inclined; sometimes they are merry, sometimes d; and from love arise hope and fear, jealousie, fury, desperation.* ow this love of men is diverse, and varies, as the object varies, by which ey are entised, as vertue, wisdome, eloquence, profit, wealth, money, fame, nour, or comeliness of person, &c. Leon. Hebreus, in his first dialogue, luceth them all to these three, *utile, jucundum, honestum,* profitable, easant, honest (out of Aristotle, belike, 8. moral.) of which he discourseth

Polanus, partit. Zanchius, de naturâ Dei, c. 3. copiose de hoc amore Dei agit. [i] Nich. Bellus discurs. de amatoribus. Virtutem provocat, conservat pacem in terrâ, tranquillitatem in aëre, ventis lætitiam, [j] Camerarius, Emb. 100. cen. 2. [k] Dial. 3. [l] Juven. [m] Gen. 1. [n] Caussinus. [o] Theo- et. è Plotino. [p] Affectus nunc appetivæ potentiæ, nunc rationalis; alter cerebro residet, alter hepate, de, &c. [q] Cor variè inclinatur, nunc gaudens, nunc mœrens; statim ex timore nascitur zelotypia, r, spes, desperatio.

at large; and whatsoever is beautifull and fair, is referred to them, or any way to be desired. [r] *To profitable, is ascribed health, wealth, honour, &c. which is rather ambition, desire, covetousness, then love.* Friends, children, love of women, [s] all delightfull and pleasant objects, are referred to the second. The love of honest things consists in vertue and wisdome, and is preferred before that which is profitable and pleasant; intellectuall, about that which is honest. [t] S[t]. Austin calls *profitable, worldly; pleasant, carnal; honest, spirituall.* [u] *Of and from all three, result charity, friendship, and true love, which respects God and our neighbour.* Of each of these I will briefly dilate, and shew in what sort they cause melancholy.

Amongst all these fair entising objects, which procure love, and bewitch the soul of man, there is none so moving, so forcible as profit; and that which carrieth with it a shew of commodity. Health indeed is a pretious thing, to recover and preserve which, we will undergo any misery, drink bitter potions, freely give our goods: restore a man to his health, his purse lies open to thee; bountifull he is, thankfull and beholding to thee; but give him wealth and honour, give him gold, or what shall be for his advantage and preferment, and thou shalt command his affections, oblige him eternally to thee, heart, hand, life, and all, is at thy service; thou art his dear and loving friend, good and gracious lord and master, his Mæcenas; he is thy slave, thy vassall, most devote, affectioned, and bound in all duty. Tell him good tydings in this kinde, there spoke an angel, a blessed hour that brings in gain; he is thy creature, and thou his creator; he hugges and admires thee; he is thine for ever. No loadstone so attractive as that of profit; none so fair an object as this of gold: [v] nothing wins a man sooner than a good turn; bounty and liberality command body and soul.

Munera (crede mihi) placant hominesque Deosque:	Good turns do pacifie both God and men,
Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis.	And Jupiter himself is won by them.

Gold, of all other, is a most delitious object; a sweet light, a goodly lustre it hath; *gratiùs aurum quàm solem intuemur*, saith Austin, and we had rather see it than the sun. Sweet and pleasant in getting, in keeping, it seasons all our labours: intolerable pains we take for it, base imployments, endure bitter flouts and taunts, long journeys, heavy burdens; all are made light and easie by this hope of gain.

> ——— at mihi plaudo
> Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ.

The sight of gold refresheth our spirits, and ravisheth our hearts, as that Babylonian garment and [w] golden wedge did Achan in the camp; the very sight and hearing sets on fire his soul with desire of it. It will make a man run to the Antipodes, or tarry at home and turn parasite, lye, flatter, prostitute himself, swear and bear false witness; he will venture his body, kill a king, murther his father, and damn his soul to come at it. *Formosior auri massa*, as [x] he well observed, the mass of gold is fairer than all your Græcian pictures, that Apelles, Phidias, or any doting painter, could ever make: we are enamoured with it,

> [y] Prima ferè vota, et cunctis notissima templis,
> Divitiæ ut crescant.———

All our labours, studies, endeavours, vows, prayers and wishes, are to get it, how to compass it.

> [z] Hæc est illa cui famulatur maximus orbis,
> Diva potens rerum, domitrixque Pecunia fati.

This is the great goddess we adore and worship; this is the sole object of

[r] Ad utile sanitas refertur; utilium est ambitio, cupido, desiderium, potius quam amor, excessus, avaritia. [s] Picolom. grad. 7. cap. 1. [t] Lib. de amicit. Utile mundanum, carnale jucundum, spirituale honestum. [u] Ex singulis tribus fit caritas et amicitia, quæ respicit Deum et proximum. [v] Benefactores præcipue amamus. Vives, 3. de animâ. [w] Jos. 7. [x] Petronius Arbiter. [y] Juvenalis. [z] Joh. Secund. lib. sylvarum.

· desire. If we have it, as we think, we are made for ever thrice happy, nces, lords, &c. If we lose it, we are dull, heavy, dejected, discontent, ıerable, desperate, and mad. Our estate and *bene esse* ebbs and flows h our commodity; and as we are endowed or enriched, so are we beloved l esteemed: it lasts no longer than our wealth; when that is gone, and the ject removed, farewell friendship: as long as bounty, good cheer, and ards, were to be hoped, friends enough; they were tied to thee by the th, and would follow thee as crows do a carcass: but, when thy goods are ne and spent, the lamp of their love is out; and thou shalt be contemned, rned, hated, injured. [a] Lucians Timon, when he lived in prosperity, was sole spectacle of Greece, onely admired; who but Timon? Every body ed, honoured, applauded him; each man offered him his service, and ght to be kin to him: but, when his gold was spent, his fair possessions ne, farewell Timon; none so ugly, none so deformed, so odious an abject Timon; no man so ridiculous on a sudden: they gave him a penny to buy ope; no man would know him.

'Tis the generall humour of the world; commodity steers our affections oughout; we love those that are fortunate and rich, that thrive, or by ıom we may receive mutuall kindness, hope for like curtesies, get any good, in or profit; hate those, and abhor, on the other side, which are poor and serable, or by whom we may sustain loss or inconvenience. And even those ıt were now familiar and dear unto us, our loving and long friends, neighurs, kinsmen, allies, with whom we have conversed and lived as so many eryons for some years past, striving still to give one another all good content d entertainment, with mutual invitations, feastings, disports, offices, for ıom we would ride, run, spend our selves, and of whom we have so freely d honourably spoken, to whom we have given all those turgent titles, and ıgnificent elogiums, most excellent and most noble, worthy, wise, grave, ırned, valiant, &c. and magnified beyond measure—if any controversie ise betwixt us, some trespass, injury, abuse, some part of our goods be dened, a peece of land come to be litigious, if they cross us in our suit, or uch the string of our commodity, we detest and depress them upon a sudn: neither affinity, consanguinity, or old acquaintance can contain us, but *upto jecore exierit capricus.* A golden apple sets altogether by the ears, if a marrow bone or hony comb were flung amongst bears: father and son, other and sister, kinsmen are at odds: and look, what malice, deadly haed, can invent, that shall be done, *Terribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum:* utuall injuries, desire of revenge, and how to hurt them, him and his, are l our studies. If our pleasures be interrupt, we can tolerate it; our bodies ırt, we can put it up and be reconciled; but touch our commodities, we are ost impatient: fair becomes foul, the Graces are turned to Harpyes, friendly lutations to bitter imprecations, mutuall feastings to plotting villanies, minings d counterminings; good words to satyres and invectives; we revile *è conra;* nought but his imperfections are in our eyes; he is a base knave, a divil, monster, a caterpiller, a viper, an hog-rubber, &c. *Desinit in piscem mur formosa supernè:* This scene is altered on a sudden; love is turned to te, mirth to melancholy: so furiously are we most part bent, our affections ed upon this object of commodity, and upon money, the desire of which excess is covetousness. Ambition tyrannizeth over our souls, as [c] I have ewed, and in defect crucifies as much; as, if a man by negligence, ill husndry, improvidence, prodigality, waste and consume his goods and fortunes, ggery follows, and melancholy: he becomes an abject, [d] odious, and *worse en an infidel, in not providing for his family.*

[a] Lucianus, Timon. [b] Pers. [c] Part. 1. sect. 2. memb. 3. sub. 12. [d] 1 Tim. 1. 8.

Subsect. II.—*Pleasant Objects of Love.*

Pleasant objects are infinite, whether they be such as have life, or be without life. Inanimate are countries, provinces, towers, towns, cities, as he said, [e] *Pulcherrimam insulam videmus, etiam cum non videmus;* we see a fair island by description, when we see it not. The [f] sun never saw a fairer city, *Thessala Tempe*, orchards, gardens, pleasant walks, groves, fountains, &c. The heaven it self is said to be [g] fair or foul; fair buildings, [h] fair pictures, all artificiall, elaborate, and curious works, clothes, give an admirable lustre: we admire, and gaze upon them, *ut pueri Junonis avem*, as children do on a peacock, a fair dog, a fair horse and hawk, &c. ([i] *Thessalus amat equum pullinum, buculum Ægyptius, Lacedæmonius catulum, &c.*) such things we love, are most gracious in our sight, acceptable unto us, and whatsoever else may cause this passion, if it be superfluous or immoderately loved, as Guianerius observes. These things in themselves are pleasing and good, singular ornaments, necessary, comely, and fit to be had; but when we fix an immoderate eye, and dote on them over much, this pleasure may turn to pain, bring much sorrow and discontent unto us, work our finall overthrow, and cause melancholy in the end. Many are carried away with those bewitching sports of gaming, hawking, hunting, and such vain pleasures, [j] as I have said: some with immoderate desire of fame, to be crowned in the Olympicks, knighted in the field, &c. and by these means ruinate themselves. The lascivious dotes on his fair mistress, the glutton on his dishes, which are infinitely varied to please the palate, the epicure on his severall pleasures, the superstitious on his idol, and fats himself with future joys, as Turks feed themselves with an imaginary perswasion of a sensuall paradise: so severall pleasant objects diversely affect divers men. But the fairest objects and entisings proceed from men themselves, which most frequently captivate, allure, and make them dote beyond all measure upon one another, and that for many respects: first, as some suppose, by that secret force of stars, (*quod me tibi temperat astrum?*) they do singularly dote on such a man, hate such again, and can give no reason for it. [k] *Non amo te, Sabidi, &c.* Alexander admired Hephæstion, Adrian Antinoüs, Nero Sporus, &c. The physicians refer this to their temperament; astrologers to trine and sextile aspects, or opposite to their severall ascendents, lords of their genitures, love and hatred of planets; [l] Cicogna, to concord and discord of spirits; but most to outward graces. A merry companion is welcome and acceptable to all men; and therefore, saith [m] Gomesius, princes and great men entertain jesters and players commonly in their courts. But [n] *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur;* 'tis that [o] similitude of manners, which ties most men in an inseparable link, as, if they be addicted to the same studies or disports, they delight in one anothers companies; *birds of a feather will gather together;* if they be of divers inclinations, or opposite in manners, they can seldome agree. Secondly, [p] affability, custome, and familiarity, may convert nature many times, though they be different in manners, as, if they be country-men, fellow-students, colleagues, or have been fellow-souldiers, [q] brethren in affliction, ([r] *acerba calamitatum societas diversi etiam ingenii homines conjungit*) affinity, or some such accidentall occasion: though they cannot agree amongst themselves, they will stick together like burrs, and hold against a third: so, after some discontinuance, or death, enmity ceaseth; or in a forrain place.

[e] Lips. epist. Camdeno. [f] Leland of St. Edmondsbury. [g] Cœlum serenum, cœlum visu fœdum. Polyd. lib. 1. de Anglià. [h] Credo equidem, vivos ducent è marmore vultus. [i] Max. Tyrius, ser. 9. [j] Part. 1. sec. 2. memb. 3. [k] Mart. [l] Omnif. mag. lib. 12. cap. 3. [m] De sale geniali, l. 3. c. 15. [n] Theod. Prodromus amor. lib. 3. [o] Similitudo morum parit amicitiam. [p] Vives, 3. de Animâ. [q] Qui simul fecêre naufragium, aut unâ pertulêre vincula, vel consilii conjurationisve societate junguntur, invicem amant: Brutum et Cassium invicem infensos Cæsarianus dominatus conciliavit. Æmilius Lepidus et Julius Flaccus, quum essent inimicissimi, censores renunciati, simultates illico deposuêre. Scultet, cap. 4. de caussâ amor. [r] Papinius.

Pascitur in vivis vivor, post fata quiescit:
Et cecidêre odia, et tristes mors obruit iras.

A third cause of love and hate may be mutuall offices, *acceptum beneficium*. [s] commend him, use him kindly, take his part in a quarrell, relieve him in his misery; thou winnest him for ever: do the opposite, and be sure of a perpetuall enemy. Praise and dispraise of each other do as much, though unknown, as [t] Schoppius by Scaliger and Casaubonus: *mulus mulum scabit*; who but Scaliger with him? what encomions, epithetes, elogiums! *Antistes sapientiæ, perpetuus dictator, literarum ornamentum, Europæ miraculum*, noble Scaliger, *incredibilis ingenii præstantia, &c. Diis potius quam hominibus per omnia comparandus: scripta ejus aurea, ancilia de cœlo delapsa, poplitibus veneramur flexis, &c.* But, when they began to vary, none so absurd as Scaliger, so vile and base, as his books *de Burdonum familiâ* and other satyricall invectives, may witness. Ovid, *in Ibin*, Archilochus himself, was not so bitter. Another great tye or cause of love, is consanguinity; parents are dear to their children, children to their parents, brothers and sisters, cosens of all sorts, as an hen and chickens, all of a knot: every crow thinks her own bird fairest. Many memorable examples are in this kinde; and 'tis *portenti simile*, if they do not: [u] *a mother cannot forget her child*; Salomon so found out the true owner: love of parents may not be concealed: 'tis naturall, descends; and they that are inhumane in this kinde, are unworthy of that air they breath, and of the four elements: yet many unnaturall examples we have in this rank, of hard-hearted parents, disobedient children, of [v] disagreeing brothers; nothing so common. The love of kinsmen is grown cold: *many kinsmen* (as the saying is) *few friends*. If thine estate be good, and thou be able *par pari referre*, to requite their kindness, there will be mutuall correspondence; otherwise thou art a burden, most odious to them above all others. The last object that tyes man and man, is comeliness of person, and beauty alone, as men love women with a wanton eye; which κατ' ἐξοχήν is termed *heroicall*, or Love-Melancholy. Other loves (saith [w] Picolomineus) are so called with some contraction, as the love of wine, gold, &c. but this of women is predominant in an higher strain, whose part affected is the liver; and this love deserves a longer explication, and shall be dilated apart in the next section.

Subsect. III.—*Honest Objects of Love.*

Beauty is the common object of all love; as [x] *jet draws a straw, so doth beauty love*: vertue and honesty are great motives, and give as fair a lustre as the rest, especially if they be sincere and right, not fucate, but proceeding from true form, and an incorrupt judgement. Those two Venus twins, Eros and Anteros, are then most firm and fast. For many times otherwise men are deceived by their flattering Gnathoes, dissembling camelions, outsides, hypocrites, that make a shew of great love, learning, pretend honesty, vertue, zeal, modesty, with affected looks and counterfeit gestures: fained protestations often steal away the hearts and favours of men, and deceive them, *specie virtutis et umbrâ*, when as, *reverâ* and indeed, there is no worth or honesty at all in them, no truth, but meer hypocrisie, subtilty, knavery, and the like. As true friends they are, as he that Cœlius Secundus met by the high way side; and hard it is, in this temporising age, to distinguish such companions, or to finde them out. Such Gnathoes as these for the most part belong to great men, and by this glozing flattery, affability, and such like philters, so dive and insinuate into their favours, that they are taken for men of excellent worth, wisdome, learning, demi-gods, and so screw themselves into

[s] Isocrates Demonico præcipit, ut, quum alicujus amicitiam vellet, illum laudet, quod laus initium amoris sit, vituperatio simultatum. [t] Suspect. lect. lib. 1. cap. 2. [u] Isay, 49. [v] Rara est concordia fratrum. [w] Grad. 1. cap. 22. [x] Vives, 3. de Animâ. Ut palcam succinum, sic formam

dignities, honours, offices: but these men cause harsh confusion often, and as many stirs as Rehoboams counsellors in a common-wealth, overthrow themselves and others. Tandlerus, and some authors make a doubt, whether love and hatred may be compelled by philters or characters; Cardan, and Marbodius, by pretious stones and amulets; astrologers, by election of times, &c. as [y] I shall elsewhere discuss. The true object of this honest love is vertue, wisdome, honesty, [z] reall worth, *interna forma;* and this love cannot deceive or be compelled: *ut ameris, amabilis esto;* love it self is the most potent philtrum, vertue and wisdome, *gratia gratum faciens,* the sole and only grace, not counterfeit, but open, honest, simple, naked, [a] *descending from heaven,* as our apostle hath it, an infused habit from God, which hath given severall gifts, as wit, learning, tongues, for which they shall be amiable and gratious (*Eph.* 4. 11), as to Saul stature and a goodly presence (1 *Sam.* 9. 2): Joseph found favour in Pharaohs court (*Gen.* 39) for [b] his person; and Daniel with the princes of the eunuchs (*Dan.* 1. 9.) Christ was gratious with God and men (*Luk.* 2. 52). There is still some peculiar grace, as of good discourse, eloquence, wit, honesty, which is the *primum mobile,* first mover, and a most forcible loadstone to draw the favours and good wills of mens eys, ears, and affections unto them. When *Jesus spake, they were all astonied at his answers,* (*Luk.* 2. 47) *and wondred at his gratious words which proceeded from his mouth.* An orator steals away the hearts of men, and, as another Orpheus, *quo vult, unde vult,* he puls them to him by speech alone: a sweet voice causeth admiration; and he that can utter himself in good words, in our ordinary phrase, is called a proper man, a divine spirit. For which cause, belike, our old poets, *senatus populusque poëtarum,* made Mercury the gentleman-usher to the Graces, captain of eloquence, and those Charites to be Jupiters and Eurynomes daughters, descended from above. Though they be otherwise deformed, crooked, ugly to behold, those good parts of the minde denominate them fair. Plato commends the beauty of Socrates; yet who was more grim of countenance, stern and ghastly to look upon? So are and have been many great philosophers, as [c] Gregory Nazianzen observes, *deformed, most part, in that which is to be seen with the eys, but most elegant in that which is not to be seen. Sæpe sub attritâ latitat sapientia veste.* Æsop, Democritus, Aristotle, Politianus, Melancthon, Gesner, &c. withered old men, *Sileni Alcibiadis,* very harsh and impolite to the eye; but who were so terse, polite, eloquent, generally learned, temperate, and modest? No man then living was so fair as Alcibiades, so lovely, *quoad superficiem,* to the eye, as [d] Boëthius observes: but he had *corpus turpissimum interne,* a most deformed soul. Honesty, vertue, fair conditions, are great entisers to such as are well given, and much avail to get the favour and good will of men. Abdolonymus, in Curtius, a poor man (but, which mine author notes, [e] *the cause of this poverty was his honesty*), for his modesty and continency, from a private person, (for they found him digging in his garden) was saluted king, and preferred before all the magnificoes of his time: *injecta ei vestis purpurâ auroque distincta; a purple embroidered garment was put upon him,* [f] *and they bade him wash himself, and, as he was worthy, take upon him the stile and spirit of a king,* continue his continency, and the rest of his good parts. Titus Pomponius Atticus, that noble citizen of Rome, was so fair conditioned, of so sweet a carriage, that he was generally beloved of all good men, of Cæsar, Pompey, Anthony, Tully, of divers sects, &c. *multas hæreditates* ([g] Cornelius Nepos writes) *solâ bonitate consequutus. Operæ pretium audire, &c.* it is worthy of your attention, Livy cries, *you that scorn all but riches, and give no esteem to vertue,*

[y] Sect. seq. [z] Nihil divinius homine probo. [a] James, 3. 17. [b] Gratior est pulchro veniens è corpore virtus. [c] Orat. 18. Deformes plerumque philosophi ad id quod in aspectum cadit, eâ parte elegantes quæ oculos fugit. [d] 43. de consol. [e] Caussa ei paupertatis philosophia, sicut plerisque probitas fuit. [f] Ablue corpus, et cape regis animum, et in eam fortunam, quâ dignus es, continentiam istam profer. [g] Vitâ ejus.

except they be wealthy withall, Q. Cincinnatus had but four acres, and, by the consent of the senate, was chosen dictator of Rome.[h] Of such account were Cato, Fabritius, Aristides, Antoninus, Probus, for their eminent worth: so Cæsar, Trajan, Alexander, admired for valour: [i] Hephæstion loved Alexander, but Parmenio the king: *Titus deliciæ humani generis*, and, which Aurelius Victor hath of Vespasian, the dilling of his time, as [j] Edgar Etheling was in England, for his [k] excellent vertues: their memory is yet fresh, sweet; and we love them many ages after, though they be dead. *Suavem memoriam sua reliquit*, saith Lipsius of his friend; living and dead they are all one. [l] *I have ever loved, as thou knowest*, (so Tully wrote to Dolabella) *Marcus Brutus, for his great wit, singular honesty, constancy, sweet conditions; and believe it,* [m] *there is nothing so amiable and fair as vertue. I* [n] *do mightily love Calvisinus*, (so Pliny writes to Sossius) *a most industrious, eloquent, upright man; which is all in all with me.* The affection came from his good parts. And, as S[t]. Austin comments on the 84 Psalm, [o] *there is a peculiar beauty of justice*, and inward beauty, *which we see with the eyes of our hearts, love, and are enamoured with, as in martyrs: though their bodies be torn in pieces with wild beasts, yet this beauty shines, and we love their vertues.* [p] The Stoicks are of opinion that a wise man is only fair; and Cato (in Tully, 3, *de Finibus*) contends the same, that the lineaments of the minde are far fairer than those of the body, incomparably beyond them: wisdom and valour, according to [q] Xenophon, especially deserve the name of beauty, and denominate one fair; *et incomparabiliter pulchrior est* (as Austin holds) *Veritas Christianorum quam Helena Græcorum. Wine is strong; the king is strong; women are strong; but truth overcometh all things* (1 Esd. 3. 10, 11, 12). *Blessed is the man that findeth wisdom, and getteth understanding; for the merchandise thereof is better then silver, and the gain thereof better then gold; it is more precious then pearls; and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared to her* (Prov. 3. 13, 14, 15). A wise, true, just, upright, and good man, I say it again, is onely fair. [r] It is reported of Magdalen, Queen of France, and wife to Lewis 11th, a Scottish woman by birth, that, walking forth in an evening with her ladies, she spied M. Alanus, one of the kings chaplains, a silly, old, [s] hard-favoured man, fast asleep in a bower, and kissed him sweetly; when the young ladies laughed at her for it, she replied, that it was not his person that she did embrace and reverence, but, with a Platonick love, the divine beauty of [t] his soul. Thus, in all ages, vertue hath been adored, admired; a singular lustre hath proceeded from it; and the more vertuous he is, the more gratious, the more admired. No man so much followed upon earth as Christ himself; and, as the Psalmist saith (45. 2), *he was fairer then the sons of men.* Chrysostome (*Hom.* 8. *in Mat.*) Bernard (*Ser.* 1. *de omnibus sanctis*), Austin Cassiodore, *Hier.* (*in* 9 *Mat.*) interpret it of the [u] beauty of his person; there was a divine majestie in his looks; it shined like lightning, and drew all men to it: but Basil, Cyril (*lib.* 6. *super.* 55. *Esay*), Theodoret, Arnobius, &c. of the beauty of his divinity, justice, grace, eloquence, &c. Thomas (in Psal. 44) of both; and so doth Baradius, and Peter Morales (*lib. de pulchritud.*

[h] Qui præ divitiis humana spernunt, nec virtuti locum putant, nisi opes affluant. Q. Cincinnatus consensu patrum in dictatorem Romanum electus. [i] Curtius. [j] Edgar Etheling, England's darling. [k] Morum suavitas, obvia comitas, prompta officia, mortalium animos demerentur. [l] Epist. lib. 8. Semper amavi, ut tu scis, M. Brutum, propter ejus summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem et constantiam: nihil est, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil amabilius. [m] Ardentes amores excitaret, si simulacrum ejus ad oculos penetraret. Plato, Phædone. [n] Epist. lib. 4. Valdissime diligo virum rectum, disertum, quod apud me potentissimum est. [o] Est quædam pulchritudo justitiæ, quam videmus oculis cordis, amamus, et exardescimus, ut in martyribus, quum eorum membra bestiæ lacerarent, etsi alias deformes, &c. [p] Lipsius manuduc. ad Phys. Stoïc. lib. 3. diff. 17. Solus sapiens pulcher. [q] Fortitudo et prudentia pulchritudinis laudem præcipue merentur. [r] Franc. Belforist. in hist. an 1430. [s] Erat autem fœde deformis, et eâ formâ, quâ citius pueri terreri possent, quam invitari *ad osculum puellæ*. [t] Deformis iste etsi videntur senex, divinum animum habet. [u] Fulgebat vultu *suo fulgor, et divina* majestas homines ad se trahens.

Iesu et Mariæ), adding as much of Joseph and the Virgin Mary, - —— *hæc alios formâ præcesserit omnes*, according to that prediction of Sibylla Cumæa. Be they present or absent, near us, or afar off, this beauty shines, and will attract men many miles to come and visite it. Plato and Pythagoras left their countrey, to see those wise Ægyptian priests: Apollonius travelled into Æthiopia, Persia, to consult with the Magi, Brachmanni, Gymnosophists. The queen of Sheba came to visit Solomon; and many, saith [u] Hierom, went out of Spain and remote places a thousand miles, to behold that eloquent Livy; [v] *Multi Romam, non ut urbem pulcherrimam, aut urbis et orbis dominum Octavianum, sed ut hunc unum inviserent audirentque, a Gadibus profecti sunt.* No beauty leaves such an impression, strikes so deep, [w] or links the souls of men closer then vertue.

[x] Non, per Deos, aut pictor posset,
Aut statuarius ullus, fingere
Talem pulchritudinem, qualem virtus habet:

no painter, no graver, can express vertues lustre, or those admirable rayes that come from it, those enchanting rayes that enamour posterity, those everlasting rayes that continue to the worlds end. Many, saith Phavorinus, that loved and admired Alcibiades in his youth, knew not, cared not for Alcibiades a man; *nunc intuentes quærebant Alcibiadem:* but the beauty of Socrates is still the same; [y] vertues lustre never fades, is ever fresh and green, *semper viva* to all succeeding ages, and a most attractive loadstone, to draw and combine such as are present. For that reason, belike, Homer feigns the three graces to be linked and tied hand in hand, because the hearts of men are so firmly united with such graces. [z] *O sweet bands*, (Seneca exclaims) *which so happily combine, that those which are bound by them love their binders, desiring, withall, much more harder to be bound*, and, as so many Geryons, to be united into one. For the nature of true friendship is to combine, to be like affected, of one minde,

[a] Velle et nolle ambobus idem, satlataque toto
Mens ævo———

as the poet saith, still to continue one and the same. And where this love takes place, there is peace and quietness, a true correspondence, perfect amity, a diapason of vowes and wishes, the same opinions, as betwixt [b] David and Jonathan, Damon and Pythias, Pylades and Orestes, [c] Nisus and Euryalus, Theseus and Pirithous: [d] they will live and die together, and prosecute one another with good turns, ([e] *nam vinci in amore turpissimum putant*) not only living, but, when their friends are dead, with tombs and monuments, nænias, epitaphs, elegies, inscriptions, pyramids, obelisks, statues, images, pictures, histories, poems, annals, feasts, anniversaries, many ages after (as Platos schollers did) they will *parentare still*, omit no good office that may tend to the preservation of their names, honours, and eternal memory. [f] *Illum coloribus, illum cerâ, illum ære, &c. He did express his friends in colours, in wax, in brass, in ivory, marble, gold and silver*, (as Pliny reports of a citizen in Rome) *and in a great auditory, not long since, recited a just volume of his life.* In another place, [g] speaking of an epigram which Martial had composed in praise of him, *He gave me as much as he might, and would have done more if he could: though what can a man give more then honour, glory, and eternity? But that which he wrote, peradven-*

[u] Præfat. bib. vulgar. [v] Pars. inscrip. Tit. Livii statuæ Patavii. [w] A true loves knot. [x] Stobæus, è Græco. [y] Solinus. Pulchri nulla est facies. [z] O dulcissimi laquei, qui tam feliciter devinciunt, ut etiam à vinctis diligantur! qui à Gratiis vincti sunt, cupiunt arctius deligari, et in unum redigi. [a] Statius. [b] He loved him, as he loved his own soul, 1 Sam. 15. 1. Beyond the love of women. [c] Virg. 9. Æn. Qui super exanimem sese conjecit amicum Confossus. [d] Amicus animæ dimidium. Austin. confes. 4. cap. 6. Quod de Virgilio Horatius, Et serves animæ dimidium meæ. [e] Plinius. [f] Illum argento et auro, illum ebore, marmore effingit; et nuper, ingenti adhibito auditorio, ingentem de vitâ ejus librum recitavit. epist. lib. 4. epist. 68. [g] Lib. 4. ep. 61. Prisco suo. Dedit mihi quantum potuit maximum, daturus amplius, si potuisset. Tametsi quid homini dari potest majus quam gloria, laus, et æternitas? At non erunt fortasse quæ scripsit. Ille tamen scripsit, tamquam essent futura.

ture, will not continue; yet he wrote it to continue. 'Tis all the recompence a poor scholler can make his well-deserving patron, Mæcenas, friend, to mention him in his works, to dedicate a book to his name, to write his life, &c. as all our poets, orators, historiographers, have ever done; and the greatest revenge such men take of their adversaries, to persecute them with satyrs, invectives, &c. [k] and 'tis both wayes of great moment, as [l] Plato gives us to understand. Paulus Jovius, in the fourth book of the life and deeds of Pope Leo Decimus, his noble patron, concludes in these words: [j] *Because I cannot honour him as other rich men do, with like endeavour, affection, and piety, I have undertaken to write his life; since my fortunes will not give me leave to make a more sumptuous monument, I will perform those rites to his sacred ashes, which a small, perhaps, but a liberal wit can afford.* But I rove. Where this true love is wanting, there can be no firm peace, friendship from teeth outward, counterfeit, or for some by respects, so long dissembled, till they have satisfied their own ends, which, upon every small occasion, breaks out into enmity, open war, defiance, heart-burnings, whispering, calumnies, contentions, and all manner of bitter melancholy discontents. And those men which have no other object of their love, then greatness, wealth, authority, &c. are rather feared then beloved; *nec amant quemquam, nec amantur ab ullo:* and, howsoever born with for a time, yet, for their tyranny and oppression, griping, covetousness, currish hardness, folly, intemperance, imprudence, and such like vices, they are generally odious, abhorred of all, both God and men.

Non uxor salvum te vult, non filius: omnes
Vicini oderunt:

wife and children, friends, neighbours, all the world forsakes them, would fain be rid of them, and are compelled many times to lay violent hands on them: or else Gods judgements overtake them: instead of Graces, come Furies. So, when fair [k] Abigail, a woman of singular wisdome, was acceptable to David, Nabal was churlish and evil-conditioned; and therefore [l] Mardochy was received, when Haman was executed, Haman the favorite, *that had his seat above the other princes, to whom all the Kings servants, that stood in the gates, bowed their knees, and reverenced.* Though they flourish many times, such hypocrites, such temporizing foxes, and blear the worlds eyes by flattery, bribery, dissembling their natures, or other mens weakness, that cannot so soon apprehend their tricks, yet in the end they will be discerned, and precipitated in a moment: *Surely*, saith David, *thou hast set them in slippery places* (Psa. 73. 18); as so many Sejani, they will come down to the Gemonian scales; and, as Eusebius in [m] Ammianus, that was in such authority, *ad jubendum imperatorem*, be cast down headlong on a sudden. Or put case they escape, and rest unmasked to their lives end, yet, after their death, their memory stinks as a snuffe of a candle put out; and those that durst not so much as mutter against them in their lives, will prosecute their name with satyrs, libels, and bitter imprecations: they shall *male audire* in all succeeding ages, and be odious to the worlds end.

MEMB. III.

Charity composed of all three kinds, Pleasant, Profitable, Honest.

Besides this love that comes from profit, pleasure, honesty, (for one good turn asks another in equity) that which proceeds from the law of nature, or from discipline and philosophy, there is yet another love compounded of all these three, which is *charity*, and includes piety, dilection, benevolence,

[k] For genus irritabile vatum. [l] Lib. 13. de Legibus. Magnam enim vim habent, &c. [j] Pari tamen studio et pietate conscribendæ vitæ ejus munus suscepi, et postquam sumptuosa condere pro fortunâ non licuit, vaigno sed eo forte liberalis ingenii monumento justa sanctissimo cineri solventur. [k] 1 Sam. 25. 3. [l] Esther, 3. 2. [m] Amm. Marcellinus, l. 14.

friendship, even all those vertuous habits; for love is the circle equant of all other affections (of which Aristotle dilates at large in his Ethicks), and is commanded by God, which no man can well perform, but he that is a Christian, and a true regenerate man. This is [u] *To love God above all, and our neighbour as our self;* for this love is *lychnus accendens et accensus*, a communicating light, apt to illuminate it self as well as others. All other objects are fair, and very beautiful, I confess; kindred, alliance, friendship, the love that we owe to our country, nature, wealth, pleasure, honour, and such moral respects, &c. of which read [o] copious Aristotle in his Morals: a man is beloved of a man, in that he is a man; but all these are far more eminent and great, when they shall proceed from a sanctified spirit, that hath a true touch of religion, and a reference to God. Nature binds all creatures to love their young ones: an hen, to preserve her brood, will run upon a lion; an hinde will fight with a bull, a sow with a bear, a silly sheep with a fox. So the same nature urgeth a man to love his parents, ([p] *Dii me, pater, omnes oderint, ni te magis quam oculos amem meos!*) and this love cannot be dissolved, as Tully holds, [q] *without detestable offence:* but much more Gods commandment, which injoyns a filial love, and an obedience in this kind. [r] *The love of brethren is great, and like an arch of stones, where if one be displaced, all comes down:* no love so forcible and strong, honest, to the combination of which, nature, fortune, vertue, happily concur; yet this love comes short of it. *Dulce et decorum pro patriâ mori:* [s] *it cannot be expressed, what a deal of charity that one name of country contains. Amor laudis et patriæ pro stipendio est.* The Decii did *se devovére*, Horatii, Curii, Scævola, Regulus, Codrus, sacrifice themselves for their countries peace and good.

[t] Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes:	One day the Fabii stoutly warred,
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.	One day the Fabii were destroyed.

Fifty thousand Englishmen lost their lives willingly neer Battle Abby, in defence of their country. [u] P. Æmilius (l. 6.) speaks of six senators of Calice, that came with halters in their hands to the king of England, to die for the rest. This love makes so many writers take such pains, so many historiographers, physicians, &c. or at least as they pretend, for common safety, and their countries benefit. [v] *Sanctum nomen amicitiæ, sociorum communio sacra:* friendship is an holy name, and a sacred communion of friends. [w] *As the sun is in the firmament, so is friendship in the world,* a most divine and heavenly band. As nuptial love makes, this perfects mankind, and is to be preferred (if you will stand to the judgement of [x] Cornelius Nepos), before affinity, or consanguinity; *plus in amicitiâ valet similitudo morum, quam affinitas, &c.* the cords of love bind faster then any other wreath whatsoever. Take this away, and take all pleasure, joy, comfort, happiness, and true content, out of the world; 'tis the greatest tye, the surest indenture, strongest band, and, as our modern Maro decides it, is much to be preferred before the rest.

[y] Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deem,	For natural affection soon doth cease,
When all three kinds of love together meet,	And quenched is with Cupids greater flame;
And do dispart the heart with power extream,	But faithful friendship doth them both suppress,
Whether shall weigh the ballance down; to wit,	And them with mastering discipline doth tame,
The dear affection unto kindred sweet,	Through thoughts aspiring to eternal fame.
Or raging fire of love to women kind,	For, as the soul doth rule the earthly mass,
Or zeal of friends, combin'd by vertues meet:	And all the service of the body frame,
But of them all, the band of vertuous mind,	So love of soul doth love of body pass,
Me thinks, the gentle heart should most assured bind.	No less then perfect gold surmounts the meanest brass.

[u] Ut mundus duobus polis sustentatur, ita lex Dei, amore Dei et proximi: duobus his fundamentis vincitur; machina mundi corruit, si una de polis turbatur; lex perit divina, si una ex his. [o] 8. et 9. libro. [p] Ter. Adelph. 4. 5. [q] De amicit. Caritas parentum dilui nisi detestabili scelere non potest. [r] Fraternitas lapidum fornicibus simillima, casura, nisi se invicem sustentaret. Seneca. [s] Dii immortales! dici non potest quantum caritatis nomen illud habet. [t] Ovid. Fast. [u] Anno 1347, Jacob. Mayer. Annal. Fland. lib. 12. [v] Tully. [w] Luclanus, Toxari. Amicitia ut sol in mundo, &c. [x] Vit. Pompon. Attici. [y] Spencer, Fairy Queen, lib. 5. cant. 9. staff. 1. 2.

[a]A faithful friend is better then [a]gold, a medicine of misery, [b]an only possession: yet this love of friends, nuptial, heroical, profitable, pleasant, honest, all three loves put together, are little worth, if they proceed not from a true Christian illuminated soul, if it be not done *in ordine ad Deum*, for Gods sake. *Though I had the gift of prophesie, spake with tongues of men and angels, though I feed the poor with all my goods, give my body to be burned, and have not this love, it profiteth me nothing* (1 *Cor.* 13. 1, 3): [a]'tis *splendidum peccatum*, without charity. This is an all apprehending love, a deifying love, a refined, pure, divine love, the quintessence of all love, the true philosophers stone: *non potest enim*, (as [c]Austin infers) *veraciter amicus esse hominis, nisi fuerit ipsius primitus veritatis*: he is no true friend that loves not Gods truth. And therefore this is true love indeed, the cause of all good to mortal men, that reconciles all creatures, and glews them together in perpetual amity, and firm league, and can no more abide bitterness, hate, malice, then fair and foul weather, light and darkness, sterility and plenty, may be together. As the sun in the firmament, (I say) so is love in the world; and for this cause 'tis love without an addition, love, κατ' ἐξοχήν, love of God, and love of men. [d]*The love of God begets the love of man; and, by this love of our neighbour, the love of God is nourished and increased.* By this happy union of love, [e]*all well governed families and cities are combined, the heavens annexed, and divine souls complicated, the world it self composed, and all that is in it conjoyned in God, and reduced to one.* [f]*This love causeth true and absolute vertues, the life, spirit, and root of every vertuous action: it finisheth prosperity, easeth adversity, corrects all natural incumbrances*, inconveniences, sustained by faith and hope, which, with this our love, make an indissoluble twist; a Gordian knot, an æquilateral triangle; *and yet the greatest of them is love*, (1 Cor. 13, 13) [g]*which inflames our souls with a divine heat, and being so inflamed, purgeth, and, so purged, elevates to God, makes an attonement, and reconciles us unto him.* [h]*That other love infects the soul of man; this cleanseth: that depresses; this erears: that causeth cares and troubles; this quietness of mind: this informs, that deforms our life: that leads to repentance, this to heaven.* For, if once we be truly link't and touched with this charity, we shall love God above all, our neighbour as our self, as we are enjoyned (*Mark*, 12. 31, *Mat.* 19. 19), perform those duties and exercises, even all the operations of a good Christian.

℣. *This love suffereth long: it is bountiful, envieth not, boasteth not it self; is not puffed up: it deceiveth not; it seeketh not his own things, is not provoked to anger; it thinketh not evil; it rejoyceth not in iniquity, but in truth. It suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things* (1 Cor. 13. 4, 5, 6, 7); *it covereth all trespasses* (Prov. 10. 12), *a multitude of sinnes* (1 Pet. 4), as our Saviour told the woman in the Gospel, that washed his feet, *many sins were forgiven her, for she loved much* (Luke, 7. 47): *it will defend the fatherless and the widdow* (Isa. 1. 17), *will seek no revenge, or be mindful of wrong*, (Levit. 19. 18), *will bring home his brothers oxe if he go astray, as it is commanded* (Deut. 22. 1), *will resist evil, give to him that asketh, and not turn from him that borroweth, bless them that curse him, love his enemies*, (Matthew 5), *bear his brothers burthen*, (Galatians, 6. 7). He that so loves, will be hospitable, and distribute to the necessities of the saints: he will, if it be possible, have peace with all men, *feed his enemy if he be hungry, if he be athirst, give him drink*: he will perform

[a]Siracides. [a]Plutarch. Pretiosum numisma. [b]Xenophon. Verus amicus præstantissima possessio. [c]Epist. 52. [d]Greg. Per amorem Dei, proximi gignitur; et per hunc amorem proximi, Dei nutritur. [e]Picolomineus, grad. 7. cap. 27. Hoc felici amoris nodo ligantur familiæ, civitates, &c. [f]Veras absolutas hæc parit virtutes, radix omnium virtutum, mens et spiritus. [g]Divino calore animos accendit, incensos purgat, purgatos elevat ad Deum, Deum placat, hominem Deo conciliat. Bernard. Ille inficit, hic perficit; ille deprimit, hic elevat; hic tranquillitatem, ille curas parit; hic [illegible]rete informat, ille deformat, &c.

those seven works of mercy; *he will make himself equal to them of the lower sort, rejoyce with them that rejoyce, weep with them that weep,* (Rom. 12): he will speak truth to his neighbour, be courteous and tender hearted, *forgiving others for Christs sake, as God forgave him* (Eph. 4. 32); *he will be like minded* (Phil. 2. 2), *of one judgement; be humble, meek, long suffering,* (Colos. 3), *forbear, forget, and forgive,* (12. 13. 23): and what he doth, shall be heartily done to God, and not to men; *be pittiful and courteous,* (1 Pet. 3), *seek peace and follow it.* He will love his brother, not in word and tongue, but in deed and truth (1 Joh. 3. 18): *and he that loves God, Christ will love him that is begotten of him* (1 Joh. 5. 1. &c.) Thus should we willingly do, if we had a true touch of this charity, of this divine love, if we would perform this which we are enjoyned, forget and forgive, and compose ourselves to those christian laws of love.

[i] O felix hominum genus,
Si vestros animos Amor,
Quo cœlum regitur, regat!

Angelical souls, how blessed, how happy should we be, so loving, how might we triumph over the divel, and have another heaven upon earth!

But this we cannot do; and, which is the cause of all our woes, miseries, discontent, melancholy, [j] want of this charity. We do *invicem angariare,* contemn, insult, vex, torture, molest, and hold one anothers noses to the grindstone hard, provoke, rail, scoffe, calumniate, challenge, hate, abuse (hard-hearted, implacable, malicious, peevish, inexorable as we are) to satisfie our lust or private spleen, for [k] toyes, trifles, and impertinent occasions, spend our selves, goods, friends, fortunes, to be revenged on our adversary, to ruin him and his. 'Tis all our study, practice and business, how to plot mischief, mine, countermine, defend and offend, ward our selves, injure others, hurt all; as if we were born to do mischief, and that with such eagerness and bitterness, with such rancor, malice, rage, and fury, we prosecute our intended designs, that neither affinity or consanguinity, love or fear of God or men, can contain us: no satisfaction, no composition, will be accepted, no offices will serve, no submission; though he shall, upon his knees, as Sarpedon did to Glaucus in Homer, acknowledging his error, yield himself with tears in his eys, beg his pardon, we will not relent, forgive, or forget, till we have confounded him and his, *made dice of his bones,* as they say, see him rot in prison, banish his friends, followers, *et omne invisum genus,* rooted him out, and all his posterity. Monsters of men as we are, dogs, wolves, [l] tygers, fiends, incarnate divels, we do not only contend, oppress, and tyrannize our selves, but, as so many fire-brands, we set on, and animate others: our whole life is a perpetual combate, a conflict, a set battle, a snarling fit: *Eris Dea* is settled in our tents, [m] *Omnia de lite,* opposing wit to wit, wealth to wealth, strength to strength, fortunes to fortunes, friends to friends, as at a sea fight, we turn our broad sides, or two milstones with continual attrition, we fire ourselves, or break anothers backs, and both are ruined and consumed in the end. Miserable wretches! to fat and inrich our selves, we care not how we get it: *Quocunque modo rem:* how many thousands we undo, whom we oppress, by whose ruin and downfall we arise, whom we injure, fatherless children, widdows, common societies, to satisfie our own private lust. Though we have myriads, abundance of wealth and treasure, (pittiless, merciless, remorseless, and uncharitable in the highest degree) and our poor brother in need, sickness, in great extremity, and now ready to be starved for want of food, we had rather, as the fox told the ape, his tail should sweep the ground still, then cover his buttocks; rather spend it idly, consume it with dogs, hawks, hounds, unnecessary buildings, in riotous ap-

[i] Boëthius, lib. 2. met. 8. [j] Deliquium patitur caritas: odium ejus loco succedit. Basil. l. ser. de instit. mon. [k] Nodum in scirpo quærentes. [l] Hircanæque admôrunt ubera tigres. [m] Heraclitus.

parel, ingurgitate, or let it be lost, then he should have part of it; [n] rather take from him that little which he hath, then relieve him.

Like the dog in the manger, we neither use it our selves, let others make use of, or enjoy it; part with nothing while we live, and, for want of disposing our houshold, and setting things in order, set all the world together by the ears after our death. Poor Lazarus lies howling at his gates for a few crums; he only seeks chippings, offals; let him roar and howl, famish, and eat his own flesh; he respects him not. A poor decayed kinsman of his sets upon him by the way in all his jollity, and runs begging bareheaded by him, conjuring by those former bonds of friendship, alliance, consanguinity, &c. unkle, cosen, brother, father,

> —— Per ego has lacrymas, dextramque tuam, te,
> Si quidquam de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam
> Dulce meum, miserere mei.

Shew some pitty, for Christs sake; pitty a sick man, an old man, &c. he cares not, ride on: pretend sickness, inevitable loss of limbs, goods, plead suretiship, or shipwrack, fires, common calamities, shew thy wants and imperfections,

> Etsi per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim,
> Credite, non ludo: crudeles, tollite claudum:

Swear, protest, take God and all his angels to witness,—*quære peregrinum;* thou art a counterfeit crank, a cheater; he is not touched with it: *pauper ubique jacet;* ride on, he takes no notice of it. Put up a supplication to him in the name of a thousand orphans, an hospital, a spittle, a prison; as he goes by, they cry out to him for ayd; ride on; *surdo narras;* he cares not; let them eat stones, devour themselves with vermine, rot in their own dung; he cares not. Shew him a decayed haven, a bridge, a school, a fortification, &c. or some public work; ride on; good your worship, your honour, for Gods sake, your countries sake; ride on. But shew him a role wherein his name shall be registred in golden letters, and commended to all posterity, his arms set up, with his devises to be seen, then peradventure he will stay and contribute: or if thou canst thunder upon him, as Papists do, with satisfactory and meritorious works, or perswade him by this means he shall save his soul out of hell, and free it from purgatory (if he be of any religion), then in all likelihood he will listen and stay; or that he have no children, no neer kinsman, heir, he cares for at least, or cannot well tell otherwise how or where to bestow his possessions (for carry them with him he cannot) it may be then he will build some school or hospitall in his life, or be induced to give liberally to pious uses after his death. For I dare boldly say, vain glory, that opinion of merit, and this enforced necessity, when they know not otherwise how to leave, or what better to do with them, is the main cause of most of our good works. I will not urge this to derogate from any mans charitable devotion, or bounty in this kinde, to censure any good work; no doubt there be many sanctified, heroical, and worthy minded men, that in true zeal, and for vertues sake (divine spirits) that out of commiseration and pitty, extend their liberality, and, as much as in them lies, do good to all men, cloath the naked, feed the hungry, comfort the sick and needy, relieve all, forget and forgive injuries, as true charity requires: yet most part there is *simulatum quid*, a deal of hypocrisie in this kinde, much default and defect. [o] Cosmus Medices, that rich citizen of Florence, ingenuously confessed to a neer friend of his, that would know of him why he built so many publike and magnificent palaces, and bestowed so liberally on scholars, not that he loved learning more then others, *but to* [p] *eternize his own name, to be immortall by the benefit of scholars; for, when his friends were dead, walls decayed, and all* in-

[n] Si in gehennam abit pauperem qui non alat, quid de eo fiet qui pauperem denudat? Austin.
[o] Jovius, vitâ ejus. [p] Immortalitatem, beneficio literarum immortali, gloriosâ quâdam cupiditate concupivit. Quod cives quibus benefecisset perituri, mœnia ruitura, etsi regio sumptu ædificata, *non libri.*

scriptions *gone, books would remain to the worlds end.* The lanthorn in [q] Athens was built by Xenocles, the theater by Pericles, the famous port Pyræeus by Musicles, Pallas Palladium by Phidias, the Pantheon by Callicratidas; but these brave monuments are decayed all, and ruined long since, their builders names alone flourish by mediation of writers. And, as [r] he said of that Marian oke, now cut down and dead, *nullius agricolæ manu culta stirps tam diuturna, quam quæ poëtæ versu seminari potest,* no plant can grow so long as that which is *ingenio sata,* set and manured by those ever-living wits. [s] Allon Backuth, that weeping oke, under which Deborah, Rebecchaes nurse died, and was buried, may not survive the memory of such everlasting monuments. Vainglory and emulation (as to most men) was the cause efficient, and to be a trumpeter of his own fame, Cosmus sole intent, so to do good, that all the world might take notice of it. Such, for the most part, is the charity of our times, such our benefactors, Mæcenates and patrons. Shew me, amongst so many myriads, a truly devout, a right, honest, upright, meek, humble, a patient, innocuous, innocent, a mercifull, a loving, a charitable man!

[t] Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit?

Shew me a Caleb or a Joshua! *Dic mihi, Musa, virum*——shew a vertuous woman, a constant wife, a good neighbour, a trusty servant, an obedient child, a true friend, &c. Crows in Africk are not so scant. He that shall examine this [u] iron age wherein we live, where love is cold, *et jam terras Astræa reliquit,* Justice fled with her assistants, Vertue expelled,

——Justitiæ soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,—

all goodness gone, where vice abounds, the Divel is loose, and see one man vilify and insult over his brother, as if he were an innocent, or a block, oppress, tyrannise, prey upon, torture him, vex, gaule, torment and crucify him, starve him, where is charity? He that shall see men [v] swear and forswear, lye and bear false witness, to advantage themselves, prejudice others, hazard goods, lives, fortunes, credit, all, to be revenged on their enemies, men so unspeakable in their lusts, unnaturall in malice, such bloody designements, Italian blaspheming, Spanish renouncing, &c. may well aske where is charity? He that shall observe so many law-suits, such endless contentions, such plotting, undermining, so much mony spent with such cagerness and fury, every man for himself, his own ends, the Divel for all: so many distressed souls, such lamentable complaints, so many factions, conspiracies, seditions, oppressions, abuses, injuries, such grudging, repining, discontent, so much emulation, envy, so many brawles, quarrels, monomachies, &c. may well require what is become of charity? when we see and read of such cruell wars, tumults, uproares, bloudy battels, so many [w] men slain, so many cities ruinated, &c. (for what else is the subject of all our stories almost, but bills, bowes, and gunns?) so many murders and massacres, &c. where is charity? Or see men wholly devote to God, churchmen, professed divines, holy men, [x] *to make the trumpet of the Gospel the trumpet of war,* a company of hell-born Jesuits, and fiery-spirited friers, *facem præferre* to all seditions; as so many firebrands set all the world by the ears (I say nothing of their contentious and rayling books, whole ages spent in writing one against another, and that with such virulency and bitterness, *Bionæis sermonibus et sale nigro*), and by their bloody inquisitions, that in thirty years, Bale saith, consumed 39 princes, 148 earls,

[q] Plutarch. Pericle. [r] Tullius, lib. 1. de legibus. [s] Gen. 35. 8. [t] Hor. [u] Durum genus sumus. [v] Tull. pro Rosc. Mentiri vis caussâ meâ? ego vero cupide et libenter mentiar tuâ caussâ; et si quando me vis pejerare, ut paullulum tu compendii facias, paratum fore scito. [w] Gallienus, in Treb. Pollio, lacera, occide, meâ mente irascere. Rable jecur incendente feruntur Præcipites. Vopiscus, of Aurelian. Tantum fudit sanguinis, quantum quis vini potavit. [x] Evangelii tubam belli tubam faciunt; in pulpitis pacem, in colloquiis bellum suadent.

235 barons, 14755 commons; worse then those ten persecutions, may justly doubt where is charity? *Obsecro vos, quales hi demum Christiani?* Are these Christians? I beseech you tell me. He that shall observe and see these things, may say to them as Cato to Cæsar, *credo, quæ de inferis dicuntur, falsa existimas;* sure I think thou art of opinion there is neither heaven nor hell. Let them pretend religion, zeal, make what shewes they will, give almes, peace-makers, frequent sermons; if we may guess at the tree by the fruit, they are no better then hypocrites, epicures, atheists; with the [y] *fool, in their hearts they say there is no God.* 'Tis no marvel then, if being so uncharitable, hard-hearted as we are, we have so frequent and so many discontents, such melancholy fits, so many bitter pangs, mutuall discords, all in a combustion, often complaints, so common grievances, generall mischiefes, *si tantæ in terris tragœdiæ, quibus labefactatur et misere laceratur humanum genus,* so many pestilences, wars, uproares, losses, deluges, fires, inundations, Gods vengeance and all the plagues of Egypt, come not upon us, since we are so currish one towards another, so respectless of God and our neighbours, and by our crying sinnes pull these miseries upon our own heads. Nay more, 'tis justly to be feared, which [z] Josephus once said of his countrymen Jewes, *If the Romans had not come when they did, to sack their city, surely it had been swallowed up with some earthquake, deluge, or fired from heaven, as Sodome and Gomorrah: their desperate malice, wickedness and peevishness was such.* 'Tis to be suspected, if we continue these wretched waies, we may look for the like heavy visitations to come upon us. If we had any sense or feeling of these things, surely we should not go on as we do, in such irregular courses, practise all manner of impieties; our whole carriage would not be so averse from God. If a man would but consider, when he is in the midst and full career of such prodigious and uncharitable actions, how displeasing they are in Gods sight, how noxious to himself, as Salomon told Joab (1 King. 2); *the Lord shall bring this bloud upon their heads* (Prov. 1. 27); *sudden desolation and destruction shall come, like a whirlwinde, upon them: affliction, anguish, the reward of his hand shall be given him* (Isa. 3. 11, &c.): *they shall fall into the pit they have digged for others:* and when they are scraping, tyrannizing, getting, wallowing in their wealth,—*this night, O fool, I will take away thy soul*—what a severe account they must make; and how [a] gratious on the other side a charitable man is in Gods eys: *haurit sibi gratiam:* (Matth. 5. 7.) *blessed are the mercifull; for they shall obtain mercy:* he that lendeth to the *poor, gives to God;* and how it shall be restored to them again; *how, by their patience and long suffering, they shall heap coals on their enemies heads* (Rom. 12); *and he that followeth after righteousness and mercy, shall finde righteousness and glory;*— surely they would check their desires, curb in their unnaturall, inordinate affections, agree amongst themselves, abstain from doing evill, amend their lives, and learn to do well. *Behold, how comely and good a thing it is for brethren to live together in* [b] *union: it is like the pretious ointment,* &c. How odious to contend one with the other! [c] *Miseri quid luctatiunculis hisce volumus? ecce mors supra caput est, et supremum illud tribunal, ubi et dicta et facta nostra examinanda sunt. Sapiamus!* Why do we contend and vex one another? behold, death is over our heads; and we must shortly give an account of all our uncharitable words and actions: think upon it; and be wise!

[y] Psal. 14. 1. [z] De bello Judaico, lib. 6. c. 16. Puto, si Romani contra nos venire tardássent, aut hiatu terræ devorandam fuisse civitatem, aut diluvio perituram, aut fulmina, ut Sodoma, cum incendio passuram, ob desperatum populi, &c. [a] Benefacit animæ suæ vir misericors. [b] Concordiâ magnæ res crescunt; discordiâ maximæ dilabuntur. [c] Lipsius.

SECT. II. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Heroicall love causing melancholy. His Pedegree, Power, and Extent.*

IN the precedent section, mention was made, amongst other pleasant objects, of this comeliness and beauty which proceeds from women, that causeth heroicall or love-melancholy, and is more eminent above the rest, and properly called love. The part affected in men is the liver, and therefore called heroicall, because commonly gallants, noblemen, and the most generous spirits are possessed with it. His power and extent is very large; [d] and, in that twofold division of love, φιλεῖν and ἐρᾶν, [e] those two Veneres which Plato and some others make mention of, it is most eminent, and κατ' ἐξοχήν, called Venus, as I have said, or Love it self. Which although it be denominated from men, and most evident in them, yet it extends and shews it self in vegetall and sensible creatures, those incorporeall substances (as shall be specified), and hath a large dominion of soveraignty over them. His pedegree is very ancient, derived from the beginning of the world, as [f] Phædrus contends, and his [g] parentage of such antiquity, that no poet could ever finde it out. Hesiod makes [h] Terra and Chaos to be Loves parents, before the Gods were born: *Ante Deos omnes primum generavit Amorem.*

Some think it is the self same fire Prometheus fetched from heaven. Plutarch (*amator. libello,*) will have love to be the son of Iris and Favonius; but Socrates, in that pleasant dialogue of Plato, when it came to his turn to speak of love, (of which subject Agatho the rhetorician, *magniloquus Agatho*, that chanter Agatho, had newly given occasion) in a poeticall strain, telleth this tale—When Venus was born, all the Gods were invited to a banquet, and amongst the rest, [i] Porus, the God of bounty and wealth. Penia, or Poverty came a begging to the door; Porus, well whitled with nectar, (for there was no wine in those daies) walking in Jupiters garden, in a bowre met with Penia, and in his drink got her with child, of whom was born Love; and, because he was begotten on Venus birth day, Venus still attends upon him. The moral of this is in [j] Ficinus. Another tale is there borrowed out of Aristophanes—[k] In the beginning of the world, men had four armes and four feet, but for their pride, because they compared themselves with the gods, were parted into halfes; and now peradventure by love they hope to be united again, and made one. Otherwise thus,—[l] Vulcan met two lovers, and bid them aske what they would, and they should have it; but they made answer, *O Vulcane, faber Deorum, &c. O Vulcan, the Gods great smith, we beseech thee to work us anew in thy fornace, and of two make us one; which he presently did; and ever since true lovers are either all one, or else desire to be united.* Many such tales you will finde in Leon Hebræus, *dial.* 3. and their morall to them. The reason why Love was still painted yong, (as Phornutus [m] and others will) [n] *is because yong men are most apt to love: soft, fair, and fat, because such folks are soonest taken: naked, because all true affection is simple and open: he smiles, because merry and given to delights: hath a quiver, to shew his power, none can escape: is blinde, because he sees not where he strikes, whom he hits, &c.* His power and soverainty is expressed by

[d] Memb. 1. Subs. 2. [e] Amor et amicitia. [f] Phædrus, orat. in laudem Amoris, Platonis convivio. [g] Vide Boccas. de Geneal. Deorum. [h] See the morall in Plut. of that fiction. [i] Affluentiæ Deus. [j] Cap. 7. Comment. in Plat. convivium. [k] See more in Valesius, lib. 3 cont. med. et cont. 13. [l] Vives, 3. de animâ. Oramus te ut tuis artibus et caminis nos refingas, et ex duobus unum facias; quod et fecit, et exinde amatores unum sunt, et unum esse petunt. [m] See more in Natalis Comes, Imagin. Deorum, Philostratus de Imaginibus, Lilius Giraldus, Syntag. de Dils, Phornutus, &c. [n] Juvenis pingitur, quod, amore plerumque juvenes capiuntur; sic et mollis, formosus, nudus, quod simplex et apertus hic affectus; ridet, quod oblectamentum præ se ferat; cum pharetrâ, &c.

[o] the poets, in that he is held to be a God, and a great commanding God, above Jupiter himself: *Magnus Dæmon*, as Plato calls him, the strongest and merriest of all the gods according to Alcinous and [p] Athenæus. *Amor virorum rex et Déum*, as Euripides, the god of gods, and governor of men; for we must all do homage to him, keep an holy day for his deity, adore in his temples, worship his image, (*numen enim hoc non est nudum nomen*) and sacrifice to his altar, that conquers all, [q] and rules all:

[r] Mallem cum leone, cervo, et apro Ætolico,
Cum Antæo et Stymphalicis avibus luctari.
Quam cum Amore——

I had rather contend with bulls, lions, bears, and giants, then with Love; he is so powerfull, enforceth all to pay tribute to him, domineers over all, and can make mad and sober whom he list; insomuch that Cæcilius, in Tullies Tusculanes, holds him to be no better then a fool or an idiot, that doth not acknowledge Love to be a great god.

[s] Cui in manu sit quem esse dementem velit,
Quem sapere, quem in morbum injici, &c.

that can make sick and cure whom he list. Homer and Stesichorus were both made blind, if you will believe [t] Leon Hebræus, for speaking against his godhead: and though Aristophanes degrade him, and say that he was [u] scornefully rejected from the councell of the gods, had his wings clipped besides, that he might come no more amongst them, and, to his farther disgrace, banished heaven for ever, and confined to dwell on earth, yet he is of that [v] power, majesty, omnipotency, and dominion, that no creature can withstand him.

[w] Imperat Cupido etiam Diis pro arbitrio,
Et ipsum arcere ne armipotens potest Jupiter.

He is more then quarter master with the gods,

——— tenet
Thetide æquor, umbras Æaco, cœlum Jove:

and hath not so much possession, as dominion. Jupiter himself was turned into a satyre, shepheard, a bull, a swan, a golden showre, and what not, for love; that, as [x] Lucians Juno right well objected to him, *ludus Amoris tu es*, thou art Cupids wherlegigg: how did he insult over all the other gods, Mars, Neptune, Pan, Mercury, Bacchus, and the rest! [y] Lucian brings in Jupiter complaining of Cupid, that he could not be quiet for him; and the Moon lamenting that she was so impotently besotted on Endymion; even Venus her self confessing as much, how rudely and in what sort her own son Cupid had used her, being his [z] mother, *now drawing her to mount Ida, for the love of that Trojan Anchises, now to Libanus for that Assyrian youths sake. And, although she threatned to break his bow and arrowes, to clip his wings,* [a] *and whipped him besides on the bare buttocks with her pantophle, yet all would not serve; he was too headstrong and unruly.* That monster conquering Hercules was tamed by him:

Quem non mille feræ, quem non Stheneleïus hostis,
Nec potuit Juno vincere, vicit Amor.

Whom neither beasts nor enemies could tame.
Nor Junos might subdue, Love quell'd the same.

Your bravest souldiers and most generous spirits are enervated with it, [b] *ubi muliebribus, blanditiis permittunt se, et inquinantur amplexibus.* Apollo, that took upon him to cure all diseases, [c] could not help himself of this; and therefore [d] Socrates calls Love a tyrant, and brings him triumphing in a chariot, whom Petrarche imitates in his triumph of Love, and Fracastorius in an elegant poem expresseth at large, Cupid riding, Mars and Apollo following his chariot, Psyche weeping, &c.

[o] A petty Pope, claves habet superorum et inferorum, as Orpheus, &c. [p] Lib. 13. cap. 5. Dipnosoph. [q] Regnat, et in superos jus habet ille Deos. Ovid. [r] Plautus. [s] Selden. proleg. 3. cap. de Diis Syris. [t] Dial. 3. [u] A concilio Deorum rejectus, et, ad majorem ejus ignominiam, &c. [v] Fulmine concitatior. [w] Sophocles. [x] Tom. 4. [y] Dial. Deorum, tom. 3. [z] Quippe matrem ipsius quibus modis me afficit, nunc in Idam adigens Anchisæ caussâ, &c. [a] Jampridem et plagas ipsi in nates incussi sandalio. [b] Altopilus, fol. 79. [c] Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis. [d] Plutarch. in Amatorio. Dictator quo creato cessant reliqui magistratus.

In vegetall creatures what soveraignty Love hath, by many pregnant proofs and familiar examples may be proved, especially of palm trees, which are both he and she, and express not a sympathy but a love passion, as by many observations hath been confirmed.

[e] Vivunt in Venerem frondes, omnisque vicissim
Felix arbor amat, nutant et mutua palmæ:
Fœdera, populeo suspirat populus ictu,
Et platano platanus, alnoque assibilat alnus.

Constantine de Agric. *lib.* 10. *cap.* 4. gives an instance out of Florentius his Georgicks, of a palm tree that loved most fervently, [f]*and would not be comforted untill such time her love applied himself unto her: you might see the two trees bend, and of their own accords stretch out their boughs to embrace and kiss each other: they will give manifest signs of mutuall love.* Ammianus Marcellinus *lib.* 24. reports that they marry one another, and fall in love if they grow in sight; and when the winde brings the smell to them, they are marvelously affected. Philostratus *in Imaginibus*, observes as much, and Galen *lib.* 6. *de locis affectis, cap.* 5. they will be sick for love, ready to dye and pine away; which the husbandmen perceiving, saith [g]Constantine, *stroke many palms that grow together, and so stroking again the palm that is enamoured, they carry kisses from the one to the other:* or tying the leaves and branches of the one to the stem of the other, will make them both flourish and prosper a great deal better: [h]*which are enamoured, they can perceive by the bending of boughs, and inclination of their bodies.* If any man think this which I say, to be a tale, let him read that story of two palm trees in Italy, the male growing at Brundusium, the female at Otranto (related by Jovianus Pontanus in an excellent poem, sometimes tutor to Alphonsus junior, king of Naples, his secretary of state, and a great philosopher), *which were barren, and so continued a long time*, till they came to see one another growing up higher, though many stadiums asunder. Pierius in his Hieroglyphicks, and Melchior Guilandinus, *Memb.* 3. *tract. de pupyro*, cites this story of Pontanus for a truth. See more in Salmuth, *Comment. in Pancirol. de Nova repert. Tit.* 1. *de novo orbe*, Mizaldus, Arcanorum *lib.* 2. Sands Voyages, *lib.* 2. *fol.* 103. *&c.*

If such fury be in vegetalls, what shall we think of sensible creatures, how much more violent and apparent shall it be in them?

[i] Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,
Et genus æquoreum, pecudes, pictæque volucres
In furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem.
All kinde of creatures in the earth,
And fishes of the sea,
And painted birds do rage alike;
This love bears equal sway.

[j] Hic Deus et terras et maria alta domat.

Common experience and our sense will inform us how violently brute beasts are carried away with this passion, horses above the rest,———*furor est insignis equarum.* [k] *Cupid, in* Lucian, *bids Venus his mother be of good cheer, for he was now familiar with lions, and oftentimes did get on their backs, hold them by the mane, and ride them about like horses, and they would fawn upon him with their tails.* Bulls, bears and boars are so furious in this kinde, they kill one another: but especially cocks, [l]lions, and harts, which are so fierce, that you may hear them fight half a mile off, saith [m]Turbervile, and many times kill each other, or compell them to abandon the rut, that they may remain masters in their places; *and when one hath driven his corrivall away, he raiseth his nose up into the ayr, and looks aloft, as though he gave thanks to nature*, which affords him such great delight. How birds are affected in this kind, appears out of Aristotle; he will have

[e] Claudian. descrip. vener. aulæ. [f] Neque prius in iis desiderium cessat dum dejectus consoletur; videre enim est ipsam arborem incurvatam, ultro ramis ab utrisque vicissim ad osculum exporrectis. Manifesta dant mutui desiderii signa. [g] Multas palmas contingens quæ simul crescunt, rursusque ad amantem regrediens, eamque manu attingens, quasi osculum mutuo ministrare videtur, et expediti concubitûs gratiam facit. [h] Quam vero ipsa desideret, affectu ramorum significat, et ad illam respicit; amantur, &c. [i] Virg. 3. Georg. [j] Propertius. [k] Dial. Deorum. Confide, mater, leonibus ipsis familiaris jam factus sum, et sæpe conscendi eorum terga et apprehendi jubas; equorum more insidens eos agito, et illi mihi caudis adblandiuntur. [l] Leones præ amore furunt. Plin. l. 8. c. 16. Arist. l. 6. hist. animal. [m] Cap. 17. of his book of hunting.

them to sing *ob futuram venerem*, for joy, or in hope, of their venery which is to come.

[o] Aëriæ primum volucres te, Diva, tuumque
Significant initum, perculsæ corda tuâ vi.

Fishes pine away for love and wax lean, if [o]Gomesius's authority may be taken, and are rampant too, some of them: Peter Gellius, *lib.* 10. *de hist. animal.* tells wonders of a triton in Epirus: there was a well not far from the shore, where the country wenches fetched water, they, [p]tritons, *stupri caussâ* would set upon them, and carry them to sea, and there drown them, if they would not yeeld; so love tyrannizeth in dumb creatures. Yet this is naturall, for one beast to dote upon another of the same kinde: but what strange fury is that, when a beast shall dote upon a man? Saxo Grammaticus *lib.* 10. *Dav. hist.* hath a story of a bear that loved a woman, kept her in his den a long time, and begot a son of her, out of whose loynes proceeded many northern kings: this is the originall, belike, of that common tale of Valentine and Orson: Ælian, Pliny, Peter Gellius are full of such relations. A peacock in Lucadia loved a maid, and when she died, the peacock pined. [q] *A dolphin loved a boy called Hernias, and when he died, the fish came upon land, and so perished.* The like addes Gellius *lib.* 10. *cap.* 22. out of Appion, *Ægypt. lib.* 15. a dolphin at Puteoli loved a child, would come often to him, let him get on his back, and carry him about, [r] *and when by sickness the child was taken away, the dolphin died.* [s] Every book is full (saith Busbequius, the emperors orator with the grand senior, not long since, *ep.* 3. *legat. Turc.*) *and yields such instances, to believe which I was alwaies afraid, least I should be thought to give credit to fables, untill I saw a lynx which I had from Assyria, so affected towards one of my men, that it cannot be denied, but that he was in love with him. When my man was present, the beast would use many notable entisements, and pleasant motions, and when he was going, hold him back, and look after him when he was gone, very sad in his absence, but most jocund when he returned: and when my man went from me, the beast expressed his love with continuall sickness, and after he had pined away some few daies, died.* Such another story he hath, of a crane of Majorca, that loved a Spaniard, that would walk any way with him, and in his absence seek about for him, make a noise that he might hear her, and knock at his dore, [t] *and when he took his last farewell, famished herself.* Such pretty prankes can love play with birds, fishes, beasts:

([u] Cœlestis ætheria, ponti, terræ claves habet Venus,
Solaque istorum omnium imperium obtinet:)

and if all be certain, that is credibly reported, with the spirits of the air, and divells of hell themselves, who are as much inamored and dote (if I may use that word) as any other creatures whatsoever. For if those stories be true, that are written of incubus and succubus, of nymphes, lascivious faunes, satyrs, and those heathen gods which were divels; those lascivious *telchines*, of whom the Platonists tell so many fables; or those familiar meetings in our daies, and company of witches and divels, there is some probability for it. I know that Biarmannus, Wierus *lib.* 3. *cap.* 19. *et* 24. and some others, stoutly deny it, that the divel hath any carnall copulation with women; that the divel takes no pleasure in such facts; they be meer phantasies, all such relations of incubi, succubi, lyes and tales; but Austin, *lib.* 15. *de civit. Dei* doth acknowledge it: Erastus de Lamiis, Jacobus Sprenger and his colleagues, &c. [v] Zanchius *cap.* 16. *lib.* 4. *de oper. Dei.* Dandinus in Arist. *de Animâ*,

[o] Lucretius. [o] De sale lib. 1. c. 21. Pisces ob amorem marcescunt, pallescunt, &c. [p] Hauriendæ aquæ caussâ venientes, ex insidiis à tritone comprehensæ, &c. [q] Plin. l. 10. c. 5. Quumque obortâ tempestate perilisset Hernias, in sicco piscis exspiravit. [r] Postquam puer morbo ablit, et ipse delphinus periit. [s] Pleni sunt libri quibus feræ in homines inflammatæ fuerunt, in quibus ego quidem semper assensum sustinui, veritus ne fabulosa crederem; donec vidi lyncem quem habui ab Assyriâ, sic affectum erga unum de meis hominibus, &c. [t] Desiderium suum testatus post inediam aliquot dierum interiit. [u] Orpheus hymno Ven. [v] Qui hæc in atræ bilis aut imaginationis vim referre conati sunt, nihil faciunt.

lib. 2. *Text.* 29. *com.* 30. Bodin, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. and Paracelsus (a great champion of this tenet amongst the rest), which give sundry peculiar instances, by many testimonies, proofs and confessions evince it. Hector Boethius in his Scottish history, hath three or four such examples, which Cardan confirmes out of him, *lib.* 16. *cap.* 43. of such as have had familiar company many years with them, and that in the habit of men and women. Philostratus, in his fourth book *de vitâ Apollonii*, hath a memorable instance in this kinde, which I may not omit, of one Menippus Lycius, a young man 25 years of age, that going betwixt Cenchreas and Corinth, met such a phantasm in the habit of a fair gentlewoman, which taking him by the hand, carried him home to her house, in the suburbs of Corinth, and told him she was a Phœnician by birth, and if he would tarry with her, [w]*he should hear her sing and play, and drink such wine as never any drank, and no man should molest him; but she being fair and lovely, would live and die with him, that was fair and lovely to behold.* The young man, a philosopher, otherwise staid and discreet, able to moderate his passions, though not this of love, tarried with her awhile to his great content, and at last married her, to whose wedding, amongst other guests, came Apollonius; who, by some probable conjectures, found her out to be a serpent, a lamia; and that all her furniture was like Tantalus gold, described by Homer, no substance, but meer illusions. When she saw herself descried, she wept, and desired Apollonius to be silent, but he would not be moved, and thereupon she, plate, house, and all that was in it, vanished in an instant: [x]*many thousands took notice of this fact, for it was done in the midst of Greece.* Sabine, in his comment on the 10th of Ovids Metamorphosis, at the tale of Orpheus, telleth us of a gentleman of Bavaria, that, for many months together, bewailed the loss of his dear wife; at length the divel in her habit came and comforted him; and told him, because he was so importunate for her, that she would come and live with him again, on that condition he would be new married, never swear and blaspheme as he used formerly to do; for if he did, she would be gone: [y]*he vowed it, married, and lived with her; she brought him children, and governed his house, but was still pale and sad, and so continued, till one day falling out with him, he fell a swearing; she vanished thereupon, and was never after seen.* [z]*This I have heard,* saith Sabine, *from persons of good credit, which told me that the duke of Bavaria did tell it for a certainty, to the duke of Saxony.* One more I will relate out of Florilegus, *ad annum* 1058, an honest historian of our nation; because he telleth it so confidently, as a thing, in those daies talked of, all over Europe: A yong gentleman of Rome, the same day that he was married, after dinner with the bride and his friends, went a walking into the fields; and towards evening, to the tennis-court to recreate himself; whilst he played, he put his ring upon the finger of *Venus statua*, which was thereby, made in brass; after he had sufficiently played, and now made an end of his sport, he came to fetch his ring, but Venus had bowed her finger in, and he could not get it off. Whereupon loath to make his company tarry at present, there left it, intending to fetch it the next day, or at some more convenient time, went thence to supper, and so to bed. In the night, when he should come to perform those nuptial rites, Venus steps between him and his wife, (unseen or felt of her) and told him that she was his wife, that he had betrothed himself unto her by that ring, which he put upon her finger: she troubled him for some following nights. He not knowing how to help himself, made his moan to one Palumbus, a learned magician in those daies, who gave him a

[w] Cantantem audies et vinum bibes, quale antea nunquam bibisti; te rivalis turbabit nullus; pulchra autem pulchro contente vivam, et moriar. [x] Multi factum hoc cognovêre, quod in mediâ Græciâ gestum sit. [y] Rem curans domesticam, ut ante, peperit aliquot liberos, semper tamen tristis et pallida. [z] Hæc audivi a multis fide dignis, qui asseverabant ducem Bavariæ eadem retulisse duci Saxoniæ pro veris.

letter, and bid him at such a time of the night, in such a cross way, at the towns end, where old Saturn would pass by, with his associates, in procession, as commonly he did, deliver that script, with his own hands to Saturn himself: the yong man of a bold spirit, accordingly did it; and when the old fiend had read it, he called Venus to him, who rode before him, and commanded her to deliver his ring, which forthwith she did; and so the gentleman was freed. Many such stories I finde in severall [a]authors, to confirm this which I have said; as that more notable amongst the rest, of Philinium and Machates in [b]Phlegons Tract *de rebus mirabilibus*; and though many be against it, yet I, for my part, will subscribe to Lactantius, *lib.* 14. *cap.* 15. [c]*God sent angels to the tuition of men; but whilest they lived amongst us, that mischievous all-commander of the earth, and hot in lust, enticed them by little and little, to this vice, and defiled them with the company of women:* and Anaxagoras *de resurrect.* [d]*Many of those spiritual bodies, overcome by the love of maids, and lust, failed, of whom those were born, we call gyants.* Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Sulpitius Severus, Eusebius, &c. to this sense, make a twofold fall of angels, one from the beginning of the world; another a little before the deluge, as Moses teacheth us, [e]openly professing, that these genii can beget, and have carnal copulation with women. At Japan in the East Indies, at this present (if we may believe the relation of [f]travellers) there is an idol called Teuchedy, to whom one of the fairest virgins in the country is monthly brought, and left in a private room, in the *fotoqui*, or church, where she sits alone to be defloured. At certain times, [g]the Teuchedy (which is thought to be the divel) appears to her, and knoweth her carnally. Every month, a fair virgin is taken in; but what becomes of the old, no man can tell. In that goodly temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon, there was a fair chappel, [h]saith Herodotus, an eye-witness of it, in which was *splendide stratus lectus et apposita mensa aurea*, a brave bed, a table of gold, &c. into which no creature came but one only woman, which their god made choice of, as the Chaldean priests told him; and that their god lay with her himself, as at Thebes in Ægypt was the like done of old. So that you see this is no news, the divels themselves, or their jugling priests, have plaid such pranks in all ages. Many divines stifly contradict this; but I will conclude with [i]Lipsius, that since *examples, testimonies, and confessions of those unhappy women are so manifest on the other side, and many, even in this our town of Lovan, that it is likely to be so.* [j]*One thing I will add, that I suppose, that in no age past, (I know not by what destiny of this unhappy time) have there ever appeared, or shewed themselves, so many lecherous divels, satyrs, and genii, as in this of ours, as appears by the daily narrations, and judicial sentences upon record.* Read more of this question in Plutarch *vit. Numæ*, Austin *de civ. Dei, lib.* 15. Wierus *lib.* 3. *de prestig. Dæm.* Giraldus Cambrensis *itinerar. Camb. lib.* 1. Malleus *malefic. quæst.* 5. *part.* 1. Jacobus Reussus *lib.* 5. *cap* 6. *fol.* 54. Godelman. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. Erastus, Valesius *de sacra philo. cap.* 40. John Nider Fornicar. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. Stroz. Cicogna. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. Delrio, Lipsius Bodine *dæmonol. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. Pererius *in Gen. lib.* 8. *in* 6. *cap. ver.* 2. King James, &c.

[a] Fabula Damarati et Aristonis in Herodoto, lib. 6. Erato. [b] Interpret. Mercur. [c] Deus angelos misit ad tutelam cultumque generis humani; sed illos cum hominibus commorantes, dominator ille terræ salacissimus paulatim ad vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit. [d] Quidam ex illo capti sunt amore virginum, et libidine victi defecerunt, ex quibus gigantes qui vocantur, nati sunt. [e] Pererius in Gen. lib. 8. c. 6. ver. 1. Zanc, &c. [f] Purchas Hack. posth. par. 1. lib. 4. cap. 1. S. 7. [g] In Clio. [h] Deus ipse hoc cubili requiescens. [i] Physiologiæ Stoicorum l. 1. cap. 20. Si spiritus unde, semen iis, &c. at exempla turbant nos; mulierum quotidianæ confessiones de mixtione omnes asserunt, et sunt in hac urbe Lovanio exempla. [j] Unum dixero, non opinari me ullo retro ævo tantam copiam Satyrorum, et salacium istorum Geniorum se ostendisse, quantum nunc quotidianæ narrationes, et judiciales sententiæ proferunt.

SUBSECT. II.—*How Love tyrannizeth over men. Love, or Heroicall Melancholy, his definition; part affected.*

You have heard how this tyrant love rageth with brute beasts and spirits; now let us consider what passions it causeth amongst men.

[k] *Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* How it tickles the hearts of mortal men. *Horresco referens,* —— I am almost afraid to relate, amazed, [l] and ashamed, it hath wrought such stupend and prodigious effects; such foul offences. Love indeed (I may not deny) first united provinces, built cities, and by a perpetual generation makes and preserves mankind, propagates the church; but if it rage, it is no more love, but burning lust; a disease, phrenzie, madness, hell. [m] *Est orcus ille, vis est immedicabilis, est rabies insana;* 'tis no vertuous habit this, but a vehement perturbation of the mind, a monster of nature, wit, and art, as Alexis in [n] Athenæus sets it out, *viriliter audax, muliebriter timidum, furore præceps, labore infractum, mel felleum, blanda percussio, &c.* It subverts kingdoms, overthrows cities, towns, families: mars, corrupts, and makes a massacre of men; thunder and lightning, wars, fires, plagues, have not done that mischief to mankind, as this burning lust, this brutish passion. Let Sodome and Gomorrah, Troy (which Dares Phrygius, and Dictis Cretensis will make good) and I know not how many cities bear record——*et fuit ante Helenam, &c.* all succeeding ages will subscribe: Ione of Naples in Italy, Fredegunde and Brunhalt in France, all histories are full of these basilisks. Besides those daily monomachies, murders, effusion of blood, rapes, riot and immoderate expense, to satisfie their lusts; beggery, shame, loss, torture, punishment, disgrace, loathsome diseases that proceed from thence, worse than calentures and pestilent feavers; those often gouts, pox, *arthritis*, palsies, cramps, *sciatica*, convulsions, aches, combustions, &c. which torment the body; that feral melancholy which crucifies the soul in this life, and everlastingly torments in the world to come.

Notwithstanding they know these, and many such miseries, threats, tortures will surely come upon them; rewards, exhortations, *e contra;* yet either out of their own weakness, a depraved nature, or loves tyranny, which so furiously rageth, they suffer themselves to be led like an oxe to the slaughter; (*facilis descensus Averni*) they go down headlong to their own perdition; they will commit folly with beasts, men *leaving the natural use of women,* as [o] Paul saith, *burned in lust one towards another, and man with man wrought filthiness.*

Semiramis equo, Pasiphae tauro, Aristo Ephesius asinæ se commiscuit; Fulvius equæ, alii canibus, capris, &c. unde monstra nascuntur aliquando, centauri, sylvani, et ad terrorem hominum prodigiosa spectra: nec cum brutis, sed ipsis hominibus rem habent, quod peccatum Sodomiæ vulgo dicitur; et frequens olim vitium apud Orientales illos fuit, Græcos nimirum, Italos, Afros, Asianos: [p] *Hercules Hylam habuit, Polycletum, Dionem, Perithoonta, Abderum, et Phryga; alii et Euristium ab Hercule amatum tradunt. Socrates pulchrorum adolescentum causâ frequens gymnasium adibat, flagitiosoque spectaculo pascebat oculos, quod et Philebus et Phædon rivales, Charmides, et* [q] *reliqui Platonis Dialogi, satis superque testatum faciunt: quod vero Alcibiades de eodem Socrate loquatur, lubens conticesco, sed et abhorreo; tantum incitamentum præbet libidini. At hunc perstrinxit Theodoretus lib. de curat. Græc. affect. cap. ultimo. Quin et ipse Plato suum, demiratur Agathonem, Xenophon Cliniam, Virgilius Alexin, Anacreon Bathyllum; Quod autem de Nerone, Claudio, cæterorumque portentosâ*

[k] Virg. [l] For it is a shame to speak of those things which are done of them in secret, Eph. 5. 12. [m] Plutarch. amator. lib. [n] Lib. 13. [o] Rom. 1. 27. [p] Lilius Giraldus, vitâ ejus. [q] Pueros amare solis philosophis relinquendum vult Lucianus dial. Amorum.

libidine memoriæ proditum, mallem, a Petronio, Suetonio, cæterisque petatis, quando omnem fidem excedat, quam a me expectetis; sed vetera querimur. [r]*Apud Asianos, Turcas, Italos, nunquam frequentius hoc quam hodierno die vitium; Diana Romanorum Sodomia; officinæ horum alicubi apud Turcos,* ——*qui saxis semina mandant*—— *arenas arantes; et frequentes querelæ, etiam inter ipsos conjuges hac de re,* quæ virorum concubitum illicitum calceo in oppositam partem verso magistratui indicant; *nullum apud Italos familiare magis peccatum, qui et post* [s]*Lucianum et* [t]*Tatium, scriptis voluminibus defendunt. Johannes de la Casa, Beventinus Episcopus, divinum opus vocat, suave scelus, adeoque jactat se non aliâ usum venere. Nihil usitatius apud monachos, cardinales, sacrificulos, etiam* [u]*furor hic ad mortem, ad insaniam.* [v]*Angelus Politianus, ob pueri amorem, violentas sibi manus injecit. Et horrendum sane dictu, quantum apud nos patrum memoriâ, scelus detestandum hoc sævierit! Quum enim* Anno 1538, prudentissimus Rex Henricus Octavus cucullatorum cœnobia, et sacrificorum collegia, votariorum, per venerabiles legum Doctores Thomam Leum, Richardum Laytonum visitari fecerat, &c. tanto numero reperti sunt apud eos scortatores, cinædi, ganeones, pædicones, puerarii, pæderastæ, Sodomitæ, ([w] *Balei verbis utor*) Ganimedes, &c. ut in unoquoque eorum novam credideris Gomorrham. *Sed vide, si lubet, eorundem catalogum apud eundem* Baleum; Puellæ (inquit) in lectis dormire non poterant ob fratres necromanticos. *Hæc si apud votarios, monachos, sanctos scilicet homunciones, quid in foro, quid in aulâ factum suspiceris? quid apud nobiles, quid inter fornices, quam non fœditatem, quam non spurcitiem? Sileo interim turpes illas, et ne nominandas quidem monachorum* [x] *mastrupationes, masturbatores.* [y]*Rodericus a Castro vocat, tum et eos qui se invicem ad Venerem excitandam flagris cædunt, Spintrias, Succubas, Ambubeias, et lasciviente lumbo Tribades illas mulierculas, quæ se invicem fricant, et præter Eunuchos etiam ad Venerem explendam, artificiosa illa veretra habent. Immo quod magis mirere, fœmina fœminam Constantinopoli non ita pridem deperiit, ausa rem plane incredibilem, mutato cultu mentita virum de nuptiis sermonem init, et brevi nupta est: sed authorem ipsum consule Busbequium. Omitto* [z] *Salinarios illos Ægyptiacos, qui cum formosarum cadaveribus concumbunt; et eorum vesanam libidinem, qui etiam idola et imagines depereunt. Nota est fabula Pigmalionis apud* [a] *Ovidium; Mundi et Paulini apud Ægesippum belli Jud. lib. 2. cap. 4. Pontius, C. Cæsaris legatus, referente Plinio, lib. 35. cap. 3. quem suspicor eum esse qui Christum crucifixit, picturis Atalantæ et Helenæ adeo libidine incensus, ut tollere eas vellet si natura tectorii permisisset, alius statuam bonæ Fortunæ deperiit,* (Ælianus, lib. 9. cap. 37) *alius Bonæ Deæ, et ne qua pars probro vacet.* [b] Raptus ad stupra (*quod ait ille*) et ne [c] os quidem a libidine exceptum, *Heliogabalus, per omnia cava corporis libidinem recepit. Lamprid. vitâ ejus.* [d] *Hostius quidam specula fecit, et ita disposuit, ut quum virum ipse pateretur, aversus omnes admissarii motus in speculo videret, ac deinde falsâ magnitudine ipsius membri tanquam verâ gauderet, simul virum et fœminam passus, quod dictu fœdum et abominandum. Ut verum plane sit, quod apud* [e] *Plutarchum Gryllus Ulyssi objecit.* Ad hunc usque diem apud nos neque mas marem, neque fœmina fœminam amavit, qualia multa apud vos memorabiles et præclari viri fecerunt: ut viles missos faciam Hercules imberbem sectans socium, amicos deseruit, &c. Vestræ libidines intra suos naturæ fines coerceri non possunt, quin instar fluvii exundantis atrocem

[r] Busbequius. [s] Lucianus Charidemo. [t] Achilles Tatius lib. 2. [u] Non est hæc mentula demens. Mart. [v] Jovius Musc. [w] Præfat. lectori lib. de vitiis pontif. [x] Mercurialis cap. de Priapismo. Cœlius l. 11. antiq. lect. cap. 14. Galenus 6. de locis aff. [y] De morb. mulier. lib. 1. c. 15. [z] Herodotus, l. 2. Euterpæ. Uxores insignium virorum non statim vitâ functas tradunt condendas, ac ne eas quidem fœminas quæ formosæ sunt, sed quatriduo ante defunctas, ne cum iis Salinarii concumbant, &c. [a] Metam. 13. [b] *Seneca de irâ*, l. 11. c. 18. [c] Nullus est meatus ad quem non pateat aditus impudicitiæ. Clem. Alex. *pædag. lib. 3. c. 3.* [d] Seneca l. nat. quæst. [e] Tom. P. Grylio.

fœditatem, tumultum, confusionemque naturæ gignant in re Venereâ: nam et capras, porcos, equos inierunt viri et fœminæ, insano bestiarum amore exarserunt; unde Minotauri, Centauri, Sylvani, Sphinges, &c. *Sed ne confutando doceam, aut ea foras efferam, quæ non omnes scire convenit (hæc enim doctis solummodo, quod causâ non absimili* [f] *Rodericus, scripta velim) ne levissimis ingeniis et depravatis mentibus fœdissimi sceleris notitiam, &c. nolo quem diutius hisce sordibus inquinare.*

I come at last to that heroical love, which is proper to men and women, is a frequent cause of melancholy, and deserves much rather to be called burning lust, then by such an honourable title. There is an honest love, I confess, which is natural, *laqueus occultus captivans corda hominum, ut a mulieribus non possint separari;* a secret snare to captivate the hearts of men, as [g] Christopher Fonseca proves, a strong allurement, of a most attractive, occult, adamantine property, and powerful vertue, and no man living can avoid it. [h] *Et qui vim non sensit amoris, aut lapis est, aut bellua.* He is not a man but a block, a very stone, *aut* [i] *Numen, aut Nebuchadnezzar;* he hath a gourd for his head, a pepon for his heart, that hath not felt the power of it; and a rare creature to be found, one in an age, *Qui nunquam visæ flagravit amore puellæ:* for *semel insanivimus omnes*, dote we either yong or old, as [j] he said, and none are excepted, but Minerva and the Muses: so Cupid in [k] Lucian complains to his mother Venus, that amongst all the rest, his arrows could not pierce them. But this nuptiall love, is a common passion, an honest, for men to love in the way of marriage; *at materia appetit formam, sic mulier virum.* You know marriage is honorable, a blessed calling, appointed by God himself in Paradise; it breeds true peace, tranquillity, content and happiness, *quâ nulla est aut fuit unquam sanctior conjunctio*, as Daphnæus in [l] Plutarch could well prove, *et quæ generi humano immortalitatem parat*, when they live without jarring, scolding, lovingly as they should do.

[m] Felices ter et amplius Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec ullis Divulsus querimoniis Suprema citius solvit amor die.	Thrice happy they, and more than that, Whom bonds of love so firmly ties, That without brawls till death them part, 'Tis undissolv'd and never dies.

As Seneca lived with his Paulina, Abraham and Sara, Orpheus and Euridice, Arria and Pœtus, Artemisia and Mausolus, Rubenius Celer, that would needs have it ingraven on his tomb, he had led his life with Ennea, his dear wife, forty-three yeares eight moneths, and never fell out. There is no pleasure in this world comparable to it; 'tis *summum mortalitatis bonum* ——— [n] *hominum Divûmque voluptas, Alma Venus* ——— *latet enim in muliere aliquid majus potentiusque omnibus aliis humanis voluptatibus*, as [o] one holds, there's something in a woman beyond all humane delight; a magnetique vertue, a charming quality, an occult and powerful motive. The husband rules her as head, but she again commands his heart, he is her servant, she his onely joy and content: no happiness is like unto it, no love so great as this of man and wife, no such comfort, as [p] *placens uxor*, a sweet wife: [q] *Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major*, when they love at last, as fresh as they did at first, [r] *Charaque charo consenescit conjugi*, as Homer brings Paris kissing Helena, after they had been married ten years, protesting withall, that he loved her as dear, as he did the first hour he was betrothed. And in their old age, when they make much of one another, saying as he did to his wife in the poet,

[s] Uxor vivamus quod vixímus, et moriamur, Servantes nomen sumpsimus in thalamo; Nec ferat ulla dies ut commutemur in ævo, Quin tibi sim juvenis, tuque puella mihi.	Dear wife, let's live in love, and dye together, As hitherto we have in all good will: Let no day change or alter our affections, But let's be young to one another still.

[f] De morbis mulierum l. 1. c. 15. [g] Amphitheat. amor. cap. 4. interpret. Curtio. [h] Æneas Sylvius. Juvenal. [i] Tertul. prover. lib. 4. adversus Manc. cap. 40. [j] Chaucer. [k] Tom. 1. dial. Deorum Lucianus. Amore non ardent Musæ. [l] In amator. dialog. [m] Hor. [n] Lucretius. [o] Fonseca. [p] Hor. [q] Propert. [r] Simonides. Græc. [s] Ausonius.

Such should conjugall love be, still the same, and as they are one flesh, so should they be of one mind, as in an aristocratical government, one consent, [t] Geryon-like, *coalescere in unum*, have one heart in two bodies, will and nill the same. A good wife, according to Plutarch, should be as a looking-glass to represent her husbands face and passion: If he be pleasant, she should be merry; if he laugh, she should smile; if he look sad, she should participate of his sorrow, and bear a part with him, and so they should continue in mutual love one towards another.

[u] Et me ab amore tuo deducet nulla senectus,
Sive ego Tythonus, sive ego Nestor ero.

No age shall part my love from thee, sweet wife,
Though I live Nestor or Tithonus life.

And she again to him, as the [v] bride saluted the bridegroome of old in Rome, *Ubi tu Caius, ego semper Caia*, be thou still Caius, I'll be Caia.

'Tis an happy state this indeed, when the fountain is blessed (saith Solomon, *Prov.* 5. 18) *and he rejoyceth with the wife of his youth, and she is to him as the loving hinde, and pleasant roe, and he delights in her continually.* But this love of ours is immoderate, inordinate, and not to be comprehended in any bounds. It will not contain it self within the union of marriage, or apply to one object, but is a wandering, extravagant, a domineering, a boundless, an irrefragable, a destructive passion; sometimes this burning lust rageth after marriage, and then is properly called *jealousie*; sometimes before, and then it is called *heroicall* melancholy; it extends sometimes to corrivalls, &c. begets rapes, incests, murders; *Marcus Antonius compressit Faustinam sororem, Caracalla, Juliam novercam, Nero matrem, Caligula sorores Cyneras, Mirrham filiam, &c.* But it is confined within no terms of bloud, years, sex, or whatsoever else. Some furiously rage before they come to discretion or age. [w] Quartilla in Petronius never remembred she was a maid: and the wife of Bath in Chaucer, cracks,

Since I was twelve years old, believe,
Husbands at kirk door had I five.

[x] Aretines Lucretia sold her maiden-head a thousand times before she was twenty-four years old, *plus millies vendideram virginitatem, &c. neque te celabo, non deerant qui ut integram ambirent.* Rahab, that harlot, began to be a professed quean at ten years of age, and was but fifteen when she hid the spies, as [y] Hugh Broughton proves, to whom Serrarius the Jesuite, *quæst.* 6. *in cap.* 2. Josue, subscribes. Generally women begin *pubescere* as they call it, or *catullire*, as Julius Pollux cites, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. *onomast.* out of Aristophanes, [z] at fourteen years old, then they do offer themselves, and some plainly rage. [a] Leo Afer saith, that in Africk a man shall scarce finde a maid at fourteen years of age, they are so forward; and many amongst us, after they come into the teens, do not live without husbands, but linger. What pranks in this kinde the middle age have played, is not to be recorded. *Si mihi sint centum linguæ, sint oraque centum*, no tongue can sufficiently declare; every story is full of men and womens unsatiable lust, Neros, Heliogabali, Bonosi, &c. [b] *Cælius Amphilenum, sed Quintius Amphelinam depereunt, &c.* They neigh after other mens wives (as Jeremy *cap.* 5. 8. complaineth) like fed horses, or range like town buls, *raptores virginum et viduarum*, as many of our great ones do. Solomons wisdom was extinguished in this fire of lust; Sampsons strength enervated; piety in Lots daughters quite forgot; gravity of priesthood in Helies sons; reverend old age in the elders that would violate Susanna; filiall duty in Absolon to his stepmother; brotherly love in Ammon towards his sister. Humane, divine laws, precepts, exhortations, fear of God and men, fair, foul means,

[t] Geryon amicitiæ symbolum. [u] Propert. l. 2. [v] Plutarch. c. 30. Rom. hist. [w] Junonem habeam iratam, si unquam meminerim me virginem fuisse. Infans enim paribus inquinata sum, et subinde, majoribus me applicui, donec ad ætatem perveni; ut Milo vitulum, &c. [x] Forno didasc. dial. Lat. interp. Casp. Barthio ex Ital. [y] Angelico scriptur. concentu. [z] Epictetus, c. 42. Mulieres statim ab anno 14. *movere* incipiunt, &c. attrectari se sinunt et exponunt. Levinus Lemnius. [a] L. 3. fol. 126. [b] Catullus.

fame, fortunes, shame, disgrace, honor cannot oppose, stave off, or withstand the fury of it, *omnia vincit amor, &c.* No cord, nor cable can so forcibly draw, or hold so fast, as love can do with a twin'd thread. The scorching beams of the æquinoctiall, or extremity of cold within the circle artique, where the very seas are frozen, cold or torrid zone cannot avoid, or expel this heat, fury and rage of mortall men.

[c] Quo fugis, ah demens, nulla est fuga, tu licet usque
Ad Tanaïm fugias, usque sequetur Amor.

Of womens unnatural, [d] unsatiable lust, what country, what village doth not complain? Mother and daughter sometimes dote on the same man; father and son, master and servant, on one woman.

——— Sed amor, sed ineffrenata libido,
Quid castum in terris intentatumque reliquit?

What breach of vows and oaths, fury, dotage, madness, might I reckon up? Yet this is more tolerable in youth, and such as are still in their hot blood; but for an old fool to dote, to see an old leacher, what more odious, what can be more absurd? and yet what so common? Who so furious? [e] *Amare eâ ætate si occiperint, multo insaniunt acrius;* Some dote then, more then ever they did in their youth. How many decrepit, hoary, harsh, writhen, bursten-bellied, crooked, toothless, bald, blear-eyed, impotent, rotten old men shall you see flickering still, in every place? One gets him a young wife, another a curtisan; and when he can scarce lift his leg over a sill, and hath one foot already in Charons boat, when he hath the trembling in his joynts, the gout in his feet, a perpetual rhume in his head, *a continuate cough,* [f] *his sight fails him, thick of hearing, his breath stinks,* all his moisture is dried up and gone, may not spit from him, a very child again, that cannot dress himself, or cut his own meat; yet he will be dreaming of, and honing after wenches; what can be more unseemly? Worse it is in women then in men, when she is *ætate declivis, diu vidua, materolim, parum decore matrimonium sequi videtur,* an old widow a mother so long since ([g] in Plinies opinion) she doth very unseemly seek to marry; yet whilst she is so [h] old a crone, a beldam, she can neither see nor hear, go nor stand, a meer [i] karcass, a witch, and scarce feel; she catterwauls, and must have a stallion, a champion; she must and will marry again, and betroth herself to some young man, [j] that hates to look on her, but for her goods; abhors the sight of her, to the prejudice of her good name, her own undoing, grief of friends, and ruin of her children.

But to enlarge or illustrate this power and effects of love, is to set a candle in the sun. [k] It rageth with all sorts and conditions of men; yet is most evident amongst such as are yong and lusty, in the flowre of their years, nobly descended, high fed; such as live idly, and at ease; and for that cause (which our divines call burning lust) this [l] *ferinus insanus amor,* this mad and beastly passion, as I have said, is named by our physicians *heroicall* love, and a more honorable title put upon it, *amor nobilis,* as [m] Savanarola stiles it, because noble men and women make a common practice of it, and are so ordinarily affected with it. Avicenna *lib.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *tract.* 4. *cap.* 23, calleth this passion *ilishi,* and defines it [n] *to be a disease or melancholy vexation, or anguish of minde; in which a man continually*

[c] Euripedes. [d] De mullerum inexhaustâ libidine luxuque insatiabili omnes æque regiones conqueri posse existimo. Steph. [e] Plautus. [f] Oculi caligant, aures graviter audiunt, capilli fluunt, cutis arescit, flatus olet, tussis, &c. Cyprian. [g] Lib. 8. epist. Ruffinus. [h] Hiatque turpis inter aridas nates podex. [i] Cadaverosa adeo ut ab inferis reversa videri possit, vult adhuc catullire. [j] Nam et matrimonii est despectum senium. Æneas Silvius. [k] Quid toto terrarum orbe communius? quæ civitas, quod oppidum, quæ familia vacat amatorum exemplis? Æneas Silvius. Quis trigesimum annum natus nullum amoris causâ peregit insigne facinus? ego de me facio conjecturam, quem amor in mille pericula misit. [l] Forestus. Plato. [m] Pract. major. Tract. 6. cap. 1 Rub. 11. de ægrit. cap. quod his multum contingat. [n] Hæc ægritudo est sollicitudo melancholica, in quâ homo applicat sibi continuam cogitationem super pulchritudine ipsius quam amat, gestuum, morum.

meditates of the beauty, gesture, manners of his mistris, and troubles himself about it; desiring (as Savanarola adds) with all intentions and eagerness of minde, *to compass or enjoy her,* [o]*as commonly hunters trouble themselves about their sports, the covetous about their gold and goods; so is he tormented still about his mistris.* Arnoldus Villanovanus in his book of heroicall love defines it, [p]*a continual cogitation of that which he desires; with a confidence or hope of compassing it;* which definition his commentator cavils at. For continual cogitation is not the *genus*, but a symptome of love; we continually think of that which we hate and abhor, as well as that which we love; and many things we covet and desire, without all hope of attaining. Carolus a Lorme, in his questions, makes a doubt, *an amor sit morbus*, whether this heroicall love be a disease: Julius Pollux *onomast. lib.* 6. *cap.* 44. determines it; they that are in love are likewise [q]sick; *lascivus, salax, lasciviens, et qui in venerem furit, vere est ægrotus.* Arnoldus will have it improperly so called, and a malady rather of the body then minde. Tully in his *Tusculanes* defines it a furious disease of the minde; Plato madness it self; Ficinus his *Commentator, cap.* 12. a species of madness, *for many have run mad for women, Esdr.* 4. 26. *but* [r]Rhases *a melancholy passion;* and most physicians make it a species, or kinde of melancholy (as will appear by the symptomes) and treat of it apart: whom I mean to imitate, and to discuss it in all his kinds; to examine his several causes; to shew his symptomes, indications, prognosticks, effect; that so it may be with more facility cured.

The part affected in the mean time, as [s]Arnoldus supposeth, *is the former part of the head, for want of moisture;* which his Commentator rejects, Langius *med. epist. lib.* 1. *cap.* 24. will have this passion sited in the liver, and to keep residence in the heart; [t]*to proceed from the eyes, so carried by our spirits, and kindled with imagination, in the liver and heart; cogit amare jecur,* as the saying is, *Medium ferit per hepar*, as Cupid in Anacreon. For some such cause, belike, [u]Homer fains Titius liver (who was enamored on Latona) to be still gnawed by two vultures, day and night in hell, [v]*for that young mens bowels thus enamoured, are so continually tormented by love. Gordonius cap.* 2. *part.* 2, [w]*will have the testicles an immediate subject or cause, the liver an antecedent.* Fracastorius agrees in this with Gordonius, *inde primitus imaginatio venerea, erectio,* &c. *titillatissimam partem vocat, ita ut nisi extruso semine gestiens voluptas non cessat, nec assidua veneris recordatio, addit Guastavinius Comment.* 4. *Sect. prob.* 27. *Arist.* But [x]properly it is a passion of the brain, as all other melancholy, by reason of corrupt imagination: and so doth Jason Pratensis *c.* 19. *de morb. cerebri*, (who writes copiously of this Erotical love) place and reckon it amongst the affections of the brain. [y]Melancthon *de animâ* confutes those that make the liver a part affected, and Guianerius *Tract.* 15. *cap.* 13. *et* 17. though many put all the affections in the heart, refers it to the brain. Ficinus *cap.* 7. *in Convivium Platonis, will have the blood to be the part affected.* Jo. Frietagius, *cap.* 14. *noct. med.* supposeth all four affected; heart, liver, brain, blood; but the major part concur upon the brain, [z]'tis *imaginatio læsa;* and both imagination and reason are misaffected; because of his corrupt judgement, and continuall meditation of that which he desires, he may truly be said to be melancholy. If it be

[o] Animi forte accidens quo quis rem habere nimiâ aviditate concupiscit, ut ludos venatores, aurum et opes avari. [p] Assidua cogitatio super rem desideratam cum confidentiâ obtinendi, ut spe apprehensum delectabile, &c. [q] Morbus corporis potius quam animi. [r] Amor est passio melancholica. [s] Ob calefactionem spirituum pars anterior capitis laborat ob consumptionem humiditatis. [t] Affectus animi concupiscibilis e desiderio rei amatæ per oculos, in mente concepto, spiritus in corde et jecore incendens. [u] Odyss. et Metamor. 4. Ovid. [v] Quod talem carnificinam in adolescentum visceribus amor faciat inexplebilis. [w] Testiculi quoad causam conjunctam, hepar antecedentem, possunt esse subjectum. [x] Proprie passio cerebri est ob corruptam imaginationem. [y] Cap. de affectibus. [z] Est corruptio imaginativæ et æstimativæ facultatis, ob formam fortiter affixam, corruptumque judicium, ut semper de eo cogitet, ideoque recte melancholicus appellatur. Concupiscentia vehemens ex corrupto judicio æstimativæ virtutis.

violent, or his disease inveterate, as I have determined in the precedent partitions, both imagination and reason are misaffected, first one, then the other.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Causes of Heroicall love, Temperature, full Diet, Idleness, Place, Climate, &c.*

Of all causes the remotest are stars. [a] Ficinus *cap.* 19. saith they are most prone to this burning lust, that have Venus in Leo in their Horoscope, when the Moon and Venus be mutually aspected, or such as be of Venus complexion. [b] Plutarch interprets astrologically that tale, of Mars and Venus, *in whose genitures ♂ and ♀ are in conjunction*, they are commonly lascivious, and if women, queans; *as the good wife of Bath confessed in Chaucer:*

I followeth aye mine inclination,
By vertue of my constellation.

But of all those astrological aphorisms which I have ever read, that of Cardan is most memorable; for which howsoever he be bitterly censured by [c] Marinus Marcennus, a malapert frier, and some others (which [d] he himself suspected) yet me thinks it is free, down right, plain and ingenuous. In his [e] eighth *geniture* or example, he hath these words of himself. ♂ ♀ et ☿ in ☿ *dignitatibus assiduam mihi Venereorum cogitationem præstabunt, ita ut nunquam quiescam.* Et paulo post, *Cogitatio Venereorum me torquet perpetuo, et quam facto implere non licuit, aut fecisse potentem puduit, cogitatione assiduâ mentitus sum voluptatem.* Et alibi, *ob ☽ et ♀ dominium et radiorum mixtionem, profundum fuit ingenium, sed lascivum, egoque turpi libidini detitus et obscœnus.* So far Cardan of himself, *quod de se fatetur ideo [f] ut utilitatem adferat studiosis hujusce disciplinæ;* and for this he is traduced by Marcennus, when as in effect, he saith no more then what Gregory Nazianzen of old, to Chilo his scholar, *offerebant se mihi visendæ mulieres, quarum præcellenti elegantiâ et decore spectabili tentabatur meæ integritas pudicitiæ. Et quidem flagitium vitavi fornicationis, at munditiæ virginalis florem arcanâ cordis cogitatione fœdavi. Sed ad rem.* Aptiores ad masculinam venerem sunt quorum genesi Venus est in signo masculino, et in Saturni finibus aut oppositione, &c. Ptolomæus in quadripart. plura de his et specialia habet aphorismata, longo proculdubio usu confirmata, et ab experientiâ multâ perfecta, inquit commentator ejus Cardanus. *Tho. Campanella Astrologiæ lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. *articulis* 4 *et* 5. insaniam amatoriam remonstrantia, multa præ cæteris accumulat aphorismata, quæ qui volet, consulat. Chiromantici ex cingulo Veneris plerumque conjecturam faciunt, et monte Veneris, de quorum decretis, Taisnerum, Johan. de Indagine, Goclenium, ceterosque si lubet, inspicias. Physicians divine wholly from the temperature and complexion; phlegmatic persons, naturally melancholy, (according to Ficinus, *Comm. cap.* 9.) are seldomer taken then they, but once taken, they are never freed: though many are of opinion, flatuous or hypochondriacal melancholy, are most subject of all others, to this infirmity. Valescus assigns their strong imagination for a cause; Bodine abundance of wind; Gordonius of seed, and spirits, or atomi in the seed, which cause their violent and furious passions. Sanguine thence are soon caught, young folks most apt to love, and by their good wills, saith [g] Lucian *would have a bout with every one they see:* the colts evil is common to all complexions. Theomestus, a young and lusty gallant, acknowledgeth (in the said author) all this to be verified in him; *I am so amorously given,*

[a] Comment. in convivium Platonis. Irretiuntur cito quibus nascentibus Venus fuerit in Leone, vel Luna Venerem vehementer aspexerit, et qui eâdem complexione sunt præditi. [b] Plerumque amatores sunt; et si fœminæ, meretrices, l. de audiend. [c] Comment. in Genes. cap. 3. [d] Et si in hoc parum a præclarâ infamiâ stultitiâque abero, vincit tamen amor veritatis. [e] Edit. Basil. 1558. Cum Commentar. in Ptolomæi quadripartitum. [f] Fol. 445. Basil. Edit. [g] Dial. amorum.

[h] *you may sooner number the sea sands, and snow falling from the skies, then my severall loves. Cupid had shot all his arrows at me: I am deluded with various desires; one love succeeds another, and that so soon, that before one is ended, I begin with a second; she that is last, is still fairest; and she that is present pleaseth me most: as an hydras head, my loves increase; no Iolaus can help me. Mine eyes are so moist a refuge and sanctuary of love, that they draw all beauties to them, and are never satisfied. I am in a doubt what fury of Venus this should be. Alas, how have I offended her so to vex me! what Hippolitus am I!* What Telchin is my genius? or is it a natural imperfection, an hereditary passion? Another in [i]Anacreon confesseth, that he had twenty sweet-hearts in Athens at once, fifteen at Corinth, as many at Thebes, at Lesbos, and at Rhodes, twice as many in Ionia, thrice in Caria, twenty thousand in all: or in a word, εἴ φύλλα πάντα, &c.

Folia arborum omnium si	In æquore universas,
Nôsti referre cuncta,	Solum meorum amorum
Aut computare arenas	Te fecero logistam?

Can'st count the leaves in May,
Or sands i'th' ocean sea?
Then count my loves I pray.

His eys are like a ballance, apt to propend each way, and to be weighed down with every wenches looks; his heart a weathercock, his affection tinder, or naphthe it self, which every fair object, sweet smile, or mistris favor sets on fire. Guianerius *tract.* 15. *cap.* 14. refers all this [j]to *the hot temperature of the testicles.* Ferandus, a Frenchman, in his Erotique Mel. (which [k]book came first to my hands after the third edition) to certain *atomi* in the seed, *such as are very spermatick and full of seed.* I finde the same in Aristot. *sect.* 4. *prob.* 17. *si non secernatur semen, cessare tentigines non possunt*, as Guastavinius his commentator translates it, for which cause these yong men, that be strong set, of able bodies, are so subject to it. Hercules de Saxoniâ hath the same words in effect. But most part I say, such are aptest to love that are young and lusty, live at ease, staul-fed, free from cares, like cattle in a rank pasture; idle and solitary persons, they must needs *hirquitullire*, as Guastavinius recites out of Censorinus.

[l] Mens erit apta capi tum quum lætissima rerum	The minde is apt to lust, and hot or cold
Ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo.	As corn luxuriates in a better mold.

The place it self makes much wherein we live; the clime, air, and discipline if they concur. In our Misnia, saith Galen, neer to Pergamus, thou shalt scarce finde an adulterer, but many at Rome, by reason of the delights of the seat. It was that plenty of all things, which made [m] Corinth so infamous of old, and the opportunity of the place to entertain those forraign commers; every day strangers came in at each gate, from all quarters. In that one temple of Venus, a thousand whores did prostitute themselves, as Strabo writes; besides Lais and the rest of better note: All nations resorted thither, as to a school of Venus. Your hot and southern countries are prone to lust, and far more incontinent, then those that live in the North; as Bodine discourseth at large, *Method. hist. cap.* 5. *Molles Asiatici*; so are Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, even all that latitude: and in those tracts, such as are more fruitful, plentiful, and delitious, as Valence in Spain, Capua in Italy; *domicilium luxûs*, Tully terms it; and which Hannibals souldiers can witness: Canopus in Ægypt, Sybaris, Phœacia, Baiæ, [n] Cyprus, Lamprus, Lampsacus. In Naples the fruits of the soyl and pleasant air enervate their

[h] Citius maris fluctus et nives cœlo delabentes numeraris, quam amores meos: alii amores aliis succedunt, ac priusquam desinant priores incipiunt sequentes. Adeo humidis oculis meus inhabitat Asylus omnem formam ad se rapiens, ut nullâ satietate expleatur. Quæmam hæc ira Veneris, &c. [i] Num. 32. [j] Qui calidam testiculorum crisin habent, &c. [k] Printed at Paris 1624, seven years after my first edition. [l] Ovid. de art. [m] Gerbellus. descript. Græciæ. Rerum omnium affluentia et loci mira opportunitas, nullo non die hospites in portas advertebant. Templo Veneris mille meretrices se prostituebant. [n] Tota Cypri insula deliciis incumbit, et ob id tantum luxuriæ dedita ut sit olim Veneri sacrata. Ortelius, Lampsacus olim Priapo sacer ob vinum generosum, et loci delicias. Idem.

bodies, and alter constitutions: [o] insomuch, that Florus calls it *Certamen Bacchi et Veneris*, but [p] Folliot admires it. In Italy and Spain, they have their stews in every great city, as in Rome, Venice, Florence, wherein some say, dwell ninety thousand inhabitants, of which ten thousand are curtizans; and yet for all this, every gentleman almost hath a peculiar mistris; fornications, adulteries are nowhere so common: *urbs est jam tota lupanar;* how should a man live honest among so many provocations? now if vigor of youth, greatness (liberty I mean), and that impunity of sin, which grandies take unto themselves in this kinde, shall meet, what a gap must it needs open to all manner of vice; with what fury will it rage? For, as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist observes, *libido consequuta quum fuerit materiam improbam, et præruptam licentiam, et effrenatam audaciam, &c.* what will not lust effect in such persons? For commonly princes and great men make no scruple at all of such matters; but, with that whore in Spartian, *quicquid libet licet;* they think they may do what they list, profess it publikely, and rather brag with Proculus (that writ to a friend of his in Rome [q] what famous exploits he had done in that kind) then any way be abashed at it. [r] Nicholas Sanders relates of Henry the 8th (I know not how truly) *Quod paucas vidit pulchriores quas non concupierit, et paucissimas non concupierit quas non violârit:* He saw very few maids that he did not desire; and desired fewer whom he did not enjoy: nothing so familiar amongst them; 'tis most of their business: Sardanapalus, Messalina, and Jone of Naples, are not comparable to [s] meaner men and women; Solomon of old had a thousand concubines: Assuerus his eunuches, and keepers; Nero his Tigillinus, panders, and bawds; the Turks, [t] Muscovits, Mogors, Xeriffs of Barbary, and Persian sophies, are no whit inferior to them, in our times. *Delectus fit omnium puellarum toto regno formâ præstantiorum* (saith Jovius) *pro imperatore; et quas ille linquit, nobiles habent;* They press and muster up wenches as we do souldiers; and have their choice of the rarest beauties their countries can afford; and yet all this cannot keep them from adultery, incest, sodomy, buggery, and such prodigious lusts. We may conclude, that if they be yong, fortunate, rich, high-fed, and idle withall, it is almost impossible they should live honest; not rage, and precipitate themselves into those inconveniences of burning lust.

[u] Otium et reges prius et beatas
Perdidit urbes.

Idleness overthrows all, *Vacuo pectore regnat amor*, love tyrannizeth in an idle person. *Amore abundas Antipho.* If thou hast nothing to do, [v] *Invidiâ vel amore miser torquebere*——Thou shalt be haled in pieces with envy, lust, some passion or other. *Homines nihil agendo male agere discunt;* 'Tis Aristotles simile, [w] *as match or touchwood takes fire, so doth an idle person love. Quæritur Ægistus quare sit factus adulter, &c.* why was Ægistus a whoremaster? You need not ask a reason of it. Ismenedora stole Baccho, a woman forced a man, as [x] Aurora did Cephalus: No marvel, saith [y] Plutarch, *Luxurians opibus more hominum mulier agit:* She was rich, fortunate and jolly; and doth but as men do in that case, as Jupiter did by Europa, Neptune by Amymone. The poets therefore did well to feign all shepheards lovers, to give themselves to songs and dalliances, because they lived such idle lives. For love, as [z] Theophrastus defines it, is *otiosi animi affectus*, an affection of an idle minde; or as [a] Seneca describes it,

[o] Agri Neapolitan. delectatio, elegantia, amœnitas, vix intra modum humanum consistere videtur; unde, &c. Leand. Alber. in Campaniâ. [p] Lib. de laud. urb. Neap. Disputat. de morbis animi, Reinoldo Interpret. [q] Lampridius. Quod decem noctibus centum virgines fecisset mulieres. [r] Vita ejus. [s] If they contain themselves, many times, it is not virtutis amore; non deest voluntas sed facultas. [t] In Muscov. [u] Catullus ad Lesbium. [v] Hor. [w] Polit. 8. num. 28. Ut naphthe ad ignem, sic amor ad illos qui torpescunt otio. [x] Pausanias Attic. lib. 1. Cephalus egregiæ formæ juvenis ab Aurorâ raptus, quod ejus amore capta esset. [y] In amatorio. [z] E. Stobæo ser. 62. [a] Amor otiosæ cura est sollicitudinis.

Juventâ gignitur, luxu nutritur, feriis alitur, otioque inter læta fortunæ bona; youth begets it, riot maintains it, idleness nourisheth it, &c. which makes [b] Gordonius the physician, *cap.* 20. *part.* 2. call this disease, the proper passion of nobility. Now, if a weak judgement and a strong apprehension do concur, how, saith Hercules de Saxoniâ, shall they resist? Savanarola appropriates it almost to [c] *monks, friers, and religious persons, because they live solitary, fare daintily, and do nothing*: and well he may; for how should they otherwise choose?

Diet alone is able to cause it: a rare thing to see a yong man or a woman, that lives idly, and fares well, of what condition soever, not to be in love. [d] Alcibiades was still dallying with wanton young women; immoderate in his expences, effeminate in his apparel, ever in love, but why? he was over delicate in his diet; too frequent and excessive in banquets. *Ubicunque securitas, ibi libido dominatur*; lust and security domineer together, as S[t]. Hierome averreth. All which the wife of Bath in Chaucer freely justifies.

For all to sicker, as cold engendreth hail,
A liquorish tongue must have a liquorish tail.

Especially if they shall further it by choice diet; as many times those Sybarites and Phœaces do, feed liberally, and by their good will, eat nothing else but lascivious meats. [e] *Vinum imprimis generosum, legumen, fabas, radices omnium generum bene conditas, et largo pipere aspersas, carduos hortulanos, lactucas,* [f] *erucas, rapas, porros, cæpas, nucem piceam, amygdalas, dulces, electuaria, syrupos, succos, cochleas, conchas, pisces optime præparatos, aviculas, testiculos animalium, ova, condimenta diversorum generum, molles lectos, pulvinaria, &c. Et quicquid fere medici impotentiâ rei venereæ laboranti præscribunt, hoc quasi diasatyrion habent in deliciis, et his dapes multo delicatiores; mulsum, exquisitas et exoticas fruges, aromata, placentas, expressos succos multis ferculis variatos, ipsumque vinum suavitate vincentes, et quicquid culina, pharmacopœia, aut quæque fere officina subministrare possit. Et hoc plerumque victu quum se ganeones infarciant,* [g] *ut ille ad Chreseida suam, se bulbis et cochleis curavit; etiam ad Venerem se parent, et ad hanc palæstram se exerceant, qui fieri possit, ut non misere depereant,* [h] *ut non penitus insaniant?* Æstuans venter cito despuit in libidinem, *Hieronymus ait.* [i] Post prandia, Callyroenda. *Quis enim continere se potest?* [j] Luxuriosa res vinum, *fomentum libidinis vocat Augustinus, blandum dæmonem, Bernardus; lac veneris, Aristophanes.* Non Ætna, non Vesuvius, tantis ardoribus æstuant, ac juveniles medullæ vino plenæ, *addit* [k] *Hieronymus: unde ob optimum vinum Lampsacus olim Priapo sacer: et venerandi Bacchi socia, apud* [l] *Orpheum Venus audit. Hæc si vinum simplex, et per se sumptum præstare possit,* nam———[m] quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum? *quam non insaniam, quem non furorem a cæteris expectemus?* [n] *Gomesius salem enumerat inter ea quæ intempestivam libidinem provocare solent,* et salaciores fieri fœminas ob esum salis contendit: Venerem ideo dicunt ab oceano ortam.

[o] Unde tot in Veneta scortorum millia cur sunt?
In promptu causa est, est Venus orta mari.

Et hinc fœta mater Salacea Oceani conjux, *verbumque fortasse salax a sale effluxit. Mala Bacchica tantum olim in amoribus prævaluerunt, ut coronæ ex illis statuæ Bacchi ponerentur.* [p] *Cubebis in vino maceratis utuntur*

[b] Principes plerumque ob licentiam et affluentiam divitiarum istam passionem solent incurrere. [c] Ardenter appetit qui otiosam vitam agit, et communiter incurrit hæc passio solitarios deliciose viventes, incontinentes, religiosos, &c. [d] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [e] Vina parant animos veneri. [f] Sed nihil erucæ faciunt bulbique salaces; Improba nec prosit jam saturcia tibi. Ovid. [g] Petronius. Curavi me mox cibis validioribus, &c. [h] Uti ille apud Sckenkium, qui post potionem, uxorem et quatuor ancillas proximo cubiculo cubantes, compressit. [i] Pers. Sat. 3. [j] Siracides. Nox, et amor vinumque nihil moderabile suadent. [k] Lip. ad Olympiam. [l] Hymno. [m] Hor. 1. 3. Od. 25. [n] De sale lib. cap. 21. [o] Kornmannus lib. de virginitate. [p] Garcias ab horto aromatum, lib. 1. cap. 28.

Indi orientales ad Venerem excitandam, et [q] *surax radice Africani. Chinæ radix eosdem effectus habet, talisque herbæ meminit* mag. nat. lib. 2. cap. 16. [r] *Baptista Porta ex Indiâ allatæ, cujus mentionem facit et Theophrastus. Sed infinita his similia apud Rhasin, Matthiolam, Mizaldam, cæterosque medicos occurrunt, quorum ideo mentionem feci, ne quis imperitior in hos scopulos impingat, sed pro virili tanquam syrtes et cautes consulto effugiat.*

SUBSECT. II.—*Other causes of Love-Melancholy. Sight, Beauty from the face, eys, other parts; and how it pierceth.*

MANY such causes may be reckoned up, but they cannot avail, except opportunity be offered of time, place, and those other beautiful objects, or artificial enticement; as kissing, conference, discourse, gestures concur, with such like lascivious provocations. Kornmannus in his book *de lineâ amoris* makes five degrees of lust, out of [s] Lucian belike, which he handles in five chapters, *Visus, Colloquium, Convictus, Oscula, Tactus.* Sight of all other is the first step of this unruly love; though sometimes it be prevented by relation or hearing, or rather incensed. For there be those so apt, credulous and facile to love, that if they heard of a proper man, or woman, they are in love before they see them, and that meerly by relation, as Achilles Tatius observes. [t] *Such is their intemperance and lust, that they are as much maimed by report, as if they saw them. Calisthenes a rich young gentleman of Byzance in Thrace, hearing of* [u] *Leucippe, Sostratus fair daughter, was far in love with her; and out of fame and common rumour, so much incensed, that he would needs have her to be his wife.* And sometimes by reading they are so affected, as he in [v] Lucian confesseth of himself, *I never read that place of Panthea in Xenophon, but I am as much affected, as if I were present with her.* [w] Such persons commonly fain a kind of beauty to themselves; and so did those three gentlewomen, in [x] Balthasar Castilio, fall in love with a yong man, whom they never knew, but only heard him commended: or by reading of a letter; for there is a grace commeth from hearing, [y] as a moral philosopher informeth us, as *well as from sight; and the species of love are received into the phantasie by relation alone:* [z] *ut cupere ab aspectu, sic velle ab auditu,* both senses affect. *Interdum et absentes amamus,* sometimes we love those that are absent, saith Philostratus, and gives instance in his friend Athenodorus, that lov'd a maid at Corinth whom he never saw; *non oculi sed mens videt,* We see with the eys of our understanding.

But the most familiar and usual cause of love, is that which comes by sight, which conveys those admirable rayes of beauty and pleasing graces to the heart. Plotinus derives love from sight, ἔρως *quasi* ὅρασις. [a] *Si nescis, oculi sunt in amore duces,* the eys are the harbingers of love, and the first step of love is sight, [b] as Lilius Giraldus proves at large, *hist. Deor. syntag.* 13. they, as two sluces, let in the influences of that divine, powerful, soul-ravishing, and captivating beauty; which, as [c] one saith, *is sharper then any dart or needle, wounds deeper into the heart; and opens a gap through our eys to that lovely wound, which pierceth the soul itself* (*Eccles.* 18.) *Through it, love is kindled like a fire.* This amazing, confounding, admir-

[q] Surax radix ad coitum summe facit; si quis comedat, aut infusionem bibat, membrum subito erigitur. Leo Afer, lib. 9. cap. ult. [r] Quæ non solum edentibus sed et genitale tangentibus tantum valet, ut coire summe desiderent; quoties fere velint, possint; alios duodecies profecisse, alios ad 60 vices pervênisse refert. [s] Lucian. Tom. 4. Dial. amorum. [t] En enim hominum intemperantium libido est ut etiam famâ ad amandum impellantur, et audientes æque afficiuntur ac videntes. [u] Formosam Sostrati filiam audiens, uxorem cupit, et solâ illius auditione ardet. [v] Quoties de Panthea Xenophontis locum perlego, ita animo affectus ac si coram intuerer. [w] Pulchritudinem sibi ipis confingunt, imagines. [x] De aulico, lib. 2. fol. 116. 'tis a pleasant story, and related at large by him. [y] Gratia venit ab auditu æque ac visu, et species amoris in phantasiam recipiunt solâ relatione. Picolomineus grad. 8. c. 38. [z] Lip. cent. 22. epist. 29, Beauties Encomions. [a] Propert. [b] Amoris primum gradum visus habet, ut aspiciat rem amatam. [c] Achilles Tatius, lib. 1. Forma telo quovis acutior ad inferendum vulnus, perque oculos amatorio vulneri aditum patefaciens in animum penetrat.

able, amiable beauty, [d] *then which in all natures treasure* (saith Isocrates) *there is nothing so majestical and sacred, nothing so divine, lovely, pretious*; 'tis natures crown, gold and glory; *bonum si non summum, de summis tamen non infrequenter triumphans*, whose power hence may be discerned; we contemn and abhor generally such things, as are foul and ugly to behold, accompt them filthy, but love and covet that which is fair. [e] 'Tis beauty in all things, which pleaseth and allureth us; a fair hawk, a fine garment, a goodly building, a fair house, &c. That Persian Xerxes when he destroyed all those temples of the gods in Greece, caused that of Diana, *in integrum servari*, to be spared, alone for that excellent beauty and magnificence of it. Inanimate beauty can so command. 'Tis that which painters, artificers, orators, all aym at; as Eriximachus the physician in Plato contends, [f] *it was beauty first, that ministred occasion to art, to find out the knowledge of carving, painting, building; to find out models, perspectives, rich furnitures, and so many rare inventions.* Whiteness in the lilly, red in the rose, purple in the violet, a lustre in all things without life, the cleer light of the moon, the bright beams of the sun, splendor of gold, purple, sparkling diamond, the excellent feature of the horse, the majesty of the lion, the colour of birds, peacocks tails, the silver scales of fish, we behold with singular delight and admiration. [g] *And which is rich in plants, delightful in flowers, wonderful in beasts, but most glorious in men*, doth make us affect and earnestly desire it; as when we hear any sweet harmony, an eloquent tongue, see any excellent quality, curious work of man, elaborate art, or ought that is exquisite, there ariseth instantly in us a longing for the same. We love such men, but most part for comeliness of person; we call them gods and goddesses, divine, serene, happy, &c. And of all mortal men they alone ([h] Calcagninus holds) are free from calumny; *qui divitiis, magistratu et gloriâ florent, injuriâ lacessimus*; we back-bite, wrong, hate, renowned, rich and happy men; we repine at their felicity, they are undeserving we think; fortune is a step-mother to us, a parent to them. *We envy* (saith [i] Isocrates) *wise, just, honest men; except with mutual offices and kindnesses, some good turn or other, they extort this love from us; only fair persons we love at first sight, desire their acquaintance, and adore them as so many gods: we had rather serve them then command others; and account our selves the more beholding to them, the more service they enjoyn us:* though they be otherwise vitious, unhonest, we love them, favour them, and are ready to do them any good office for their [j] beauties sake, though they have no other good quality beside. *Dic igitur, ô formose adolescens* (as that eloquent Phavorinus breaks out in [k] Stobeus) *dic, Antiloque, suavius nectare loqueris; dic, ô Telemache, vehementius Ulysse dicis; dic, Alcibiades, utcunque ebrius, libentius tibi licet ebrio auscultabimus.* Speak, fair youth, speak, Antiloquus, thy words are sweeter then nectar; speak, O Telemachus, thou art more powerful then Ulysses; speak, Alcibiades, though drunk, we will willingly hear thee as thou art. Faults in such are no faults: For when the said Alcibiades had stoln Anytus his gold and silver plate, he was so far from prosecuting so foul a fact (though every man else condemned his impudence, and insolency) that he wished it had been more, and much better (he loved him dearly) for his sweet sake. No worth is eminent in such lovely persons, all imperfections hid; *non enim facile de his quos plurimum diligimus, turpitudinem suspicamur*, for hearing, sight, touch, &c. our mind and all our

[d] In totâ rerum naturâ nihil formâ divinius, nihil augustius, nihil pretosius, cujus vires hinc facile intelliguntur, &c. [e] Christ. Fonseca. [f] S. L. [g] Bruys prob. 11. de formâ e Luciano. [h] Lib. de calumniâ. Formosi calumniâ vacant; dolemus alios meliore loco positos, fortunam nobis novercam, illis, &c. [i] Invidemus sapientibus, justis, nisi beneficiis assidue amorem extorquent; solos formosos amamus et primo velut aspectu benevolentiâ conjungimur, et eos tanquam Deos colimus, libentius iis servimus quam aliis imperamus, majoremque, &c. [j] Formæ majestatem Barbari verentur, nec alii majores quam quos eximiâ formâ natura donata est. Herod. lib. 5. Curtius 6. Arist. Polit. [k] Serm 63. Plutarch. vit. ejus. Brisonius Strabo.

senses are captivated, *omnes sensus formosus delectat.* Many men have been preferred for their person alone; chosen kings, as amongst the Indians, Persians, Æthiopians of old: the properest man of person the country could afford, was elected their soveraign lord; *gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus*, and so have many other nations thought and done, as [l] Curtius observes; *ingens enim in corporis majestate veneratio est*, for there is a majestical presence in such men: and so far was beauty adored amongst them, that no man was thought fit to reign, that was not in all parts compleat and supereminent. Agis king of Lacedæmon had like to have been deposed, because he married a little wife; they would not have their royal issue degenerate. Who would ever have thought that Adrian the fourth, an English monks bastard (as [m] Papirius Massovius writes in his life) *inops a suis relictus, squalidus et miser*, a poor forsaken child, should ever come to be pope of Rome? But why was it? *Erat acri ingenio, facundiâ expeditâ, eleganti corpore, facieque lætâ ac hilari*, as he follows it out of [n] Nubrigensis; (for he plows with his heifer,) he was wise, learned, eloquent, of a pleasant, a promising countenance, a goodly proper man; he had, in a word, a winning look of his own, and that carryed it; for *that* he was especially advanced. So *Saul was a goodly person and fair.* Maximinus elected emperour, &c. Branchus the son of Apollo, whom he begot of Jance, Succrons daughter (saith Lactantius) when he kept king Admetus heards in Thessaly, now grown a man, was an earnest suitor to his mother to know his father; the nymph denyed him, because Apollo had conjured her to the contrary; yet overcome by his importunity at last, she sent him to his father; when he came into Apollos presence, *malas Dei reverenter osculatus;* he carried himself so well, and was so fair a yong man, that Apollo was infinitely taken with the beauty of his person, he could scarce look off him; and said, he was worthy of such parents, gave him a crown of gold, the spirit of divination, and in conclusion, made him a demi-god. *O vis superba formæ*, a goddess beauty is, whom the very gods adore, *nam pulchros Dii amant;* she is *amoris domina*, loves harbinger, loves loadstone, a witch, a charm, &c. Beauty is a dowre of it self, a sufficient patrimony, an ample commendation, an accurate epistle, as [o] Lucian, Apuleius, Tiraquellus, and some [p] others conclude. *Imperio digna forma*, beauty deserves a kingdome, saith Abulensis, *paradox.* 2. *cap.* 110. immortality; and [q] *more have got this honour and eternity for their beauty, then for all other vertues besides:* and such as are fair, [r] *are worthy to be honoured of god and men.* That Idalian Ganymedes was therefore fetched by Jupiter into heaven; Hephæstion dear to Alexander; Antinous to Adrian. Plato calls beauty for that cause, a privilege of nature, *naturæ gaudentis opus*, natures masterpiece, [s] a dumb comment; Theophrastus, a silent fraud; still rhetorick Carneades, that perswades without speech, a kingdome without a guard, because beautiful persons command as so many captains; Socrates, a tyranny, *which tyrannizeth over tyrants themselves;* which made Diogenes, belike, call proper women queens, *quod facerent homines quæ præciperent*, because men were so obedient to their commands. They will adore, cringe, complement and bow to a common wench (if she be fair) as if she were a noble woman, a countess, a queen or a goddess. Those intemperate yong men of Greece, erected at Delphos, a golden image with infinite cost, to the eternal memory of Phryne the curtizan, as Ælian relates; for she was a most beautiful woman, in so much saith [t] Athenæus, that Appelles and Praxiteles drew

[l] Lib. 5. Magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant quam quos eximiâ specie natura donavit. [m] Lib. de vitis Pontificum Rom. [n] Lib. 2. cap. 6. [o] Dial. amorum, c. 2. de magiâ. Lib. 2. connub. cap. 27. Virgo formosa, etsi oppido pauper, abunde est dotata. [p] Isocrates. [q] Plures ob formam Immortalitatem adepti sunt quam ob reliquas omnes virtutes, [r] Lucian. tom. 4. Charidæmon. Qui pulchri, merito apud Deos et apud homines honore affecti. [s] Muta commentatio, quâvis epistolâ ad commendandum efficacior. [t] Lib. 9. Var. hist. Tanta formæ elegantia ut ab eâ nudâ, &c..

enus' picture from her. Thus yong men will adore and honour beauty; nay ngs themselves I say will do it; and voluntarily submit their soveraignty to ovely woman. *Wine is strong; kings are strong; but a woman strongest.* Esd. 4. 10. as Zerobabel proved at large to king Darius, his princes and blemen. *Kings sit still and command sea and land, &c. all pay tribute to e king; but women make kings pay tribute, and have dominion over em. When they have got gold and silver, they submit all to a beautiful oman; give themselves wholly to her, gape and gaze on her, and all men sire her more then gold or silver, or any p etious thing: they will leave ther and mother, and venture their lives for her; labour and travel to get, d bring all their gains to women; steal, fight and spoil for their mistress kes. And no king so strong, but a fair woman is stronger then he is. ll things* (as he [t] proceeds) *fear to touch the king; yet I saw him and oame his concubine, the daughter of the famous Bartacus, sitting on the ght hand of the king, and she took the crown off his head, and put it on r own, and stroke him with her left hand; yet the king gaped and gazed her, and when she laughed he laughed, and when she was angry, he flatred to be reconciled to her.* So beauty commands even kings themselves; y whole armies and kingdomes are captivated, together with their kings: *Forma vincit armatos, ferrum pulchritudo captivat; vincentur specie, qui n vincentur prælio.* And 'tis a great matter, saith [v] Xenophon, *and of which l fair persons may worthily brag, that a strong man must labour for his ing if he will have ought; a valiant man must fight and endanger himself r it, a wise man speak, shew himself and toil; but a fair and beautiful rson doth all with ease; he compasseth his desire without any pains taking:* d and men, heaven and earth conspire to honour him; every one pitties n above other, if he be in need, [w] and all the world is willing to do him good. Chariclea fell into the hands of pyrats, but when all the rest were put to the ge of the sword, she alone was preserved for her person. [y] When Constanople was sacked by the Turks, Irene escaped, and was so far from being ade a captive, that she even captivated the grand Senior himself. So did osamond insult over king Henry the second;

——[z] I was so fair an object,
Whom fortune made my king, my love made subject;
He found by proof the priviledge of beauty,
That it had power to countermand all duty.

captivates the very gods themselves, *Morosiora numina.*

[a] —— Deus ipse Deorum
Factus ob hanc formam bos, equus, imber, olor.

nd those *mali genii* are taken with it, as [b] I have already proved, *Formosam arbari verentur, et ad aspectum pulchrum immanis animus mansuescit.* Heliodor. *lib. 5*) The Barbarians stand in awe of a fair woman, and at a autiful aspect, a fierce spirit is pacified. For when as Troy was taken, d the wars ended (as Clemens [c] Alexandrinus quotes out of Euripides) gry Menelaus with rage and fury armed, came with his sword drawn, to ve killed Helena with his own hands, as being the sole cause of all those ars and miseries: but when he saw her fair face, as one amazed at her vine beauty, he let his weapon fall, and embraced her besides; he had no ower to strike so sweet a creature. *Ergo hebetantur enses pulchritudine,* e edge of a sharp sword (as the saying is) is dulled with a beautiful aspect, d severity it self is overcome. Hiperides the orator, when Phryne his ient was accused at Athens for her lewdness, used no other defence in her

Esdras, 4. 29. [u] Origen hom. 23. in Numb. In ipsos tyrannos tyrannidem exercet. [v] Illud certe quum ob quod gloriari possunt formosi, quod robustis necessarium sit laborare, fortem periculis se objicere, sapientem, &c. [w] Majorem vim habet ad commendandum forma, quam accurate scripta epistola. ist. [x] Heliodor. lib. 1. [y] Knowles, hist. Turcica. [z] Daniel in complaint of Rosamond. [a] Strosa us Epig. [b] Sect. 2. Mem. 1. Sub. 1. [c] Stromatum 1. Post captum Trojam cum impetu ferretur occidendam Helenam, stupore adeo pulchritudinis correptus, ut ferrum excideret, &c.

cause, but tearing her upper garment, disclosed her naked breast to the judges; with which comeliness of her body and amiable gesture, they were so moved and astonished, that they did acquit her forthwith, and let her go. O noble piece of justice! mine author exclaims, and who is he that would not rather lose his seat and robes, forfeit his office, then give sentence against the majesty of beauty? Such prerogatives have fair persons, and they alone are free from danger. Parthenopæus was so lovely and fair, that when he fought in the Theban wars, if his face had been by chance bare, no enemy would offer to strike at or hurt him: such immunities hath beauty. Beasts themselves are moved with it. Sinalda was a woman of such excellent feature, [d] and a queen, that when she was to be trodden on by wild horses for punishment, *the wild beasts stood in admiration of her person,* (Saxo Grammaticus *lib.* 8. Dan. Hist.) *and would not hurt her.* Wherefore did that royal virgin in [e] Apuleius when she fled from the theeves den, in a desart, make such an apostrophe to her asse on whom she rode? (for what knew she to the contrary *but that he was an asse?*) *Si me parentibus et proco formoso reddideris, quas tibi gratias, quos honores habebo, quos cibos exhibebo!* She would comb him, dress him, feed him, and trick him every day her self, and he should work no more, toil no more, but rest and play, &c. And besides, she would have a dainty picture drawn, in perpetual remembrance, a virgin riding upon an asses back with this motto, *Asino vectore regia virgo fugiens captivitatem;* why said she all this? why did she make such promises to a dumb beast? But that she perceived the poor asse to be taken with her beauty; for he did often *obliquo collo pedes puellæ decoros basiare,* kiss her feet as she rid, *et ad delicatulas voculas tentabat adhinnire;* offer to give consent, as much as in him was, to her delicate speeches; and besides he had some feeling as she conceived of her misery. And why did Theogines' horse in Heliodorus [f] curveat, prance, and go so proudly, *exultans alacriter et superbiens, &c.* but that sure, as mine author supposeth, he was in love with his master? *dixisses ipsum equum pulchrum intelligere pulchram domini formam?* A fly lighted on [g] Malthius cheek as he lay asleep; but why? Not to hurt him, as a parasite of his, standing by well perceived, *non ut pungeret, sed ut oscularetur,* but certainly to kiss him, as ravished with his divine looks. Inanimate creatures I suppose, have a touch of this, when a drop of [h] Psyches candle fell on Cupids shoulder, I think, sure, it was to kiss it. When Venus ran to meet her rose-cheeked Adonis, as an elegant [i] poet of ours sets her out,

> ——— the bushes in the way
> Some catch her neck, some kiss her face,
> Some twine about her legs to make her stay,
> And all did covet her for to embrace.

Aër ipse amore inficitur, as Heliodorus holds, the ayr it self is in love: for when Hero plaid upon her lute,

> [j] The wanton air in twenty sweet forms danc't
> After her fingers ———

and those lascivious winds staid Daphne when she fled from Apollo;

> ——— [k] nudabant corpora venti,
> Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes.

Boreas ventus loved Hyacinthus, and Orithya Ericthons daughter of Athens: *vi rapuit, &c.* he took her away by force, as she was playing with other wenches at Ilissus, and begat Zetes and Galais his two sons, of her. That seas and waters are enamoured with this our beauty, is all out as likely as that

[d] Tantæ formæ fuit, ut cum vincta loris, feris exposita foret, equorum calcibus obterenda, ipsis jumentis admirationi fuit; lædere noluerunt. [e] Lib. 8. miles. [f] Æthiop. l. 3. [g] Athenæus, lib. 8. [h] Apuleius, Aur. asino. [i] Shakespeare. [j] Marlow. [k] Ov. Met. l.

of the air and winds; for when Leander swimmed in the Hellespont, Neptune with his trident did beat down the waves, but

> They still mounted up, intending to have kiss'd him,
> And fell in drops, like tears, because they miss'd him.

The [t] river Alpheus was in love with Arethusa, as she tels the tale herself;

> ——viridesque manu siccata capillos,
> Fluminis Alphei veteres recitavit amores;
> Pars ego Nympharum, &c.

When our Tame and Isis meet

> [u] Oscula mille sonant, connexu brachia pallent,
> Mutuaque explicitis connectunt colla lacertis.

Inachus and Pineus, and how many loving rivers can I reckon up, whom beauty hath enthral'd! I say nothing all this while of idols themselves, that have committed idolatry in this kind; of looking-glasses, that have been rapt in love (if you will believe [n] poets) when their ladies and mistresses looked on to dress them.

> Et si non habeo sensum, tua gratia sensum
> Exhibet, et calidi sentio amoris onus.
> Dirigis huc quoties spectantia lumina, flammâ
> Succendunt inopi saucia membra mihi.

> Though I no sense at all of feeling have,
> Yet your sweet looks do animate and save;
> And when your speaking eys do this way turn,
> Me thinks my wounded members live and burn.

I could tell you such another story of a spindle, that was fired by fair ladies [o] looks, or fingers, some say, I know not well whether; but fired it was by report; and of a cold bath that suddenly smoaked, and was very hot when naked Cœlia came into it. *Miramur quis sit tantus et unde vapor, &c.* But of all the tales in this kind, that is the most memorable of [p] Death himself, when he should have stroken a sweet yong virgin with his dart, he fell in love with the object. Many more such could I relate, which are to be believed with a poetical faith. So dum and dead creatures dote: but men are mad, stupefied many times at the first sight of beauty, amazed, [q] as that fisherman in Aristænetus, that spied a maid bathing herself by the sea side,

> [r] Soluta mihi sunt omnia membra——
> A capite ad calcem, sensusque omnis perlit
> De pectore, tam immensus stupor animum invasit mihi.

And as [s] Lucian in his images, confesseth of himself, that he was at his mistriss presence, void of all sense, immoveable, as if he had seen a Gorgons head: which was no such cruel monster, (as [t] Cœlius interprets it, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 9.) *but the very quintessence of beauty;* some fair creature, as without doubt the poet understood in the first fiction of it, at which the spectators were amazed. [u] *Miseri quibus intentata nites*, poor wretches are compelled at the very sight of her ravishing looks to run mad, or make away with themselves.

> [v] They wait the sentence of her scornful eys;
> And whom she favours lives, the other dyes.

[w] Heliodorus *lib.* 1. brings in Thyamis almost besides himself, when he saw Chariclea first; and not daring to look upon her a second time, *for he thought it unpossible for any man living, to see her and contain himself.* The very fame of beauty will fetch them to it many miles off, (such an attractive power this loadstone hath) and they will seem but short; they will undertake any toil or trouble, [x] long journeys. Penia or Atalanta shall not overgo them, through seas, desarts, mountains, and dangerous places, as they did to gaze on Psyche: *many mortal men came far and neer to see that glorious object of her age;* Paris for Helena; Corebus to Troja;

> ——illis Trojam qui forte diebus
> Venerat insano Cassandræ incensus amore.

King John of France, once prisoner in England, came to visit his old friends

[t] Ovid. Met. lib. 5. [u] Leland. [n] Angerianus. [o] Si longe aspiciens hæc urit lumine Divos Atque homines prope, cur urere lina nequit? Angerianus. [p] Idem Anger. [q] Obstupuit mirabundus membrorum elegantiam, &c. ep. 7. [r] Stobæus e Græco. [s] Parum abfuit quo minus saxum ex homine factus sum, ipsis statuis immobiliorem me fecit. [t] Veteres Gorgonis fabulam confinxerunt, eximium formæ decus stupidos reddens. [u] Hor. Ode 5. [v] Marlows Hero. [w] Aspectum virginis sponte fugit insanus fere, et impossibile existimans ut simul eam aspicere quis possit, et intra temperantiæ metas se continere. [x] Apuleius l. 4. Multi mortales longis itineribus, &c.

again, crossing the seas; but the truth is, his comming was to see the countess of Salisbury, the *non-pariel* of those times, and his dear mistriss. That infernal god Plutus came from hell it self, to steal Proserpina; Achilles left all his friends for Polixenas sake, his enemies daughter; and all the [y] Græcian gods forsook their heavenly mansions for that fair lady, Philo Dioneus daughters sake, the paragon of Greece in those days; *eâ enim venustate fuit, ut eam certatim omnes Dii conjugem expeterent.* [z] *Formosa Divis imperat puella.* They will not only come to see, but, as a faulkoner makes an hungry hawke hover about; follow, give attendance and service, spend goods, lives, and all their fortunes to attain;

Were beauty under twenty locks kept fast,
Yet love breaks through, and picks them all at last.

When fair [a] Hero came abroad, the eys, hearts, and affections of her spectators were still attendant on her.

[b] Et medios inter vultus supereminet omnes,
Perque urbem aspiciunt venientem numinis instar.

[c] So far above the rest fair Hero shin'd,
And stole away th' inchanted gazers mind.

[d] When Peter Aretines Lucretia came first to Rome, and that the fame of her beauty, *ad urbanarum deliciarum sectatores venerat, nemo non ad videndam eam, &c.* was spread abroad, they came in (as they say) *thick and threefold* to see her, and hovered about her gates, as they did of old to Lais of Corinth, and Phryne of Thebes. [e] *Ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores,* [f] *Every man sought to get her love; some with gallant and costly apparel; some with an affected pace; some with musique; others with rich gifts, pleasant discourse, multitude of followers; others with letters, vows, and promises, to commend themselves, and to be gratious in her eys.* Happy was he that could see her; thrice happy, that enjoyed her company. Charmides [g] in Plato, was a proper young man, in comeliness of person, *and all good qualities, far exceeding others; whensoever fair Charmides came abroad, they seemed all to be in love with him* (as Critias describes their carriage) *and were troubled at the very sight of him; many came neer him, many followed him wheresoever he went,* as those, [h] *formarum spectatores* did Acontius, if at any time he walked abroad: the Athenian lasses stared on Alcibiades; Sappho and the Mitilean women on Phaon the fair. Such lovely sights do not onely please, entise, but ravish and amaze. Cleonimus, a delicate and tender youth, present at a feast which Androcles his uncle made in Piræo at Athens, when he sacrificed to Mercury, so stupified the guests, Dineas, Aristippus, Agasthenes, and the rest, (as Charidemus in [i] Lucian relates it) that they could not eat their meat; they sate all supper time gazing, glancing at him, stealing looks, and admiring his beauty. Many will condemn these men, that are so enamoured, for fools; but some again commend them for it; many reject Paris judgement, and yet Lucian approves of it, admiring Paris for his choice; he would have done as much himself, and by good desert, in his minde, beauty is to be preferred, [j] *before wealth or wisdom.* [k] Athenæus Deipnosophist. *lib.* 13. *cap.* 7. holds it not such indignity for the Trojans and Greeks to contend ten years, to spend so much labour, loose so many mens lives for Helens sake; [l] for so fair a ladies sake;

Ob talem uxorem cui præstantissima forma
Nil mortale refert.

That one woman was worth a kingdom; a hundred thousand other women; a world it self. Well might [m] Sterpsichores be blind for carping at so fair a

[y] Nic. Gerbel. 1. 5. Achaia. [z] Jo. Secundus basiorum lib. [a] Musæus. Illa autem bene morata, per ædem quocunque vagabatur, sequentem mentem habebat, et oculos, et corda virorum. [b] Homer. [c] Marlow. [d] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Latin. donat. a Gasp. Barthio Germano. [e] Propertius. [f] Vestium splendore et elegantiâ, ambitione incessûs, donis, cantilenis, &c. gratiam adipisci. [g] Præ cæteris corporis proceritate et egregiâ indole mirandus apparebat, cæteri autem capti ejus amore videbantur, &c. [h] Aristænetus, ep. 10. [i] Tom. 4. dial. meretr. Respicientes et ad formam ejus obstupescentes. [j] In Charidemo. Sapientiæ merito pulchritudo præfertur et opibus. [k] Indignum nihil est Troas fortes et Achivos tempore tam longo perpessos esse labores. [l] Digna quidem facies pro quâ vel obiret Achilles, vel Priamus, belli causa probanda fuit. Proper. lib. 2. [m] Cæcus qui Helenæ formam carpserat.

creature; and a just punishment it was. The same testimony gives Homer of the old men of Troy, that were spectators of that single combate betwixt Paris and Menelaus at the Seian gate; when Helena stood in presence, they said all, the war was worthily prolonged and undertaken [n] for her sake. The very gods themselves (as Homer and [o] Isocrates record) fought more for Helena, then they did against the gyants. When [p] Venus lost her son Cupid, she made proclamation by Mercury, that he that could bring tidings of him, should have seven kisses; a noble reward, some say, and much better than so many golden talents; seven such kisses to many men, were more pretious then seven cities, or so many provinces. One such a kiss alone, would recover a man if he were a dying. [q] *Suaviolum Stygiâ sic te de valle reducet, &c.* Great Alexander married Roxane, a poor mans child, onely for her person. [r] 'Twas well done of Alexander, and heroically done; I admire him for it. Orlando was mad for Angelica, and who doth not condole his mishap? Thisbe died for Piramus: Dido for Æneas; who doth not weep, as (before his conversion) [s] Austin did in commiseration of her estate! she died for him, *me thinks* (as he said) *I could die for her!*

But this is not the matter in hand, what prerogative this beauty hath, of what power and soveraignty it is, and how farre such persons that so much admire, and dote upon it, are to be justified; no man doubts of these matters; the question is how and by what meanes beauty produceth this effect? By sight: the eye betrayes the soul, and is both active and passive in this business; it wounds and is wounded; is an especiall cause and instrument, both in the subject and in the object. [t] *As teares, it begins in the eys, descends to the breast;* it conveys these beauteous rayes, as I have said, unto the heart. *Ut vidi ut perii.* [u] *Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit.* Shechem saw Dinah the daughter of Lea, and defiled her, Gen. 34. 3. Jacob Rachel, 29. 17. *for she was beautiful and fair:* David spied Bathsheba afar off, 2 Sam. 11. 2. the elders Susanna, [v] as that Orthomenian Strato saw fair Aristoclea the daughter of Theophanes, bathing her self at that Hercyne well in Lebadea; and were captivated in an instant. *Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammæ*; Amnon fell sick for Thamars sake, 2 Sam. 13. 2. The beauty of Esther was such, that she found favor not onely in the sight of Assuerus, *but of all those that looked upon her.* Gerson, Origen, and some others contended, that Christ himself was the fairest of the sons of men; and Joseph next unto him: *speciosus præ filiis hominum*, and they will have it literally taken; his very person was such, that he found grace and favor of all those that looked upon him. Joseph was so fair, that as the ordinary gloss hath it, *filiæ decurrerent per murum, et ad fenestras*, they ran to the top of the walls, and to the windows to gaze on him, as we do commonly to see some great personages go by: and so Matthew Paris describes Matilda the empress going through Cullen. [w] P. Morales the Jesuit saith as much of the Virgin Mary. Anthony no sooner saw Cleopatra, but, saith Appian *lib.* 1. he was enamoured on her. [x] Theseus at the first sight of Helen was so besotted, that he esteemed himself the happiest man in the world if he might enjoy her, and to that purpose kneeled down, and made his pathetical prayers unto the gods. [y] Charicles, by chance, espying that curious picture of smiling Venus naked in her temple, stood a great while gazing, as one amazed; at length he brake into that mad passionate speech, *O fortunate god Mars, that wast bound in chains, and made ridiculous for her sake!* He could not contain himself, but kissed her picture, I know not how oft; and heartily desired to be so disgraced as Mars was. And what did he that his betters had not done before him?

[n] Those mutinous Turks that murmured at Mahomet, when they saw Irene, excused his absence. Knowlys. [o] In laudem Helenæ orat. [p] Apul. milles. lib. 4. [q] Secun. bas. 13. [r] Curtius l. 1. [s] Confess. [t] Seneca. Amor in oculis oritur. [u] Ovid. Fast. [v] Plutarch. [w] Lib. de pulchrit. Jesu et Mariæ. [x] Lucian. Charidemon. Supra omnes mortales felicissimum si hac frui possit. [y] Lucian. amor. Insanum quiddam ac furibundum exclamans, O fortunatissime Deorum Mars, qui *propter hanc vinctus fuisti.*

——[a] atque aliquis de Diis non tristibus optat
Sic fieri turpis——

When Venus came first to heaven, her comeliness was such, that (as mine author saith) [a]*all the gods came flocking about and saluted her; each of them went to Jupiter, and desired he might have her to be his wife.* When fair [b]Antilochus came in presence, as a candle in the dark his beauty shined, all mens eys (as Xenophon describes the manner of it) *were instantly fixed on him, and moved at the sight; insomuch that they could not conceal themselves, but in gesture and looks it was discerned and expressed.* Those other senses, hearing, touching, may much penetrate and affect, but none so much, none so forcible as sight. *Forma Briseis mediis in armis movet Achillem*, Achilles was moved in the midst of a battle by fair Briseis; Ajax by Tecmessa; Judith captivated that great captain Holofernes; Dalilah, Samson; Rosamund, [c]Henry the second; Roxolana, Solyman the magnificent, &c.

[d] Νικᾷ δὲ καὶ σίδηρον
Καὶ πῦρ καλὴ τις οὖσα.

A fair woman overcomes fire and sword.

[e] Naught under heaven so strongly doth allure
The sense of man, and all his minde possess,
As beauties loveliest bait; that doth procure
Great warriers erst their rigor to suppress,
And mighty hands forget their manliness,
Driven with the power of an heart-burning eye;
And lapt in flowers of a golden tress,
That can with melting pleasure, mollifie
Their heardned hearts inur'd to cruelty.

[f]Clitiphon ingenuously confesseth, that he no sooner came in Leucippes presence, but that he did *corde tremere, et oculis lascivius intueri;* [g]he was wounded at the first sight; his heart panted, and he could not possibly turn his eyes from her. So doth Calysiris (in Heliodorus *lib.* 2. Isis priest, a reverend old man) complain; who by chance at Memphis seeing that Thracian Rodophe, might not hold his eyes off her, [h]*I will not conceal it, she overcame me with her presence, and quite assaulted my continency, which I had kept unto mine old age; I resisted, a long time, my bodily eys with the eys of my understanding; at last I was conquered, and as a tempest carried headlong.* [i]Xenophiles a philosopher, railed at women down right for many years together; scorned, hated, scoffed at them: coming at last into Daphnis a fair maids company, (as he condoles his mishap to his friend Demaritis) though free before, *Intactus nullis ante cupidinibus*, was far in love, and quite overcome upon a sudden. *Victus sum fateor a Daphnide, &c.* I confess I am taken;

[j] Sola hæc inflexit sensus, animumque labentem
[k] Impulit—

I could hold out no longer. Such another mishap, but worse, had Stratocles the physician, that blear-eyed old man, *muco plenus* (so [k]Prodromus describes him) he was a severe woman-hater all his life; *fœda et contumeliosa semper in fœminas profatus*, a bitter persecutor of the whole sexe; *humanas aspides et viperas appellabat;* he foreswore them all still, and mocked them wheresoever he came, in such vile terms, *ut matrem et sorores odisses*, that if thou hadst heard him, thou would'st have loathed thine own mother and sisters, for his words sake. Yet this old doting fool was taken at last, with that celestial and divine look of Myrilla, the daughter of Anticles the gardner, that smirking wench; that he shaved off his bushie beard, painted his face, [l]curl'd his hair, wore a lawrel crown to cover his bald pate, and for her love

[a] Ov. Met. 1. 3. [a] Omnes Dii complexi sunt, et in uxorem sibi petierunt. Nat. Comes de Venere. [b] Ut cum lux noctis affulget, omnium oculos incurrit: sic Antiloquus, &c. [c] Delevit omnes ex animo mulieres. [d] Nam vincit et vel ignem ferrumque si qua pulchra est. Anacreon, 2. [e] Spencer in his Fairy Qu. [f] Achilles Tatius lib. 1. [g] Statim ac eam contemplatus sum, occidi; oculos a virgine avertere conatus sum, sed illi repugnabant. [h] Pudet dicere, non celabo tamen. Memphim veniens me vicit, et continentiam expugnavit, quam ad senectutem usque servâram, oculis corporis, &c. [i] Nunc primum circa hanc anxius animi hæreo. Aristænetus, ep. 17. [j] Virg. Æn. 4. [k] Amaranto dial [l] Comasque ad speculum disposuit.

besides was ready to run mad. For the very day that he married, he was so furious, *ut solis occasum minus expectare posset*, (a terrible, a monstrous long day) he could not stay till it was night; *sed omnibus insalutatis in thalamum festinus irrupit*, the meat scarce out of his mouth, without any leave taking, he would needs go presently to bed. What young man therefore, if old men be so intemperate, can secure himself? Who can say, I will not be taken with a beautiful object? I can, I will contain. No, saith [m] Lucian, of his mistris, she is so fair, that if thou dost but see her, *she will stupifie thee, kill thee straight; and Medusa like, turn thee to a stone; thou canst not pull thine eys from her, but as an adamant doth iron*, she will carry thee bound headlong whither she will her self; infect thee like a basilisk. It holds both in men and women. Dido was amazed at Æneas' presence; *Obstupuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*: and as he feelingly verified out of his experience;

[n] Quam ego postquam vidi, non ita amavi ut sani solent
Homines, sed eodem pacto ut insani solent.

I lov'd her not as others soberly,
But as a mad man rageth, so did I.

So Musæus of Leander, *nusquam lumen detorquet ab illâ*; and [o] Chaucer of Palamon,

He cast his eye upon Emilia,
And therewith he blent and cryed ha ha,
As though he had been stroke unto the harta.

If you desire to know more particularly what this beauty is, how it doth *influere*, how it doth fascinate (for as all hold, love is a fascination) thus in brief. [p] *This comeliness or beauty ariseth from the due proportion of the whole, or from each several part.* For an exact delineation of which, I refer you to poets, historiographers, and those amorous writers, to Lucians Images, and Charidemus, Xenophons description of Panthea, Petronius Catalectes, Heliodorus Chariclea, Tatius Leucippe, Longus Sophistas Daphnis and Cloe, Theodorus Prodromus his Rhodanthes, Aristænetus and Philostratus epistles, Balthasar Castilio, *lib.* 4 *de aulico*, Laurentius *cap.* 10. *de melan.* Æneas Silvius his Lucretia, and every poet almost, which have most accurately described a perfect beauty, an absolute feature, and that through every member, both in men and women. Each part must concur to the perfection of it; for as Seneca saith, *Ep.* 33. *lib.* 4. *Non est formosa mulier cujus crus laudatur et brachium, sed illa cujus simul universa facies admirationem singulis partibus dedit;* she is no fair woman, whose arm, thigh, &c. are commended, except the face and all the other parts be correspondent. And the face especially gives a lustre to the rest: the face is it that commonly denominates fair or fowl; *arx formæ facies*, the face is beauties towre: and though the other parts be deformed, yet a good face carries it (*facies non uxor amatur*) that alone is most part respected, principally valued, *deliciis suis ferox*, and of it self able to captivate.

[q] Urit me Glycere nitor,
Urit grata protervitas,
Et vultus nimium lubricus aspici;

Glyceras too fair a face was it that set him on fire, too fine to be beheld. [r] When Chærea saw the singing wenches sweet looks, he was so taken, that he cried out, *O faciem pulchram, deleo omnes dehinc ex animo mulieres, tædet quotidianarum harum formarum!* O fair face! I'll never love any but her; look on any other hereafter but her; I am weary of these ordinary beauties; away with them. The more he sees her, the worse he is,—*uritque videndo*, as in a burning glass, the sun beames are recollected to a center, the rays of

[m] Imag. Pollstrato. Si illam saltem intuearis, statuis immobiliorem te faciet: si conspexeris eam, non relinquetur facultas oculos ab eâ amovendi; abducet te alligatum quocunque voluerit, ut ferrum ad se trahere ferunt adamantem. [n] Plaut. Merc. [o] In the Knights tale. [p] Ex debitâ totius proportione aptâque partium compositione. Picolomineus. [q] Hor. Od. 19. lib. 1. [r] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 2. scen. 3.

love are projected from her eys. It was Æneas countenance ravished queen Dido, *Os humerosque Deo similis*, he had an angelical face.

[s]O sacros vultus Baccho vel Apolline dignos,
Quos vir, quos tuto fœmina nulla videt!

——O sacred looks befitting majesty,
Which never mortal wight could safely see!

Although for the greater part, this beauty be most eminent in the face, yet many times those other members yield a most pleasing grace, and are alone sufficient to enamour. An high brow like unto the bright heavens, *cœli pulcherrima plaga, Frons ubi vivit honor, frons ubi ludit amor*, white and smooth like the polished alabaster; a pair of cheeks of vermilian colour, in which love lodgeth; [t]*Amor qui mollibus genis puellæ pernoctas:* A corall lip, *suaviorum delubrum*, in which *Basia mille patent, basia mille latent. Gratiarum sedes gratissima;* a sweet smelling flowre, from which bees may gather hony; [u]*Mellilegæ volucres quid adhuc cava thyma, rosasque, &c.*

Omnes ad dominæ labra venite meæ,
Illa rosas spirat, &c.

A white and round neck, that *via lactea;* dimple in the chin; black eyebrows, *Cupidinis arcus;* sweet breath; white and even teeth, which some call the sale-piece; a fine soft round pap, gives an excellent grace, [v]*Quale decus tumidis Pario de marmore mammis!* [w]and make a pleasant valley, *lacteum sinum*, between two chaulkie hills, sororiantes papillulas, et ad pruritum frigidos amatores solo aspectu excitantes. Unde is, [x]*Forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!* Again, *Urebant oculos duræ stantesque mamillæ.*

A flaxen hair; golden hair was ever in great account; for which Virgil commends Dido, *Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem; Et, crines nodantur in aurum.* Apollonius (*Argonaut. lib.* 4. *Jasonis flava coma incendit cor Medeæ*) will have Jasons golden haire to be the main cause of Medeas dotage on him. Castor and Pollux were both yellow hair'd. Paris, Menelaus, and most amorous yong men, have been such in all ages, *molles ac suaves*, as Baptista Porta infers, [y]*Physiog. lib.* 2. lovely to behold. Homer so commends Helena; makes Patroclus and Achilles both yellow hair'd; Pulchricoma Venus; and Cupid himself was yellow hair'd *in aurum coruscante et crispante capillo*, like that neat picture of Narcissus in Callistratus; for so [z]Psyche spied him asleep;

Bryseis, Polixena, &c. flavicomæ omnes;
——and Hero the fair,
Whom yong Apollo courted for her hair.

Leland commends Guithera king Arthurs wife, for a fair flaxen hair: so Paulus Æmilius sets out Clodeveus that lovely king of France. [a]Synesius holds, every effeminate fellow or adulterer is fair hair'd: and Apuleius adds that Venus her self, Goddess of Love, cannot delight, [b]*though she come accompanied with the Graces, and all Cupids train to attend upon her, girt with her own girdle, and smell of cynamon and bawme, yet if she be bald or bad hair'd, she cannot please her Vulcan.* Which belike, makes our Venetian ladies at this day, to counterfeit yellow hair so much; great women to calamistrate and curle it up, *vibrantes ad gratiam crines, et tot orbibus in captivitatem flexos*, to adorn their heads with spangles, pearls, and made flowers; and all courtiers to affect a pleasing grace in this kinde. In a word, [c]*The hairs are Cupids nets, to catch all comers; a brushie wood, in which Cupid builds his nest, and under whose shadow, all Loves, a thousand several ways sport themselves.*

[s]Petronius. [t]Sophocles Antigone. [u]Jo. Secundus bas. 19. [v]Lœchæus. [w]Arandus. Vallis amœnissima e duobus montibus composita niveis. [x]Ovid. [y]Fol. 77. Dapsiles hilares amatores, &c. [z]When Cupid slept. Cæsariem auream habentem, ubi Psyche vidit, mollemque ex ambrosiâ cervicem inspexit, crines crispos, purpureas genas candidasque, &c. Apulelus. [a]In laudem calvi. Splendidâ comâ quisque adulter est; allicit aurea coma. [b]Venus ipsa non placeret comis nudata, capite spoliata: si qualis ipsa Venus, cum fuit virgo, omni Gratiarum choro stipata, et toto Cupidinum populo concinnata, baltheo suo cincta, cinnama fragrans, et balsama, si calva processerit, placere non potest Vulcano suo. [c]Arandus. Capilli retia Cupidinis, sylva cædua, in qua nidificat Cupido, sub cujus umbrâ Amores mille modis se exercent.

A little soft hand, pretty little mouth, small, fine, long fingers, *Gratia quæ digitis*——'tis that which Apollo did admire in Daphne;——*laudat digitosque manusque:* a straight and slender body; a small foot, and well proportioned leg, hath an excellent lustre; [d] *cui totum incumbit corpus uti fundamento ædis.* Clearchus vowed to his friend Amyander in [e] Aristænetus, that the most attractive part in his mistris, to make him love and like her first, was her pretty leg and foot: a soft and white skin, &c. have their peculiar graces: [f] *Nebula haud est mollior ac hujus cutis est, ædipol papillam bellulam.* Though in men these parts are not so much respected; a grim Sarazan sometimes, ——*nudus membra Pyracmon*, a martiall hirsute face pleaseth best; a black man is a pearl in a fair womans eye, and is as acceptable as [g] lame Vulcan was to Venus; for he being a sweaty fuliginous blacksmith, was dearly beloved of her, when fair Apollo, nimble Mercury were rejected, and the rest of the sweet-fac'd gods forsaken. Many women (as Petronius [h] observes) *sordibus calent* (as many men are more moved with kitchen wenches, and a poor market maid, then all these illustrious court and city dames) will sooner dote upon a slave, a servant, a dirt-dawber, a *brontes*, a cooke, a player, if they see his naked legs or arms, *torosaque brachia*, [i] *&c.* like that huntsman Meleager in Philostratus, though he being all in raggs, obscene and dirty, besmeared like a ruddleman, a gypsie, or a chimney-sweeper, then upon a noble gallant, Nireus, Hephæstion, Alcibiades, or those embroidered courtiers full of silk and gold. [j] Justines wife, a citizen of Rome, fell in love with Pylades a player, and was ready to run mad for him, had not Galen himself helped her by chance. Faustina the empress doted on a fencer.

Not one out of a thousand falls in love, but there is some peculiar part or other which pleaseth most, and inflames him above the rest. [k] A company of yong philosophers on a time, fell at variance, which part of a woman was most desirable and pleased best? some said the forehead, some the teeth, some the eys, cheeks, lips, neck, chin, &c. the controversie was referred to Lais of Corinth to decide; but she, smiling, said, they were a company of fools; for suppose they had her where they wished, what would they [l] first seek? Yet this notwithstanding I do easily grant, *neque quis vestrûm negaverit opinor;* all parts are attractive, but especially [m] the eyes [n];

—— (videt igne micantes
Sideribus similes oculos ——

which are loves fowlers; [o] *aucupium amoris*, the shooing hornes, *the hooks of loue* (as Arandus will) *the guides, touchstone, judges; that in a moment cure mad men, and make sound folks mad; the watchmen of the body; what do they not?* How vex they not? All this is true, and (which Athenæus *lib.* 13. *dip. cap.* 5. and Tatius hold) they are chief seats of love; and as James Lernutius [p] hath facetely expressed in an elegant ode of his,

Amorem ocellis flammeolis heræ	I saw love sitting in my mistriss eys,
Vidi insidentem, credite posteri,	Sparkling; believe it, all posterity;
Fratresque circum ludibundos	And his attendants playing round about
Cum pharetrâ volitare et arcu, &c.	With bow and arrows ready for too fly.

Scaliger calls the eys, [q] *Cupids arrows; the tongue, the lightning of love; the paps, the tents:* Balthasar Castilio, the causes, the chariots, the lamps of love;

—— æmula lumina stellis,	Eys emulating stars in light,
Lumina quæ possent solicitare Deos.	Entizing gods at the first sight.

[d] Theod. Prodromus, Amor. lib. 1. [e] Epist. 72. Ubi pulchram tibiam, bene compactum tenuemque pedem vidi, [f] Plaut Cas. [g] Claudus optime rem agit. [h] Fol. 5. Si servum viderint, aut sordidum altius cinctum, aut pulvere perfusum, aut histrionem in scenam traductum, &c. [i] Me pulchrâ fateor carere forma, verum luculenta.——nostra eat. Petronius Catal. de Priapo. [j] Galen. [k] Calcagninus Apologis. Quæ pars maxime desiderabilis? alius frontem, alius genas, &c. [l] Inter fœmineum. [m] Heinsius. [n] Sunt enim oculi, præcipuæ pulchritudinis sedes. lib. 6. [o] Amoris hami, duces, judices et indices qui momento insanos sanant, sanos insanire cogunt, occulatissimi corporis excubitores, quid non agunt? quid non cogunt? [p] Ocelli carm. 17. cujus et Lipsius epist. quæst. lib. 3. cap. 11. meminit ob elegantiam [q] Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis, Contactum nullis ante cupidinibus. Propert. l. 1.

Loves orators, [r]Petronius,

O blandos oculos, et o facetos,
Et quâdam propriâ notâ loquaces;
Illic est Venus, et leves Amores,
Atque ipsa in medio sedet Voluptas.

O sweet and pretty speaking eyes,
Where Venus, love and pleasure lies!

Loves torches, touch-box, naphthe and matches; [s]Tibullus.

Illius ex oculis quum vult exurere Divos.
Accendit geminas lampades acer Amor.

Tart love, when he will set the gods on fire,
Lightens the eys, as torches, to desire.

Leander at the first sight of Heros eys, was incensed, saith Musæus.

Simul in [t]oculorum radiis crescebat fax amorum
Et cor fervebat invecti ignis impetu;
Pulchritudo enim celebris immaculatæ fœminæ
Acutior hominibus est veloci sagittâ.
Oculus vero via est, ab oculi ictibus
Vulnus delabitur, et in præcordia viri manat.

Loves torches 'gan to burn, first, in her eyes,
And set his heart on fire, which never dies:
For the fair beauty of a virgin pure,
Is sharper then a dart; and doth inure
A deeper wound, which pierceth to the heart
By the eyes, and causeth such a cruel smart.

[u]A modern poet brings in Amnon complaining of Thamar.

——et me fascino
Occidit ille risus et formæ lepos,
Ille nitor, illa gratia, et verus decor,
Illæ æmulantes purpuram et [v]rosas genæ,
Oculique vinctæque aureo nodo comæ.

It was thy beauty, 'twas thy pleasing smile,
Thy grace and comeliness did me begull;
Thy rose-like cheeks, and unto purple fair
Thy lovely eys and golden knotted hair.

[w]Philostratus Lemnius cries out on his mistris basilisk eys, *ardentes faces*, those two burning glasses, they had so inflamed his soul, that no water could quench it. *What a tyranny*, (saith he) *what a penetration of bodies is this! thou drawest with violence, and swallowest me up, as Charybdis doth saylers with thy rocky eys; he that falls into this gulf of love, can never get out.* Let this be the corollary then, the strongest beams of beauty are still darted from the eys.

[x]Nam quis lumina tanta, tanta,
Posset luminibus suis tueri,
Non statim trepidansque palpitansque
Præ desiderii æstuantis aurâ? &c.

For who such eys with his can see
And not forthwith enamoured be?

And as men catch dotrels, by putting out a leg or an arm, with those mutual glances of the eys they first inveagle one another. [y]*Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis.* Of all eys (by the way) black are most amiable, entising, and fair, which the poet observes in commending of his mistriss. [z]*Spectandum nigris oculis, nigroque capillo*, which Hesiod admires in his Alcmena,

[a]Cujus a vertice ac nigricantibus oculis,
Tale quiddam spirat ac ab aureâ Venere.

From her black eys, and from her golden face,
As if from Venus, came a lovely grace.

and [b]Triton in his Milæne,——*nigra oculos formosa mihi.* [c]Homer useth that epithite of oxe-eyed, in describing Juno, because a round black eye is the best, the son of beauty, and farthest from black the worse; which [d]Polydore Virgil taxeth in our nation; *Angli ut plurimum cæsiis oculis*, we have gray eys for the most part. Baptista Porta, Physiognom. *lib.* 3. puts gray colour upon children, they be childish eys; dull and heavy. Many commend on the other side Spanish ladies, and those [e]Greek dames at this day, for the blackness of their eys, as Porta doth his Neapolitan young wives. Sueton describes Julius Cæsar to have been *nigris vegetisque oculis micantibus*, of a black quick sparkling eye: and although Averoes in his Colliget will have such persons timerous, yet without question they are most amorous.

Now last of all, I will shew you by what means beauty doth fascinate, bewitch, as some hold, and work upon the soul of a man by the eye. For certainly I am of the poets mind, Love doth bewitch and strangely change us.

[f]Ludit amor sensus, oculos perstringit, et aufert
Libertatem animi, mirâ nos fascinat arte.
Credo aliquis dæmon subiens præcordia flammam
Concitat, et raptam tollit de cardine mentem.

Love mocks our senses, curbs our liberties,
And doth bewitch us with his art and rings:
I think some divil gets into our entrals, [hinges.
And kindles coals, and heaves our souls from th

[r]In catalect. [s]De Sulpitio, lib. 4. [t]Pulchritudo ipsa per occultos radios in pectus amantis dimanans amatæ rei formam insculpsit. Tatius, l. 5. [u]Jacob Cornelius Amnon Tragœd. Act. 1. sc. 1. [v]Rosæ formosarum oculis nascuntur, et hilaritas vultûs elegantiæ corona. Philostratus delicils. [w]Epist. et in delicils. Abi et oppugnationem relinque, quam flamma non extinguit; nam ab amore ipsa flamma sentit incendium. Quæ corporum penetratio, quæ tyrannis hæc! &c. [x]Lœchæus Panthea. [y]Propertius. [z]Ovid. amorum, lib. 2. eleg. 4. [a]Scut. Hercul. [b]Calcagninus dial. [c]Iliad. 1. Hist. lib. 1. [d]Sands' relation, fol. 67. [f]Mantuan.

Heliodorus *lib.* 3. proves at large, [g] that love is witch-craft, *it gets in at our eys, pores, nostrils, ingenders the same qualities, and affections in us, as were in the party whence it came.* The manner of this fascination, as Ficinus 10. *cap. com. in Plat.* declares it, is thus: *Mortal men are then especially bewitched, when as by often gazing one on the other, they direct sight to sight, joyn eye to eye, and so drink and suck in love between them; for the beginning of this disease is the eye. And therefore he that hath a clear eye, though he be otherwise deformed, by often looking upon him, will make one mad, and tye him fast to him by the eye.* Leonard. Varins, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *de fascinat.* telleth us, that by this interview, [h] *the purer spirits are infected;* the one eye pierceth through the other with his rayes, which he sends forth; and many men have those excellent piercing eys, that which Suetonius relates of Augustus, their brightness is such, they compel their spectators to look off, and can no more endure them then the sun beames. [i] *Barradius lib.* 6. *cap.* 10. *de Harmoniâ Evangel.* reports as much of our Saviour Christ; and [j] Peter Morales of the Virgin Mary, whom Nicephorus describes likewise to have been yellow-hair'd, of a wheat-colour, but of a most amiable and piercing eye. The rayes, as some think, sent from the eys, carry certain spiritual vapours with them, and so infect the other party, and that in a moment. I know, they that hold *visio fit intra mittendo,* will make a doubt of this; but Ficinus proves it from blear-eys, [k] *that by sight alone, make others blear-eyed: and it is more then manifest, that the vapour of the corrupt blood doth get in together with the rayes, and so by the contagion, the spectators eys are infected.* Other arguments there are of a basilisk, that kills a far off by sight; as that Ephesian did of whom [l] Philostratus speaks, of so pernitious an eye, he poysoned all he looked steddily on: and that other argument out of Aristotles Problems; *menstruæ fœminæ morbosæ,* (as Capivaccius adds, and [m] Septalius the Commentator) contaminate a looking-glass with beholding it. [n] *So the beames that come from the agents heart, by the eys infect the spirits about the patients,* inwardly wound, and thence the spirits infect the blood. To this effect she complained in [o] Apuleius, *Thou art the cause of my grief: thy eys piercing through mine eys to mine inner parts, have set my bowels on fire, and therefore pitty me, that am now ready to dye for thy sake.* Ficinus illustrates this, with a familiar example of that Marrhusian Phædrus and Theban Lycias, [p] *Lycias he stares on Phædrus face, and Phædrus fastens the balls of his eyes upon Lycias, and with those sparkling rayes sends out his spirits. The beames of Phædrus eys are easily mingled with the beames of Lycias, and spirits are joyned to spirits. This vapour begot in Phædrus heart, enters into Lycias bowels: and that which is a greater wonder, Phædrus blood is in Lycias heart, and thence come those ordinary love-speeches, my sweet-heart Phædrus, and mine own self, my dear bowels. And Phædrus again to Lycias; O my light, my joy, my soul, my life. Phædrus follows Lycias because his heart would have his spirits; and Lycias follows Phædrus, because he loves the seat of his spirits; both follow; but Lycias the earnester of the two: the river hath more need of the fountain, then the fountain of the river; as iron is drawn to that which is touched with a loadstone, but*

[g] Amor per oculos, nares, poros, influens, &c. Mortales tum summopere fascinantur quando frequentissimo intuitu aciem dirigentes, &c. Ideo si quis nitore polleat oculorum, &c. [h] Spiritus puriores fascinantur, oculus a se radios emittit, &c. [i] Lib. de pulch. Jes. et Mar. [j] Lib. 2. c. 23. Colore triticum referente, crine flavâ, acribus oculis. [k] Lippi solo intuitu alios lippos faciunt, et patet una cum radio vaporem corrupti sanguinis emanare, cujus contagione oculus spectantis inficitur. [l] Vita Apollon. [m] Comment. in Aristot. Probl. [n] Sic radius a corde percutientis missus, regimen proprium repetit, cor vulnerat, per oculos et sanguinem inficit et spiritus, subtili quâdam vi. Castil. lib. 3. de aulico. [o] Lib. 10. Causa omnis et origo omnis præsentis doloris tute es; isti enim tui oculi, per meos oculos ad intima delapsi præcordia, acerrimum meis medullis commovent incendium; ergo miserere tui causâ pereuntis. [p] Lycias in Phædri vultum inhiat, Phædrus in oculus Lyciæ scintillas suorum defigit [illegible] olorum; cumque scintillis, &c. Sequitur Phædrus Lyciam [illegible] cor suum petit spiritum; Phæ[illegible]us, quia spiritus *propriam sedem* postulat. Verum Lyci[illegible]

draws not it again: so Lycias draws Phædrus. But how comes it to pass then, that the blind man loves, that never saw? We read, in the lives of the fathers, a story of a child that was brought up in the wilderness, from his infancy, by an old hermite: now come to mans estate, he saw by chance, two comely women wandring in the woods: he asked the old man what creatures they were; he told him fayries: after a while talking *obiter*, the hermite demanded of him, which was the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life? he readily replyed, the two [q] fayries he spied in the wilderness. So that without doubt, there is some secret loadstone in a beautiful woman; a magnetique power; a natural inbred affection, which moves our concupiscence; and as he sings,

> Me thinks I have a mistress yet to come,
> And still I seek, I love, I know not whom.

'Tis true indeed of natural and chaste love, but not of this heroical passion, or rather brutish burning lust of which we treat; we speak of wandring, wanton, adulterous eys; which as [r] he saith, lie still in wait *as so many souldiers; and when they spy an innocent spectator fixed on them, shoot him through, and presently bewitch him; especially when they shall gaze and glote, as wanton lovers do one upon another, and with a pleasant eye-conflict participate each others souls.* Hence you may perceive how easily and how quickly we may be taken in love; since at the twinkling of an eye, Phædrus spirits may so perniciously infect Lycias blood. [s] *Neither is it any wonder, if we but consider how many other diseases closely, and as suddainly are caught by infection;* plague, itch, scabs, flux, &c. The spirits taken in, will not let him rest that hath received them, but egg him on. [t] *Idque petit corpus mens unde est saucia amore;* and we may manifestly perceive a strange eduction of spirits, by such as bleed at nose after they be dead, at the presence of the murderer; but read more of this in Lemnius *lib.* 2. *de occult. nat. mir. cap.* 7. Valleriola *lib.* 2. *observ. cap.* 7. Valesius *controv.* Ficinus, Cardan, Libavius *de cruentis cadaveribus, &c.*

MEMB. III.

Subsect. III.—*Artificial allurements of Love; causes and provocations to Lust; Gestures, Cloaths, Dowre, &c.*

Natural beauty is a stronger loadstone of it self, as you have heard, a great temptation, and pierceth to the very heart; [u] *forma verecundæ nocuit mihi visa puellæ;* but much more when those artificial enticements and provocations of gestures, cloaths, jewels, pigments, exornations, shall be annexed unto it; those other circumstances, opportunity of time and place shall concur, which of themselves alone were all sufficient, each one in particular to produce this effect. It is a question much controverted by some wise men, *forma debeat plus arti an naturæ?* Whether natural or artificial objects be more powerful? but not decided: for my part, I am of opinion, that though beauty it self be a great motive, and give an excellent lustre *in sordibus*, in beggery (as a jewel on a dunghill will shine and cast its rayes), it cannot be suppressed, which Heliodorus fains of Chariclea, though she were in beggers weeds: yet as it is used, artificial is of more force, and much to be preferred.

[v] Sic dentata sibi videtur Ægle, Emptis ossibus Indicoque cornu; Sic, quæ nigrior est cadente moro, Cerussata sibi placet Lycoris.	So toothless Ægle seems a pretty one, Set out with new bought teeth of Indy bone: So foul Lycoris blacker then berry, Her self admires now finer then cherry.

[q] Dæmonia inquit quæ in hoc eremo nuper occurrebant. [r] Castilio de aulico, l. 3. fol. 228. Oculi ut milites in insidiis semper recubant, et subito ad visum sagittas emittunt, &c. [s] Nec mirum si reliquos morbos qui ex contagione nascuntur consideremus, pestem, pruritum, scabiem, &c. [t] Lucretius. [u] In beauty, that of favor is preferred before that of colours, and decent motion is more then that of favor. Bacons Essaies. [v] Martialis.

John Lerius the Burgundian *cap.* 8. *hist. navigat. in Brasil.* is altogether on my side. For whereas (saith he) at our coming to Brazil, we found both men and women naked as they were born, without any covering, so much as of their privities, and could not be perswaded, by our Frenchmen that lived a year with them, to wear any, [w] *Many will think that our so long commerce with naked women, must needs be a great provocation to lust;* but he concludes otherwise, that their nakedness did much less entice them to lasciviousness, then our womens cloaths. *And I dare boldly affirm,* (saith he) *that those glittering attires, counterfeit colours, headgears, curled hairs, plaited coats, cloaks, gowns, costly stomachers, guarded and loose garments, and all those other coutrements, wherewith our country-women counterfeit a beauty, and so curiously set out themselves, cause more inconvenience in this kinde, then that Barbarian homeliness, although they be no whit inferior unto them in beauty. I could evince the truth of this by many other arguments; but I appeal* (saith he) *to my companions at that present, which were all of the same mind.* His countryman Montagne in his Essayes, is of the same opinion; and so are many others; out of whose assertions thus much in brief we may conclude: that beauty is more beholding to art then nature; and stronger provocations proceed from outward ornaments, then such as nature hath provided. It is true that those fair sparkling eys, white neck, coral lips, turgent paps, rose-coloured cheeks, &c. of themselves are potent enticers; but when a comely, artificial, well-composed look, pleasing gesture, an affected carriage shall be added, it must needs be far more forcible then it was, when those curious needle-works, variety of colours, purest dyes, jewels, spangles, pendants, lawn, lace, tiffanies, fair and fine linnen, embroideries, calamistrations, oyntments, &c. shall be added, they will make the veriest dowdy a goddess, when nature shall be furthered by art. For it is not the eye of it self that entiseth to lust, but an *adulterous eye*, as Peter terms it, 2. epist. 2. 14. a wanton, a rolling, lascivious eye: A wandring eye, which Isaiah taxeth, 3. 16. Christ himself, and the Virgin Mary had most beautiful eys, as amiable eys as any persons, saith [x] Barradius, that ever lived; but withall so modest, so chaste, that whosoever looked on them, was freed from that passion of burning lust; if we may believe [y] Gerson and [z] Bonaventure, there was no such antidote against it, as the Virgin Maries face. 'Tis not the eye, but carriage of it, as they use it, that causeth such effects. When Pallas, Juno, Venus, were to win Paris favour for the golden apple, as it is elegantly described in that pleasant interlude of [a] Apuleius, Juno came with majesty upon the stage; Minerva gravity; but Venus, *dulce subridens, constitit amœne, et gratissimæ gratiæ Deam propitiantes, &c.* came in smiling with her gratious graces and exquisite musick, as if she had danced, *et nonnunquam saltare solis oculis*, and which was the main matter of all, she danced with her rolling eys: they were the brokers and harbingers of her sute. So she makes her brags in a modern poet;

> [b] Soon could I make my brow to tyrannize,
> And force the world do homage to mine eys.

The eye is a secret orator, the first bawde, *Amoris porta;* and with private looks, winking, glances and smiles, as so many dialogues, they make up the match many times, and understand one anothers meanings, before they come to speak a word. [c] Eurialus and Lucretia were so mutually enamored by the eye, and prepared to give each other entertainment, before ever they had conference: he asked her good will with his eye; she did *suffragari*, and gave

[w] Multi tacite opinantur commercium illud adeo frequens cum Barbaris nudis, ac presertim cum fœminis, ad libidinem provocare, at minus multo noxia illorum nuditas quam nostrarum fœminarum cultus. Ausim asseverare splendidum illum cultum, fucos, &c. [x] Harmo. evangel. lib. 6. cap. 6. [y] Serm. de concep. virg. Physiognomia virginis omnes movet ad castitatem. [z] 3. sent. d. 3. q. 3. Mirum, virgo formosissima, sed a nemine concupita. [a] Met. 10. [b] Rosamonds complaint, by Sam. Daniel. [c] Æneas Silv.

consent with a pleasant look. That [d] Thracian Rodophe was so excellent at this dumb rhetorick, *that if she had but looked upon any one almost* (saith Calisiris) *she would have bewitched him; and he could not possibly escape it.* For as [e] Salvianus observes, *the eys are the windows of our souls, by which as so many channels, all dishonest concupiscence gets into our hearts.* They reveal our thoughts, and as they say, *frons animi index;* but the eye of the countenance; [f] *quid procacibus intuere ocellis?* &c. I may say the same of smiling, gate, nakedness of parts, plausible gestures, &c. To laugh is the proper passion of a man; an ordinary thing to smile; but those counterfeit, composed, affected, artificial and reciprocal, those counter-smiles, are the dumb shews and prognosticks of greater matters, which they most part use, to inveagle and deceive; though many fond lovers again are so frequently mistaken, and led into a fools paradise: For if they see but a fair maid laugh, or shew a pleasant countenance, use some gratious words or gestures, they apply it all to themselves, as done in their favour; sure she loves them, she is willing, coming, &c.

Stultus quando videt quod pulchra puellula ridet, | When a fool sees a fair maid for to smile,
Tam fatuus credit se quod amare velit. | He thinks she loves him; 'tis but to beguile.

They make an art of it, as the poet telleth us;

[g] Quis credat? discunt etiam ridere puellæ, | Who can believe? to laugh maids make an art,
Quæritur atque illis hac quoque parte decor: | And seek a pleasant grace to that same part.

And 'tis as great an entisement as any of the rest;

——— [h] subrisit molle puella,
Cor tibi rite salit.———

She makes thine heart leap with [i] a pleasing gentle smile of hers.

[j] Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem,

I love Lalage as much for smiling, as for discoursing, *delectata illa risit tam blandum*, as he said in Petronius of his mistress, being well pleased, she gave so sweet a smile. It won Ismenius, as he [k] confesseth; *Ismene subrisit amatorium*, Ismene smiled so lovingly the second time I saw her, that I could not chuse but admire her: and Gallas sweet smile quite overcame [l] Faustus the shepheard; *me aspiciens motis blande subrisit ocellis.* All other gestures of the body will enforce as much. Daphnis in [m] Lucian was a poor tattered wench, when I knew her first, said Corbile, *pannosa et lacera;* but now, she is a stately piece indeed; hath her maids to attend her, brave attires, mony in her purse, &c. and will you know how this came to pass? *by setting out her self after the best fashion; by her pleasant carriage, affability, sweet smiling upon all, &c.* Many women dote upon a man for his complement only, and good behaviour; they are won in an instant; too credulous to believe that every light, wanton suiter, who sees or makes love to them, is instantly enamored; he certainly dotes on, admires them, will surely marry, when as he means nothing less; 'tis his ordinary carriage in all such companies. So both delude each other by such outward shews; and amongst the rest, an upright, a comely grace, curtesies, gentle salutations, cringes, a mincing gate, a decent and an affected pace, are most powerful entisers; and which the prophet Esay, a courtier himself, and a great observer, objected to the daughters of Sion, 3. 16. *they minced as they went, and made a tinkling with their feet.* To say the truth, what can they not effect by such means?

Whilst nature decks them in their best attires
Of youth and beauty, which the world admires,

[n] Urit———voce, manu, gressu, pectore, fronte, oculis.

[d] Heliodor. l. 2. Rodophe Thracia tam inevitabili fascino instructa, tam exacte oculis intuens attraxit, ut si in illam quis incidisset, fieri non posset quin caperetur. [e] Lib. 3. de providentiâ. Animi fenestræ oculi, et omnis improba cupiditas per ocellos tanquam canales introit. [f] Buchanan. [g] Ovid. de arte amandi. [h] Pers. 3. Sat. [i] Vel centum Charites ridere putaret. Museus of Hero. [j] Hor. Od. 22. lib. 1. [k] Eustathius l. 5. [l] Mantuan. [m] Tom. 4. merit. dial. Exornando seipsam eleganter, facilem et hilarem se gerendo erga cunctos, ridendo suave ac blandum quid, &c. [n] Angerianus.

When art shall be annexed to beauty, when wiles and guiles shall concur: for to speak as it is, love is a kind of legerdemain; meer jugling, a fascination. When they shew their fair hand, fine foot and leg withal, *magnum sui desiderium nobis relinquunt*, saith [o] Balthazar Castilio *lib.* 1. they set us a longing; *and so when they pull up their petty-coats, and outward garments*, as usually they do to shew their fine stockings, and those of purest silken dye, gold fringes, laces, embroyderings, (it shall go hard but when they go to church, or to any other place, all shall be seen) 'tis but a springe to catch woodcocks; and as [p] Chrysostome telleth them down-right, though *they say nothing with their mouths, they speak in their gate; they speak with their eys: they speak in the carriage of their bodies.* And what shall we say otherwise of that baring of their necks, shoulders, naked breasts, arms and wrists, to what end are they but only to tempt men to lust?

[q] Nam quid lactentes sinus, et ipsas
Pene te fere sine linteo papillas?
Hoc est dicere, posce, posce, trado;
Hoc est ad Venerem vocare amantes.

There needs no more, as [r] Fredericus Matenesius well observes, but a cryer to go before them so dressed, to bid us look out; a trumpet to sound, or for defect a sowgelder to blow,

[s] Look out, look out and see
What object this may be
That doth perstringe mine eye:
A gallant lady goes,
In rich and gaudy clothes,
But whither away God knows,
——look out, &c. *et quæ sequuntur.*

or to what end and purpose? But to leave all these phantastical raptures, I'll prosecute mine intended theam. Nakedness, as I have said, is an odious thing of itself, *remedium amoris;* yet it may be so used, in part, and at set times, that there can be no such entisement as it is;

[t] Nec mihi cincta Diana placet, nec nuda Cythera,
Illa voluptatis nil habet, hæc nimium.

David so espied Bersheba; the elders Susanna: [u] Apelles was enamored with Campaspe, when he was to paint her naked. Tiberius *in Suet. cap.* 42. supped with Sestius Gallus, an old leacher, *libidinoso sene, eâ lege ut nudæ puellæ administrarent;* some say as much of Nero, and Pontus Huter of Carolus Pugnax. Amongst the Babylonians, it was the custome of some lascivious queans to dance, friskin in that fashion, saith Curtius *lib.* 5. and Sardus *de mor. gent. lib.* 1. writes of others to that effect. [v] The Tuscans, at some set banquets, had naked women to attend upon them; which Leonicus *de varid hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 96. confirms of such other bawdy nations. Nero would have filthy pictures still hanging in his chamber, which is too commonly used in our times; and Heliogabalus, *etiam coram agentes, ut ad venerem incitarent:* so things may be abused. A servant maid in Aristænetus, spyed her master and mistress through the key hole [w] merrily disposed; upon the sight she fell in love with her master. [x] Antoninus Caralla observed his mother-in-law with her breasts amorously laid open; he was so much moved, that he said, *ah si liceret*, O that I might; which she by chance over-hearing, replyed as impudently, [y] *quicquid libet licet*, thou maist do what thou wilt: and upon that temptation he married her: this object was not in cause, not the thing it self; but that unseemly, undecent carriage of it.

When you have all done, *veniunt a veste sagittæ*, the greatest provocations

[o] Vel si forte vestimentum de industriâ elevetur, ut pedum ac tibiarum pars aliqua conspiciatur, dum templum aut locum aliquem adierit. [p] Sermone, quod non fœminæ viris cohabitent. Non loquuta es linguâ, sed loquuta es gressu; non loquuta es voce, sed oculis loquuta es clarius quam voce. [q] Jovianus Pontanus Ilalar. lib. 1. ad Hermionem. [r] De luxu vestium discurs. 6. Nihil aliud deest nisi ut præco vos præcedat, &c. [s] If you can tell how, you may sing this to the tune, a sow gelder blows. [t] Auson. epig. 28. [u] Plin. lib. 33. cap. 10. Campaspen nudam picturus Apelles, amore ejus illaqueatus est. [v] In Tyrrhenis convivils nudæ mulieres ministrabant. [w] Amatoria miscentes vidit, et in ipsis complexibus audit, &c. emersit inde cupido in pectus virginis. [x] Epist. 7. lib. 2. [y] Spartian.

of lust are from our apparel; God makes, they say, man shapes, and there is no motive like unto it;

> [a] Which doth even beauty beautifie,
> And most bewitch a wretched eye.

A filthy knave, a deformed quean, a crooked carkass, a maukin, a witch, a rotten post, an hedgstake may be so set out and tricked up, that it shall make as fair a shew, as much enamour as the rest: many a silly fellow is so taken. *Primum luxuriæ aucupium*, one calls it, the first snare of lust; [a] Bossus, *aucupium animarum, lethalem arundinem*, a fatal reed, the greatest bawd, *forte lenocinium, sanguineis lachrymis deplorandum*, saith [b] Matenesius, and with tears of blood to be deplored. Not that comeliness of clothes is therefore to be condemned, and those usual ornaments: there is a decency and *decorum* in this, as well as in other things, fit to be used: becoming several persons, and befitting their estates; he is only phantastical, that is not in fashion, and like an old image in Arras hangings, when a manner of attire is generally received: but when they are so new fangled, so unstaid, so prodigious in their attires, beyond their means and fortunes, unbefitting their age, place, quality, condition, what should we otherwise think of them? Why do they adorn themselves with so many colours of hearbs, fictitious flowers, curious needle works, quaint devices, sweet smelling odours, with those inestimable riches of pretious stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, emeralds, &c.? Why do they crown themselves with gold and silver, use coronets and tires of several fashions, deck themselves with pendants, bracelets, ear-rings, chains, girdles, rings, pins, spangles, embroyderies, shadows, rebatoes, versicolor ribbands? Why do they make such glorious shews with their scarfs, feathers, fans, masks, furs, laces, tiffanies, ruffs, falls, calls, cuffs, damasks, velvets, tinsels, cloth of gold, silver, tissue? With colours of heavens, stars, planets: the strength of mettals, stones, odours, flowers, birds, beasts, fishes, and whatsoever Africk, Asia, America, sea, land, art, and industry of man can afford? Why do they use and covet such novelty of inventions; such new fangled tires, and spend such inestimable summs on them? *To what end are those crisped, false hairs*, painted faces, as [c] the satyrist observes, *such a composed gate, not a step awry?* Why are they like so many Sybarites, Neros Poppea, Assuerus concubines, so costly, so long a dressing, as Cæsar was marshalling his army, or an hawk in pruning? [d] *Dum moliuntur, dum comuntur, annus est: A* [e] *gardiner takes not so much delight and pains in his garden, an horseman to dress his horse, scour his armour*, a marriner about his ship, a merchant his shop and shop-book, as they do about their faces, and all those other parts: such setting up with corks, streightning with whale-bones; why is it but as a day-net catcheth larks, to make yong men stoop unto them? Philocharus, a gallant in Aristænetus, advised his friend Poliænus, to take heed of such entisements; [f] *for it was the sweet sound and motion of his mistress spangles and bracelets, the smell of her oyntments, that captivated him first; Illa fuit mentis prima ruina meæ. Quid sibi vult pixidum turba*, saith [g] Lucian, *to what use are pins, pots, glasses, oyntments, irons, combes, bodkins, setting-sticks? Why bestow they all their patrimonies, and husbands yearly revenues, on such fooleries?* [h] bina patrimonia singulis auribus; *why use they dragons, waspes, snakes, for chains*, inamelled jewels on their necks, ears? *dignum potius foret ferro manus istas religari, atque utinam monilia vere dracones essent;* they had

[a] Sidney's Arcadia. [a] De immod. mulier. cultu. [b] Discurs. 6. de luxu vestium. [c] Petronius fol. 95. Quo spectant flexæ comæ? quo facies medicamine attrita, et oculorum mollis petulantia? quo incessus tam compositus, &c. [d] Ter. [e] P. Aretine. Hortulanus non ita exercetur visendis hortis, eques equis, armis, nauta navibus, &c. [f] Epist. 4. Sonus armillarum bene sonantium, odor unguentorum, &c. [g] Tom. 4. dial. Amor. Vascula plena multæ infelicitatis omnem maritorum opulentiam in hæc impendum, dracones pro monilibus habent, qui utinam vere dracones essent. Lucian. [h] Seneca.

more need some of them be tied in bedlam with iron chains; have a whip for a fan, and hair-cloths next to their skins; and instead of wrought smocks, have their cheeks stigmatised with a hot iron; I say, some of our Jesabels, instead of painting, if they were well served. But why is all this labour, all this cost, preparation, riding, running, far fetched, and dear bought stuffe! [i] *Because, forsooth, they would be fair and fine; and where nature is defective, supply it by art.* [j] *Sanguine quæ vero non rubet, arte rubet,* (*Ovid.*) and to that purpose they annoint and paint *their faces,* to make Helen of Hecuba——*parvamque exortamque puellam——Europen;* to this intent they *crush in their feet and bodies;* hurt and crucifie themselves, sometimes in laxe clothes, an hundred yards I think in a gown, a sleeve; and sometimes again so close, *ut nudos exprimat artus.* [k] Now long tails and trains, and then short, up, down, high, low, thick, thin, &c., now little or no bands; then as big as cart wheels; now loose bodies; then great farthingals and close girt, &c. Why is all this, but with the whore in the Proverbs, to intoxicate some or other? *oculorum decipulam,* [l] one therefore cals it *et indicem libidinis,* the trap of lust, and sure token, as an ivy-bush is to a tavern.

Quod pulchros, Glycere, sumas de pixide vultus,
Quod tibi compositæ nec sine lege comæ:
Quod niteat digitis adamas, beryllus in aure,
Non sum divinus, sed scio quid cupias.

O Glycere in that you paint so much,
Your hair is so bedeck't, in order each,
With rings on fingers, bracelets in your ear,
Although no prophet, tell I can, I fear.

To be admired, to be gazed on, to circumvent some novice, as many times they do; that instead of a lady he loves a cap and a feather; instead of a maid that should have *verum colorem, corpus solidum et succi plenum* (as Chærea describes his mistress in the [m] Poet); a painted face, a ruffe-band, fair and fine linnen, a coronet, a flowre, [n] (*Naturæque putat quod fuit artificis,*) a wrought waistcoate he dotes on, or a pied petticote; a pure die instead of a proper woman. For generally, as with rich furred conies, their cases are far better then their bodies, and like the bark of a cinnamon tree, which is dearer then the whole bulk, their outward accoutrements are far more pretious then their inward indowments. 'Tis too commonly so.

[o] Auferimur cultu et gemmis, auroque teguntur
Omnia; pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

With gold and jewels all is covered,
And with a strange tire we are won,
(While she's the least part of her self)
And with such baubles quite undone.

Why do they keep in so long together, a whole winter sometimes, and will not be seen by torch or candle-light, and come abroad with all the preparation may be, when they have no business but only to shew themselves?

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ.

[p] For what is beauty if it be not seen,
Or what is't to be seen if not admir'd,
And though admir'd, unless in love desir'd?

why do they go with such counterfeit gate, which [q] Philo Judæus reprehends them for, and use (I say it again) such gestures, apish, ridiculous, undecent attires, *Sybaritical tricks, fucos genis, purpurissam venis, cerussam fronti, leges oculis, &c.* use those sweet perfumes, powders and oyntments in publike; flock to hear sermons so frequent; is it for devotion? or rather as [r] Basil tels them, to meet their sweet-hearts, and see fashions; for as he saith, commonly they come so provided to that place, with such curious complements, with such gestures and tires, as if they should go to a dancing school, a stage-play, or bawdy-house, fitter then a church,

[i] Castilio de aulic. lib. 1. Mulieribus omnibus hoc imprimis in votis est, ut formosæ sint, aut si reipsâ non sint, videantur tamen esse; et si quâ parte natura defuit, artis suppetias adjungunt: unde illæ faciei unctiones, dolor et cruciatus in arctandis corporibus, &c. [j] Ovid. epist. Med. Jasoni. [k] Modo caudatas tunicas, &c. Bossus. [l] Scribanius philos. Christ. cap. 6. [m] Ter. Eunuc. Act. 2. Scen. 3. [n] Stroza fil. [o] Ovid. [p] S. Daniel. [q] Lib. de victimis. Fracto incessu, obtuitu lascivo, calamistrata, cincinnata, fucata, recens lota, purpurissata, pretiosoque amicta palliolo, spirans unguenta, ut juvenum animos circumveniat. [r] Orat. in ebrios. Impudenter se masculorum aspectibus exponunt, insolenter comas jactantes, trahunt tunicas pedibus collidentes oculoque petulanti, risu effuso, ad tripudium insanientes, omnem adolescentum intemperantiam in se provocantes, idque in templis memoriæ martyrum consecratis; pomœrium civitatis officinam fecerunt impudentiæ.

When such a she-priest comes her mass to say,
Twenty to one they all forget to pray.

They make those holy temples, consecrated to godly martyrs, and religious uses, the shops of impudence, dens of whores and theeves, and little better then brothel houses. When we shall see these things dayly done, their husbands bankrupts, if not cornutos, their wives light huswives, daughters dishonest; and hear of such dissolute acts, as dayly we do, how should we think otherwise? what is their end, but to deceive and inveagle yong men? as tow takes fire, such entising objects produce their effect; how can it be altered? When Venus stood before Anchises (as [s]Homer fains in one of his hymns) in her costly robes, he was instantly taken:

Cum ante ipsum staret Jovis filia, videns eam
Anchises, admirabatur formam, et stupendas vestes;
Erat enim induta peplo, igneis radiis splendidiore;
Habebat quoque torques fulgidos, flexiles helices,
Tenerum collum ambiebant mouilia pulchra,
Aurea, variegata.———

When Venus stood before Anchises first,
He was amaz'd to see her in her tires;
For she had on a hood as red as fire,
And glittering chains, and ivy twisted spires;
About her tender neck were costly bruches,
And neck-laces of gold, inamell'd ouches.

So when Medea came in presence of Jason first, attended by her nymphs and ladies, as she is described by [t]Apollonius,

Cunctas vero ignis instar sequebatur splendor,
Tantum ab aureis fimbriis resplendebat jubar,
Accenditque in oculis dulce desiderium.
A lustre followed them like flaming fire,
And from their golden borders came such beams,
Which in his eys provok'd a sweet desire.

Such a relation we have in [u]Plutarch; when the queens came and offered themselves to Anthony, [v]*with divers presents, and entising ornaments, Asiatick allurements, with such wonderful joy and festivity, they did so enveagle the Romans, that no man could contain himself; all was turned to delight and pleasure. The women transformed themselves to Bacchus shapes; the men-children to Satyrs and Pans; but Anthony himself was quite besotted with Cleopatras sweet speeches, philters, beauty, pleasing tires: for when she sailed along the river Cydnus, with such incredible pomp, in a gilded ship, herself dressed like Venus, her maids like the Graces, her pages like so many Cupids; Anthony was amazed, and rapt beyond himself.* Heliodorus, *lib.* 1. brings in Dameneta, stepmother to Cnemon, *whom she* [w]*saw in his scarfs, rings, robes and coronet, quite mad for the love of him.* It was Judiths pantofles that ravished the eyes of Olofernes. And [x]Cardan is not ashamed to confess, that seeing his wife the first time, all in white, he did admire and instantly love her. If these outward ornaments were not of such force, why doth [y]Naomi give Ruth counsel how to please Boaz? and [z]Judith seeking to captivate Olofernes, washed and anointed her self with sweet oyntments, dressed her hair, and put on costly attires. The riot in this kinde hath been excessive in times past; no man almost came abroad, but curled and anointed;

[a]Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
Quantum vix redolent duo funera,

one spent as much as two funerals at once, and with perfumed hairs, [b]*et rosâ canos odorati capillos Assyriâque nardo.* What strange thing doth [c]Sueton relate in this matter of Caligulas riot? And Pliny, *lib.* 12. *et* 13. Read more in Dioscorides, Ulmus, Arnoldus, Randoletius *de fuco et decoratione*; for it is now an art, as it was of old, (so [d]Seneca records) *officinæ sunt odores coquentium.* Women are bad and men worse; no difference at all betwixt their and our times, [e]*Good manners,* (as Seneca complains) *are extinct with wantonness: in tricking up themselves, men go beyond women; they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance,* hic mulier, hæc vir, more like players,

[s] Hymno Veneri dicato. [t] Argonaut. l. 4. [u] Vit. Anton. [v] Regio dono ornatuque certantes, sese ac formam suam Antonio offerentes, &c. Cum ornatu et incredibili pompâ per Cydnum fluvium navigarent auratâ puppi, ipsa ad similitudinem Veneris ornata, puellæ Gratiis similes, pueri Cupidinibus, Antonius, ad visum stupefactus. [w] Amictum, chlamyde et coronis, quum primum aspexit Cnemonem, ex potestate mentis excidit. [x] Lib. de lib. prop. [y] Ruth. 3. 3. [z] Cap. 10. 3, 4. [a] Juv. Sat. 6. [b] Hor. lib. 2. Od. 11. [c] Cap. 27. [d] Epist. 90. [e] Quicquid est boni moris levitate extinguitur, et politurâ corporis muliebres munditias antecessimus, colores meretricios viri sumimus, tenero et molli gradu suspendimus gradum, non ambulamus. Nat. quæst. lib. 7. cap. 31.

[illegible] Hercules sat at [illegible] Lampridius, [illegible] a common thing in our times, [illegible] and taylors: [illegible] do condescend to set [illegible] To repress the [illegible] of those Roman matrons, there was *Lex Oppia*, and a [illegible] laws will serve to repress pride and insolency of our days; the prodigious riot in this kinde. Lucullus wardrope is put down by our ordinary citizens; and a coblers wife a mercer, a courtesan in Venice, is no whit inferior to a queen, if our geographers say true: and why is all this? *Why do they glory in their jewels* (saith) or exult and triumph *in the beauty of clothes? why is all this cost? incite men the sooner to burning lust.* They pretend decency and ornament; but let them take heed, lest while they set out their bodies, they do ex in their souls; tis Bernards counsel: *shine in jewels, stink in conditions: e purple robes, and a torn conscience.* Let them take heed of Esays reve, that their slippers and tires be not taken from them, sweet balls, bracelets, ings, vailes, wimples, crisping-pins, glasses, fine linnen, hoods, lawns, and et savours, they become not bald, burnt, and stinke upon a sudden. And maids beware, as Cyprian adviseth, *lest while they wander too loosely oad, they loose not their virginities;* and like Ægyptian temples, seem without, but prove rotten carcasses within. How much better were it for m to follow that good counsel of Tertullian? [j] *To have their eyes painted h chastity; the word of God inserted into their ears: Christs yoke tied to ir hair; to subject themselves to their husbands. If they would do so, y should be comely enough, cloathe themselves with the silk of sanctity, nask of devotion, purple of piety and chastity, and so painted, they shall e God himself to be a suiter: Let whores and queans prank up themves;* [k] *let them paint their faces with minion and cerusse; they are but ls of lust, and signs of a corrupt soul: if ye be good, honest, vertuous, l religious matrons, let sobriety, modesty and chastity be your honour, and d himself your love and desire. Mulier recte olet, ubi nihil olet;* then a man smells best, when she hath no perfume at all; no crown, chain, or el (Guivarra adds) is such an ornament to a virgin, or vertuous woman, *im virgini pudor*, as chastity is: more credit in a wise mans eye and judgent, they get by their plainness, and seem fairer then they that are set out h baubles, as a butchers meat is with pricks; puffed up and adorned, like so ny jays, with variety of colours. It is reported of Cornelia, that vertuous man lady, great Scipios daughter, Titus Sempronius wife, and the mother he Gracchi, that being by chance in company with a *companion*, a strange tlewoman (some light huswife, belike) that was dressed like a May lady, l us most of our gentlewomen are, *was* [l] *more sollicitous of her head tire, n of her health; that spent her time betwixt a comb and a glass; and*

Av. lib. 4. dec. 4. [g] Quid exultas in pulchritudine panni? quid gloriaris in gemmis ut facilius incal libidinosum incendium? Mat. Bossus de immoder. mulier. cultu. [h] Epist. 113. Fulgent monis, moribus sordent, purpurata vestis, conscientia pannosa, cap. 3. 17. [i] De virginali habitu. Dum ri cultius, dum evagari virgines volunt, desinunt esse virgines. Clemens Alexandrinus lib. de pulchr. ne, ibid. [j] Lib. 2. de cultu mulierum. Oculos depictos verecundiâ, inserentes in aures sermonem Dei, ctentes crinibus jugum Christi, caput maritis subjicientes, sic facile et satis eritis ornatæ: vestite vos o probitatis, byssino sanctitatis, purpurâ pudicitiæ; taliter pigmentatæ Deum habebitis amatorem. as habeant Romanæ lascivias; purpurissâ, ac cerussâ ora perungant, fomenta libidinum, et corruptas tis indicia; vestrum ornamentum Deus sit, pudicitia, virtutis studium. Bossus Plautus. [l] Sollires de capitis sui decore quam de salute, inter pectinem et speculum diem perdunt; concinniores esse int quam honestiores, et reipub. minus turbari curant quam comam. Seneca.

had rather be fair then honest (as Cato said) *and have the common-wealth turned topsie turvie, then her tires marred;* and she did nought but brag of her fine robes and jewels, and provoked the Roman matron to shew hers: Cornelia kept her in talk till her children came from school; and, these, said she, are my jewels; and so deluded and put off a proud, vain, phantasticall huswife. How much better were it for our matrons to do as she did, to go civilly and decently, [m] *Honestæ mulieris instar quæ utitur auro pro eo quod est, ad ea tantum quibus opus est*, to use gold as it is gold, and for that use it serves, and when they need it, then to consume it in riot, begger their husbands, prostitute themselves, inveagle others, and peradventure damn their own souls? How much more would it be for their honour and credit? Thus doing, as Hierome said of Blesilla, [n] *Furius did not so triumph over the Gaules, Papyrius of the Samnites, Scipio of Numantia, as she did by her temperance; pullâ semper veste, &c.* they should insult and domineer over lust, folly, vainglory, all such inordinate, furious and unruly passions.

But I am over tedious, I confess, and whilst I stand gaping after fine clothes, there is another greater allurement, (in the worlds eye at least) which had like to have stoln out of sight, and that is mony; *veniunt a dote sagittæ*, mony makes the match; [o] Μονὸν ἄργυρον βλέπουσιν: [p] 'Tis like sauce to their meat, *cum carne condimentum*, a good dowry with a wife. Many men if they do but hear of a great portion, a rich heir, are more mad then if they had all the beauteous ornaments, and those good parts art and nature can afford; [p] they care not for honesty, bringing up, birth, beauty, person, but for mony.

[q] Canes et equos (ô Cyrne) quærimus Nobiles, et a bonâ progenie; Malam vero uxorem, malique patris filiam.	Ducere non curat vir bonus, Modo ei magnam dotem afferat.
Our dogs and horses still from the best breed We carefully seek, and well may they speed:	But for our wives, so they prove wealthy, Fair or foul, we care not what they be.

If she be rich, then she is fair, fine, absolute and perfect; then they burn like fire, they love her dearly, like pig and pye, and are ready to hang themselves if they may not have her. Nothing so familiar in these dayes, as for a yong man to marry an old wife, as they say, for a piece of gold; *asinum auro onustum;* and though she be an old crone, and have never a tooth in her head, neither good conditions, nor good face, a natural fool, but onely rich, she shall have twenty yong gallants to be suiters in an instant. As she said in Suetonius, *non me, sed mea ambiunt*, 'tis not for her sake, but for her lands or mony; and an excellent match it were (as he added) if she were away. So on the other side, many a yong lovely maid will cast away her self upon an old, doting, decrepit dizard;

[r] Bis puer effœto quamvis balbutiat ore,
Prima legit raræ tam culta roseta puellæ,

that is rheumatick and gouty; hath some twenty diseases; perhaps but one eye, one leg, never a nose, no hair on his head, wit in his brains, nor honesty; if he have land or [s] mony, she will have him before all other suiters [t] *Dummodo sit dives barbarus ille placet.* If he be rich, he is the man, a fine man, and a proper man; she'l go to Jacaktres or Tidore with him; *Galesimus de monte aureo.* Sir Giles Goosecap, Sir Amorous La Fool, shall have her. And as Philemasium in [u] Aristænetus told Emmusus, *absque argento omnia vana*, hang him that hath no mony; *'tis to no purpose to talk of marriage without means*, [v] trouble me not with such motions; let others do as they will, *I'll be sure to have one shall maintain me fine and brave.* Most are of her minde. [w] *De moribus ultima fiet quæstio*, for his conditions she

[m] Lucian. [n] Non sic Furius de Gallis, non Papyrius de Samnitibus, Scipio de Numantiâ triumphavit, ac illa se vincendo in hac parte. [o] Anacreon, 4. Solum intuemur aurum. [p] Affer tecum si vis vivere mecum. [q] Theognis. [r] Chaloner, l. 9. de Repub. Ang. [s] Uxorem ducat Danaen, &c. [t] Ovid. [u] Epist. 14. Formam spectant alii per gratias, ego pecuniam, &c. ne mihi negotium facesse. [v] Qui caret argento, frustra utitur argumento. [w] Juvenalis.

shall enquire after them another time; or when all is done, the match made, and every body gone home. [x]Lucians Lycia was a proper yong maid, and had many fine gentlemen to her suiters; Ethecles, a senators son, Melissus a merchant, &c. but she forsook them all for one Passius, a base, hirsute, bald-pated knave; but why was it? *His father lately died and left him sole heir of his goods and lands.* This is not amongst your dust-worms alone, poor snakes that will prostitute their souls for mony; but with this bait you may catch our most potent, puissant, and illustrious princes. That proud upstart domineering bishop of Ely, in the time of Richard the first, viceroy in his absence, as [y]Nuburgensis relates it, to fortifie himself, and maintain his greatness, *propinquarum suarum connubiis, plurimos sibi potentes et nobiles devincire curavit*, married his poor kinswomen (which came forth of Normandy by droves) to the chiefest nobles of the land, and they were glad to accept of such matches, fair or foul, for themselves, their sons, nephews, &c. *Et quis tam præclarum affinitatem sub spe magnæ promotionis non optaret?* Who would not have done as much for mony and preferment? as mine author [z]adds. Vortiger, king of Britain, married Rowena the daughter of Hengist the Saxon prince, his mortall enemy; but wherefore? she had Kent for her dowry. Jagello the great duke of Lithuania, 1386, was mightily enamoured on Hedenga, insomuch that he turned Christian from a Pagan, and was baptized himself by the name of Uladislaus, and all his subjects, for her sake: but why was it? she was daughter and heir of Poland, and his desire was to have both kingdoms incorporated into one. Charls the great was an earnest suiter to Irene the empress, but, saith [a]Zonaras, *ob regnum;* to annex the empire of the east to that of the west. Yet what is the event of all such matches, that are so made for mony, goods, by deceit, or for burning lust, *quos fœda libido conjunxit*, what follows? they are almost mad at first, but 'tis a meer flash; as chaff and straw soon fired, burn vehemently for a while, yet out in a moment; so are all such matches made by those allurements of burning lust; where there is no respect of honesty, parentage, vertue, religion, education, and the like, they are extinguished in an instant, and instead of love comes hate; for joy, repentance and desperation it self. Franciscus Barbarus in his first book *de re uxoriâ, c. 5*, hath a story of one Philip of Padua that fell in love with a common whore; and was now ready to run mad for her: his father having no more sons let him enjoy her; [b]*but after a few days, the yong man began to loath, could not so much as endure the sight of her, and from one madness fell into another.* Such event commonly have all these lovers; and he that so marries, or for such respects, let them look for no better success, then Menelaus had with Helen; Vulcan with Venus; Theseus with Phædra; Minos with Pasiphae; and Claudius with Messalina; shame, sorrow, misery, melancholy, discontent.

Subsect. IV.—*Importunity and opportunity of time, place, conference, discourse, singing, dancing, musick, amorous tales, objects, kissing, familiarity, tokens, presents, bribes, promises, protestations, tears, &c.*

All these allurements hitherto are afar off, and at a distance; I will come nearer to those other degrees of love; which are, conference, kissing, dalliance, discourse, singing, dancing, amorous tales, objects, presents, &c. which as so many Syrens steal away the hearts of men and women. For as Tatius

[x] Tom. 4. merit. dial. Multos amatores rejecit, quia pater ejus nuper mortuus, ac dominus ipse factus bonorum omnium. [y] Lib. 3. cap. 14. Quis nobilium eo tempore, sibi aut filio aut nepoti uxorem accipere cupiens, oblatam sibi aliquam propinquarum ejus non acciperet obvils manibus? quarum turbam acciverat e Normanniâ in Angliam ejus rei gratiâ. [z] Alexander Gaguinus Sarmat. Europ. descript. [a] Tom. 3. Annal. [b] Libido statim deferbuit, fastidium cœpit, et quod in eâ tantopere adamavit aspernatur, et ab ægritudine liberatus in angorem incidit.

observes, l. 2. [c] *It is no sufficient trial of a maids affection by her eys alone, but you must say something that shall be more available, and use such other forcible engins; therefore take her by the hand, wring her fingers hard, and sigh withall; if she accept this in good part, and seem not to be much averse, then call her mistress, take her about the neck and kiss her, &c.* But this cannot be done except they first get opportunity of living, or coming together; ingress, egress, and regress: letters and commendations may do much, outward gestures and actions: but when they come to live near one another, in the same street, village, or together in an house, love is kindled on a sudden. Many a serving-man by reason of this opportunity and importunity, inveagles his master's daughter; many a gallant loves a dowdy; many a gentleman runs upon his wifes maids; many ladies dote upon their men, as the queen in Ariosto did upon the dwarf; many matches are so made in haste, and they compelled as it were by [d] necessity so to love, which had they been free, come in company of others, seen that variety which many places afford, or compared them to a third, would never have looked one upon another. Or had not that opportunity of discourse and familiarity been offered, they would have loathed and contemned those, whom for want of better choice and other objects, they are fatally driven on; and by reason of their hot bloud, idle life, full diet, &c. are forced to dote upon them that come next. And many times those which at the first sight cannot fancy or affect each other, but are harsh and ready to disagree, offended with each others carriage, like Benedict and Beatrice in the [e] comœdy; and in whom they finde many faults, by this living together in a house, conference, kissing, colling, and such like allurements, begin at last to dote insensibly one upon another.

It was the greatest motive that Potiphars wife had to dote upon Joseph; and [f] Clitiphon upon Leucippe his unkles daughter, because the plague being at Bizance, it was his fortune for a time to sojourn with her, to sit next her at the table, as he telleth the tale himself in Tatius *lib.* 2. (which though it be but a fiction, is grounded upon good observation, and doth well express the passions of lovers;) he had opportunity to take her by the hand, and after a while to kiss, and handle her paps, &c. [g] which made him almost mad. Ismenius, the orator, makes the like confession in Eustathius *lib.* 1. when he came first to Sosthenes' house, and sate at table with Cratistes his friend, Ismene, Sosthenes' daughter, waiting on them *with her breasts open, arms half bare,* [h] *Nuda pedem, discincta sinum, spoliata lacertos,* after the Greek fashion in those times,—[i] *nudos mediâ plus parte lacertos,* (as Daphne was when she fled from Phœbus) which moved him much; was ever ready to give attendance on him, to fill him drink; her eys were never off him; *rogabundi oculi,* those speaking eys, courting eys, enchanting eys; but she was still smiling on him, and when they were risen, that she had gotten a little opportunity, [j] *she came and drank to him, and withall trod upon his toes, and would come and go, and when she could not speak for the company, she would wring his hand,* and blush when she met him: and by this means first she overcame him (*bibens amorem hauriebam simul*); she would kiss the cup and drink to him, and smile, *and drink where he drank on that side of the cup;* by which mutual compressions, kissing, wringing of hands, treading of feet, &c. *ipsam mihi videbar sorbillare virginem,* I sipt, and sipt, and sipt so long, till at length, I was drunk in love upon a sudden. Philocharinus

[c] De puellæ voluntate periculum facere solis oculis non est satis, sed efficacius aliquid agere oportet, ibique etiam machinam alteram adhibere: itaque manus tange, digitos constringe, atque inter stringendum suspira; si hæc agentem æquo se animo feret, neque facta hujusmodi aspernabitur, tum vero dominam appella, ejusque collum suaviare. [d] Hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings. [e] Shakespeare. [f] Tatius lib. 1. [g] In mammarum attractu, non aspernanda inest jucunditas, et attrectatus, &c. [h] Mantuan. [i] Ovid. 1. Met. [j] Manus ad cubitum nuda, coram astans, fortius intuita, tenuem de pectore spiritum ducens, digitum meum pressit, et bibens pedem pressit; mutuæ compressiones corpo um, labiorum commixtiones, pedum connexiones, &c. Et bibit eodem loco, &c.

[k] in Aristænetus, met a fair maid by chance, a meer stranger to him; he looked back at her; she looked back at him again, and smiled withall.

[l] Ille dies lethi primus, primusque malorum
Causa fuit——

It was the sole cause of his farther acquaintance, and love that undid him. [m] *O nullis tutum credere blanditiis.* This opportunity of time and place, with their circumstances, are so forcible motives, that it is unpossible almost for two young folks, equall in years, to live together, and not be in love; especially in great houses, princes courts, where they are idle *in summo gradu*, fare well, live at ease, and cannot tell otherwise how to spend their time. [n] *Illic Hippolitum pone, Priapus erit.* Achilles was sent by his mother Thetis, to the island of Scyros in the Ægean sea, (where Lycomedes then raigned) in his non-age, to be brought up; to avoid that hard destiny of the Oracle (he should be slain at the siege of Troy): and for that cause was nurtured in Geneseo, amongst the kings children in a womans habit; but see the event! He comprest Deidamia the kings fair daughter, and had a fine son called Pyrrhus, by her. Peter Albelhardus, the philosopher, as he tells the tale himself, being set by Fulbertus her unkle, to teach Helonissa his lovely niece, and to that purpose sojourned in his house, and had committëd *agnam tenellam famelico lupo*, (I use his own words), he soon got her good will, *plura erant oscula quam sententiæ*, and he read more of love then any other lecture; such pretty feats can opportunity plea; *primum domo conjuncti, inde animis, &c.* But when as I say *nox, vinum, et adolescentia*, youth, wine, and night, shall concur, *nox amoris et quietis conscia*, 'tis a wonder they be not all plunged over head and ears in love; for youth is *benigna in amorem, et prona materies*, a very combustible matter, Naphthe itself, the fuell of loves fire, and most apt to kindle it. If there be seven servants in an ordinary house, you shall have three couple in some good liking at least; and amongst idle persons how should it be otherwise? *Living at* [o] Rome, saith Aretines Lucretia, *in the flowre of my fortunes, rich, fair, yong, and so well brought up, my conversation, age, beauty, fortune, made all the world admire and love me.* Night alone, one occasion, is enough to set all on fire; and they are so cunning in great houses, that they make their best advantage of it: many a gentlewoman, that is guilty to her self of her imperfections, paintings, impostures, will not willingly be seen by day, but as [p] Castilio noteth, in the night, *diem ut glis odit, tædarum lucem super omnia mavult*, she hates the day like a dor-mouse, and above all things, loves torches and candle-light; and if she must come abroad in the day, she covets, as [q] in a mercers shop, a very obfuscate and obscure sight. And good reason she hath for it: *Nocte latent mendæ*, and many an amorous gull is fetched over by that means. Gomesius *lib.* 3. *de sale gen. c.* 22. gives instance in a Florentine gentleman, that was so deceived with a wife: she was so radiently set out with rings, and jewels, lawns, scarfs, laces, gold, spangles, and gaudy devices, that the yong man took her to be a goddess (for he never saw her but by torchlight) but after the wedding solemnities, when as he viewed her the next morning without her tires, and in a clear day, she was so deformed, lean, yellow, riveld, &c. such a beastly creature in his eys, that he could not endure to look upon her. Such matches are frequently made in Italy, where they have no other opportunity to wooe but when they go to church; or, as [r] in Turkie, see them at a distance, they must enterchange few or no words, till such time they come to be married; and then, as Sardus *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. *de morib. gent.* and

[k] Epist. 4. Respexi, respexit et illa subridens, &c. [l] Vir. Æn. 4. [m] Propertius. [n] Ovid. amor. lib. 2. eleg. 2. [o] Romæ vivens flore fortunæ, et opulentiæ meæ, ætas forma, gratia conversationis, maxime me fecerunt expetibilem, &c. [p] De Aulic. l. 1. fol. 63. [q] Ut adulterini mercatorum panni. [r] Busbeq. epist.

[s] Bohemus relate of those old Lacedemonians, *the bride is brought into the chamber, with her hair girt about her: the bridegroom comes in, and unties the knot, and must not see her at all by day-light, till such time as he is made a father by her.* In those hotter countries these are ordinary practices at this day; but in our northern parts amongst Germans, Danes, French, and Britaines, the continent of Scandia and the rest, we assume more liberty in such cases; we allow them, as Bohemus saith, to kiss coming and going, *et modo absit lascivia, in cauponam ducere*, to talk merrily, sport, play, sing, and dance, so that it be modestly done; go to the alehouse and tavern together. And 'tis not amiss, [t] though Chrysostome, Cyprian, Hierome, and some other of the fathers speak bitterly against it: but that is the abuse which is commonly seen at some drunken matches, dissolute meetings, or great unruly feasts. [u] *A young pittivanted, trim-bearded fellow*, saith Hierome, *will come with a company of complements, and hold you up by the arm as you go, and wringing your fingers, will so be entised, or entise; one drinks to you, another embraceth, a third kisseth, and all this while the fidler plays or sings a lascivious song; a fourth singles you out to dance, [v] one speaks by becks and signs, and that which he dares not say, signifies by passions; amongst so many and so great provocations of pleasure, lust conquers the most hard and crabbed minds; and scarce can a man live honest amongst feastings, and sports, or at such great meetings.* For as he goes on, [w] *she walks along, and with the ruffling of her clothes, makes men look at her: her shooes creek, her paps tied up, her waste pulled in to make her look small, she is straight girded, her hairs hang loose about her ears, her upper garment sometimes falls, and sometimes tarries, to shew her naked shoulders; and as if she would not be seen, she covers that in all haste, which voluntarily she shewed.* And not at feasts, playes, pageants, and such assemblies, [x] but as Chrysostome objects, these tricks are put in practice *at service time in churches, and at the communion itself.* If such dumb shews, signs, and more obscure significations of love can so move, what shall they do that have full liberty to sing, dance, kiss, coll, to use all manner of discourse and dalliance! What shall he do that is beleagred of all sides?

[y] Quem tot, tam roseæ petunt puellæ,
Quem cultæ cupiunt nurus, amorque
Omnis undique et undecunque et usque,
Omnis ambit Amor, Venusque, Hymenque:

After whom so many rosie maids enquire,
Whom dainty dames and loving wights desire,
In every place, still, and at all times sue,
Whom gods and gentle goddesses do wooe;

How shall he contain? The very tone of some of their voices, a pretty pleasing speech; an affected tone they use, is able of it self to captivate a yong man; but when a good wit shall concur, art and eloquence, fascinating speech, pleasant discourse, sweet gestures, the Syrens themselves cannot so enchant. [z] P. Jovius commends his Italian country-women, to have an excellent faculty in this kinde, above all other nations; and amongst them, the Florentine ladies: some prefer Roman and Venetian curtesans, they have such pleasing tongues, and such [a] elegancy of speech, that they are able to overcome a saint. *Pro facie multis vox sua lena fuit. Tantâ gratiâ vocis famam conciliabat*, saith Petronius [b] in his fragment of pure impurities, I mean his Satyricon; *tam dulcis sonus permulcebat aëra, ut putares in'er auras cantare Syrenum concordiam;* she sang so sweetly that she charmed the ayr, and

[s] Paranympha in cubiculum adducta capillos ad cutim referebat; sponsus inde ad eam ingressus cingulum solvebat, nec prius sponsam aspexit interdiu quam ex illâ factus esset pater. [t] Serm. cont. concub. [u] Lib. 2. epist. ad filium, et virginem et matrem viduam epist. 10. Dabit tibi barbatulus quispiam manum, sustentabit lassam, et pressis digitis aut tentabitur aut tentabit, &c. [v] Loquetur alius nutibus, et quicquid metuit dicere, significabit affectibus. Inter has tantas voluptatum illecebras etiam ferreas mentes libido domat. Difficile inter epulas servatur pudicitia. [w] Clamore vestium ad se juvenes vocat; capilli fasciolis comprimuntur crispati, cingulo pectus arctatur, capilli vel in frontem, vel in aures defluunt: palliolum interdum cadit ut nudet humeros, et quasi videri noluerit, festinans celat, quod volens detexerit. [x] Serm. cont. concub. In sancto et reverendo sacramentorum tempore multas occasiones, ut illis placeant qui eas vident, præbent. [y] Pont. Bais. l. 1. [z] Descr. Brit. [a] Res est blanda canon discunt cantare puellæ pro facie, &c. Ovid. 3. de art. amandi. [b] Epist. l. 1. Cum loquitur Lais, quanta, O Dii boni, vocis ejus dulcedo!

thou wouldst have thought thou hadst heard a consort of Syrens. *O good God, when Lais speaks, how sweet it is!* Philocolus exclaims in Aristænetus. To hear a fair young gentlewoman play upon the virginals, lute, vial, and sing to it, which as Gellius observes, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. are *lascivientium deliciæ*, the chief delighte of lovers, must needs be a great entisement. Parthenis was so taken. *Mî vox ista avidâ haurit ab aure animam:* O sister Harpedona (she laments) I am undone, [c] *how sweetly he sings! I'll speak a bold word, he is the properest man that ever I saw in my life: O how sweetly he sings! I dye for his sake: O that he would love me again!* If thou didst but hear her sing, saith [d] Lucian, *thou wouldst forget father and mother, forsake all thy friends, and follow her.* Helena is highly commended by [e] Theocritus the poet for her sweet voice and musick; none could play so well as she, and Daphnis in the same Idyllion,

> Quam tibi os dulce est, et vox amabilis, ô Daphni!
> Jucundius est audire te canentem, quam mel lingere.
>
> How sweet a face hath Daphne, how lovely a voice!
> Hony it self is not so pleasant in my choice.

A sweet voice and musick are powerful entisers. Those Samian singing wenches, Aristonica, Onanthe and Agathocleia, *regiis diadematibus insultârunt*, insulted over kings themselves, as [f] Plutarch contends. *Centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat*, Argus had an hundred eys, all so charmed by one silly pipe, that he lost his head. Clitiphon complains in [g] Tatius of Leucippes sweet tunes; *he heard her play by chance upon the lute*, and sing a pretty song to it, *in commendations of a rose*, out of old Anacreon, belike;

Rosa honor decusque florum,	Rose the fairest of all flowers,
Rosa flos odorque Divûm,	Rose delight of higher powers,
Hominum rosa est voluptas,	Rose the joy of mortal men,
Decus illa Gratiarum,	Rose the pleasure of fine women,
Florente amoris horâ,	Rose the Graces ornament,
Rosa suavium Diones, &c.	Rose Diones sweet content.

To this effect the lovely virgin with a melodious ayr upon her golden wired harp or lute, I know not well whether, plaid and sang, and that transported him beyond himself, *and that ravished his heart.* It was Jasons discourse as much as his beauty, or any other of his good parts, which delighted Medea so much.

> ——— [h] Delectabatur enim
> Animus simul formâ dulcibusque verbis.

It was Cleopatras sweet voice, and pleasant speech which inveagled Anthony, above the rest of her entisements. *Verba ligant hominem, ut taurorum cornua funes*, as bulls horns are bound with ropes, so are mens hearts with pleasant words. *Her words burn as fire, Eccles.* 9. 8. Roxolana bewitched Solyman the magnificent; and Shores wife by this engine overcame Edward the fourth; [i] *Omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres.* The wife of Bath in Chaucer confesseth all this out of her experience.

Some folk desire us for riches,	Some for that she can sing or dance,
Some for shape, some for fairness,	Some for gentleness, or for dalliance.

[j] Peter Aretines Lucretia telleth as much and more of her self; *I counterfeited honesty, as if I had been* virgo virginissima, *more then a vestal virgin; I looked like a wife, I was so demure and chaste, I did adde such gestures, tunes, speeches, signs and motions upon all occasions, that my spectators and auditors were stupified, enchanted, fastned all to their places, like so many stocks and stones.* Many silly gentlewomen are fetched over in like sort, by a company of guls and swaggering companions, that frequently bely noblemens favours; riming Coribantiasmi, Thrasonean Rhadomantes or Bomboma-

[c] Aristænetus lib. 2. epist. 5. Quam suave canit! verbum audax dixi, omnium quos vidi formosissimus, utinam amare me dignetur! [d] Imagines, si cantantem audieris, ita demulcebere, ut parentum et patriæ statim obliviscaris. [e] Idyl. 18. Neque sane ulla sic citharam pulsare novit. [f] Amatorio Dialogo. [g] Puellam citharâ canentem vidimus. [h] Apollonius. Argonaut. l. 3. [i] Catullus. [j] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Lat. interp. Jasper. Barthio Germ. Fingebam honestatem plusquam virginis Vestalis; intuebar oculis uxoris, addebam gestus, &c.

chides, that have nothing in them but a few players ends and complements; vain braggadocians, impudent intruders, that can discourse at table of knights and lords combats, like [k]Lucians Leontiscus, of other mens travels, brave adventures, and such common trivial news; ride, dance, sing old ballet tunes, and wear their clothes in fashion, with a good grace; a fine sweet gentleman, a proper man, who could not love him! She will have him though all her friends say no, though she beg with him. Some again are incensed by reading amorous toyes, Amadis de Gaul, Palmerin de Oliva, the Knight of the Sun, &c. or hearing such tales of [l]lovers, descriptions of their persons, lascivious discourses, such as Astyanassa, Helenas waiting woman, by the report of Suidas, writ of old, *de variis concubitûs modis;* and after her, Philenis and Elephantine; or those light tracts of [m]Aristides Milesius (mentioned by Plutarch) and found by the Persians, in Crassus army, amongst the spoiles; Aretines Dialogues, with ditties, love songs, &c. must needs set them on fire, with such like pictures, as those of Aretine, or wanton objects in what kind soever: *no stronger engin then to hear or read of love toyes, fables and discourses* ([n]one saith) *and many by this means are quite mad.* At Abdera in Thrace (Andromeda one of Euripides tragedies being played) the spectators were so much moved with the object, and those pathetical love speeches of Perseus, amongst the rest, *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men, &c.* that every man, almost, a good while after spake pure iambicks, and raved still on Perseus speech, *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men.* As car-men, boyes and prentises, when a new song is published with us, go singing that new tune still in the streets; they continually acted that tragical part of Perseus, and in every mans mouth was *O Cupid;* in every street, *O Cupid;* in every house almost, *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men;* pronouncing still like stage-players, *O Cupid:* they were so possessed all with that rapture, and thought of that pathetical love-speech, they could not a long time after forget, or drive it out of their minds, but *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men,* was ever in their mouths. This (belike) made Aristotle, *Polit. lib. 7. cap. 18.* forbid yong men to see comœdies, or to hear amorous tales.

[o] Hæc igitur juvenes nequam facilesque puellæ
Inspiciant———

let not yong folks meddle at all with such matters. And this made the Romans, as [p]Vitruvius relates, put Venus temple in the suburbs, *extra murum, ne adolescentes venereis insuescant,* to avoid all occasions and objects. For what will not such an object do? Ismenius as he walked in Sosthenes garden, being now in love, when he saw so [q]many lascivious pictures, *Thetis marriage,* and I know not what, was almost beside himself. And to say truth, with a lascivious object who is not moved, to see others dally, kiss, dance? And much more when he shall come to be an actor himself.

To kiss and to be kissed, which amongst other lascivious provocations, is as a burden in a song, and a most forcible battery, as infectious, [r]Xenophon thinks, as the poyson of a spider; a great allurement; a fire it self; *prœmium aut anticœnium,* the prologue of burning lust (as Apuleius adds) lust it self; [s]*Venus quintâ parte sui nectaris imbuit.* A strong assault, that conquers captains, and those all commanding forces, [t]*Domasque ferro sed domaris osculo.* [u]Aretines Lucretia, when she would in kindness overcome a suiter of hers, and have her desire of him, *took him about the neck, and kissed him again and again;* and to that, which she could not otherwise effect, she

[k] Tom. 4. dial. merit. [l] Amatorius sermo vehemens vehementis cupiditatis incitatio est, Tatius, l. 1. [m] De luxuriâ et deliciis compositi. [n] Æneas Silvius. Nulla machina validior quam lectio lascivæ historiæ; sæpe etiam hujusmodi fabulis ad furorem incenduntur. [o] Martial. l. 4. [p] Lib. 1. c. 7. [q] Eustathius l. 1. Picturæ parant animum ad Venerem, &c. Horatius ad res venereas intemperantior traditur; nam cubiculo suo sic specula dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocunque respexisset imaginem coitûs referrent. Suetonius vit. ejus. [r] Osculum ut phylangium inficit. [s] Hor. [t] Heinsius. [u] Applico me illi proximius et spisse osculata sagum peto.

made him so speedily and willingly condescend. And 'tis a continual assault, ——[y] *hoc non deficit incipitque semper*, always fresh, and ready to [z] begin as at first; *basium nullo fine terminatur, sed semper recens est*, and hath a fiery touch with it.

[a] Tenta modo tangere corpus,
Jam tua mollibus membra calore fluunt.

Especially when they shall be lasciviously given, as he feelingly said, [b] *et me pressulum deosculata fotis, catenatis lacertis,* [c] *obtorto valgiter labello.*

[d] Valgis suaviis
Dum semianimo suavio
Meam puellam suavior,
Anima tunc aegra et saucia
Concurrit ad labia mihi.

The soul and all is moved; [e] *Jam pluribus osculis labra crepitabant, animarum quoque mixturam facientes, inter mutuos complexus animas anhelantes:*

[f] Hausimus calentes,
Et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis
Errantes animas, valete curæ.

They breath out their souls and spirits together with their kisses, saith [g] Balthazar Castilio; *change hearts and spirits, and mingle affections as they do kisses; and it is rather a connexion of the minde then of the body.* And although these kisses be delightsome and pleasant, ambrosian kisses, [h] *Suaviolum dulci dulcius ambrosiâ*, such as [i] Ganymedes gave Jupiter, *Nectare suavius*, sweeter then [k] nectar, balsome, hony, [l] *Oscula merum amorem stillantia*, Love dropping kisses; for

The gilliflower, the rose is not so sweet,
As sugred kisses be, when lovers meet,

Yet they leave an irksome impression, like that of aloes or gaul;

[m] Ut mî ex ambrosiâ mutatum jam foret illud
Suaviolum tristi tristius helleboro.
At first ambrose itself was not sweeter,
At last black hellebor was not so bitter.

They are deceitful kisses:

[n] Quid me mollibus implicas lacertis?
Quid fallacibus osculis inescas? &c.
Why dost within thine arms me lap.
And with false kisses me intrap?

They are destructive, and the more the worse: [o] *Et quæ me perdunt, oscula mille dabat;* they are the bane of these miserable lovers. There be honest kisses, I deny not; *osculum charitatis*, friendly kisses, modest kisses, vestall-virgin kisses, officious and ceremonial kisses, &c. *Osculi sensus, brachiorum amplexus*, kissing and embracing are proper gifts of nature to a man: but these are too lascivious kisses, [p] *Implicuitque suos circum mea colla lacertos, &c.*, too continuate, and too violent, [q] *Brachia non hederæ, non vincunt oscula conchæ;* they cling like ivy; close as an oyster; bill as doves; meretricious kisses, biting of lips, *cum additamento; tam impresso ore* (saith [r] Lucian) *ut vix labia detrahant, inter deosculandum mordicantes, tum et os aperientes quoque et mammas attrectantes, &c.* such kisses as she gave to Gyton, *innumera oscula dedit non repugnanti puero, cervicem invadens*, innumerable kisses, &c. More then kisses, or too homely kisses: as those that [s] he spake of, *Accepturus ab ipsâ Venere 7 suavia, &c.* with such other obscenities, that vain lovers use, which are abominable and pernicious. If, as Peter de Ledesmo *cas. cons.* holds, every kiss a man gives his wife after marriage, be *mortale peccatum*, a mortal sin; or that of [t] Hierome, *Adulter est quisquis in uxorem suam ardentior est amator*, or that of Thomas Secund. *Secund. quæst.* 154. *artic.* 4. *contactus et osculum sit mortale peccatum:* or that of Durand. *Rational. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *abstinere debent conjuges a*

[y] Petronius catalect. [z] Catullus ad Lesbiam. Da mihi basia mille, deinde centum, &c. [a] Petronius. [b] Apuleius l. 10. et Catalect. [c] Petronius. [d] Apuleius. [e] Petronius Proseleos ad Circen. [f] Petronius. [g] Animus conjungitur, et spiritus etiam noster per osculum effluit; alternatim se in utriusque corpus infundentes commiscent; animæ potius quam corporis connexio. [h] Catullus. [i] Lucian. Tom. 4. [k] Non dat basia, dat Nera nectar, dat rores animæ suaveolentes, dat nardum, thymumque cinnamumque et mel, &c. Secundus bas. 4. [l] Eustathius lib. 4. [m] Catullus. [n] Buchanan. [o] Ovid. art. am. Eleg. 18. [p] Ovid. [q] Cum capita liment solitis morsiunculis, et cum mammillarum pressiunculis. Lip. od. ant. lec. lib. 3. [r] Tom. 4. dial. meretr. [s] Apuleius Miles. 6. Et unum blandientis linguæ admulsum longe mellitum: et post lib. 11. Arctius eam complexus cœpi suaviari jamque pariter patentis oris inhalitu cinnameo et occursantis linguæ illisu nectareo, &c. [t] Lib. 1. advers. Jovin. cap. 30.

complexu, toto tempore quo solennitas nuptiarum interdicitur, what shall become of all such [q] immodest kisses and obscene actions, the fore-runners of brutish lust, if not lust it self? What shall become of them, that often abuse their own wives? But what have I to do with this?

That which I aim at, is to shew you the progress of this burning lust: to epitomize therefore all this which I have hitherto said, with a familiar example out of that elegant Musæus; observe but with me those amorous proceedings of Leander and Hero: they began first to look one on the other with a lascivious look;

Oblique intuens inde nutibus,——
Nutibus mutis inducens in errorem mentem puellæ
Et illa e contra nutibus mutuis, juvenis
Leandri quod amorem non renuit, &c. *Inde*
Adibat in tenebris tacite quidem stringens
Roseos puellæ digitos, ex imo suspirabat
Vehementer—— *Inde*
Virginis autem bene olens collum osculatus,
Tale verbum ait amoris ictus stimulo,
Preces audi et amoris miserere mei, &c.
Sic fatus recusantis persuasit mentem puellæ.

With becks and nods he first began,
To try the wenche's mind,
With becks and nods and smiles again
An answer he did find.
And in the dark he took her by the hand,
And wrung it hard, and sighed grievously,
And kiss'd her too, and woo'd her as he might,
With, pitty me, sweet heart, or else I die:
And with such words and gestures as there past,
He won his mistress favour at the last.

The same proceedings is elegantly described by Apollonius in his Argonauticks, betwixt Jason and Medea; by Eustathius, in the ten books of the loves of Ismenius and Ismene; Achilles Tatius, betwixt his Clitiphon and Leucippe; Chaucers neat poeme of Troilus and Cresseide; and in that notable tale in Petronius, of a souldier and a gentlewoman of Ephesus, that was so famous all over Asia for her chastity, and that mourned for her husband: the souldier wooed her with such rhetorick as lovers used to do,—*placitone etiam pugnabis amori? &c.* at last, *frangi pertinaciam passa est*, he got her good will, not only to satisfie his lust, [r] but to hang her dead husbands body on the cross which he watched, in stead of the thiefs that was newly stoln away, whilest he woo'd her in her cabin. These are tales, you will say; but they have most significant morals, and do well express those ordinary proceedings of doting lovers.

Many such allurements there are, nods, jests, winks, smiles, wrastlings, tokens, favours, symbols, letters, valentines, &c. For which cause, belike, Godfridus *lib.* 2. *de amor.* would not have women learn to write. Many such provocations are used when they come in presence, [s] they will and will not.

Malo me Galatea petit lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

My mistress with an apple wooes me,
And hastily to covert goes
To hide her self, but would be seen
With all her heart before, God knows,

Hero so tripped away from Leander as one displeased;

[t] Yet as she went, full often lookt behind,
And many poor excuses did she finde
To linger by the way,——

but if he chance to overtake her, she is most averse, nice and coy,

Denegat et pugnat, sed vult super omnia vinci.
She seems not won, but won she is at length,
In such wars women use but half their strength.

Sometimes they lye open, and are most tractable and coming, apt, yielding and willing to embrace, to take a green gown, with that shepardess in Theocritus, *Idyl.* 27. to let their coats, &c. to play and dally, at such seasons, and to some, as they spy their advantage; and then coy, close again, so nice, so surly, so demure, you had much better tame a colt, catch or ride a wild horse, then get her favour, or win her love; not a look, not a smile, not a kiss for a kingdome. [u] Aretines Lucretia was an excellent artisan in this kinde, as she tels her own tale; *Though I was by nature and art most beautiful and fair, yet by these*

[q] Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cætera sumpsit, &c. [r] Corpus placuit mariti sui tolli ex arcâ, atque illi quæ vacabat cruci adfigi. [s] Novi ingenium mulierum, nolunt ubi velis, ubi nolis cupiunt ultro. Ter. Eunuc. act. 4. sc. 7. [t] Marlow. [u] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Latin. donat. a Gasp. Barthio Germano. Quanquam naturâ et arte eram formosissima, isto tamen æstu tanto speciosior videbar, quod enim oculis cupitum ægre præbetur, multo magis affectus humanos incendit.

tricks I seem'd to be far more amiable then I was: for that which men earnestly seek and cannot attain, draws on their affection with a most furious desire. I had a suitor lov'd me dearly (said she) and the [v]more he gave me, the more eagerly he wooed me, the more I seem'd to neglect, to scorn him; and (which I commonly gave others) I would not let him see me, converse with me, no not have a kiss. To gull him the more, and fetch him over (for him onely I aimed at) I personated my own servant, to bring in a present from a Spanish count, whilst he was in my company, as if he had been the counts servant; which he did excellently well perform: [w] *Comes de monte Turco, my lord and master hath sent your ladiship a small present, and part of his hunting, a piece of venison, a phesant, a few partridges, &c. (all which she bought with her own mony) commends his love and service to you, desiring you to accept of it in good part, and he means very shortly to come and see you.* Withall she shewed him rings, gloves, scarfs, coronets which others had sent her, when there was no such matter, but onely to circumvent him. [x] By these means (as she concludes) *I made the poor gentleman so mad, that he was ready to spend himself, and venture his dearest bloud for my sake.* Philinna in [y] Lucian, practised all this long before, as it shall appear unto you by her discourse; for when Diphilus her sweet-heart came to see her (as his daily custome was) she frowned upon him, would not vouchsafe him her company, but kissed Lamprias his corrivall, at the same time [z] before his face: but why was it? To make him (as she telleth her mother that chid her for it) more jealous; to whetten his love; to come with a greater appetite; and to know that her favour was not so easie to be had. Many other tricks she used beside this (as she there confesseth) for she would fall out with, and anger him of set purpose, pick quarrels upon no occasion, because she would be reconciled to him again. *Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio,* as the old saying is; the falling out of lovers is the renewing of love; and according to that of Aristænetus, *jucundiores amorum post injurias deliciæ,* love is increased by injuries, as the sun beams are more gratious after a cloud. And surely this aphorism is most true; for as Ampelis informs Crisis in the said Lucian, [a] *If a lover be not jealous, angry, waspish, apt to full out, sigh and swear, he is no true lover.* To kiss and coll, hang about her neck, protest, swear and wish, are but ordinary symptomes, *incipientis adhuc et crescentis amoris signa:* but if he be jealous, angry, apt to mistake, &c. *bene speres licet,* sweet sister, he is thine own; yet if you let him alone, humour him, please him, &c. and that he perceive once he hath you sure, without any corrivall, his love will languish, and he will not care so much for you. Hitherto (saith she) can I speak out of experience; Demophantus, a rich fellow, was a suiter of mine; I seem'd to neglect him, and gave better entertainment to Calliades the painter, before his face; *principio abiit, verbis me insectatus,* at first he went his way all in a chafe, cursing and swearing, but at last he came submitting himself, vowing and protesting that he loved me most dearly, I should have all he had, and that he would kill himself for my sake. Therefore I advise thee (dear sister Crisis) and all maids, not to use your suiters over kindly; *insolentes enim sunt hoc cum sentiunt,* 'twill make them proud and insolent; but now and then reject them, estrange thy self, *et si me audies semel atque iterum exclude,* shut him out of doors, once or twice; let him dance attendance; follow my counsell, and by this means [b] you shall make him mad, come off roundly, stand to any conditions, and do whatsoever you

[v] Quo majoribus me donis propitiabat, eo pejoribus illum modis tractabam, ne basium impetravit, &c. [w] Comes de monte Turco Hispanus has de venatione suâ partes misit, jussitque peramanter orare, ut hoc qualecunque donum suo nomine accipias. [x] His artibus hominem ita excantabam, ut pro me ille ad omnia paratus, &c. [y] Tom. 4. dial. meret. [z] Relicto illo, segre ipsi interim faciens, et omnino difficilis. [a] Si quis enim nec zelotypus irascitur, nec pugnat aliquando amator, nec perjurat, non est habendus amator, &c. Totus hic ignis zelotypiâ constat, &c. Maximi amores inde nascuntur. Sed si persuasum illi fuerit te solum habere, elanguescit illico amor suus. [b] Venientem videbis ipsum denuo inflammatum et prorsus insanientem.

will have him. These are the ordinary practices; yet in the said Lucian, Melissa me thinks, had a trick beyond all this; for when her suiter came coldly on, to stir him up, she writ one of his corrivals names and her own in a paper, *Melissa amat Hermotimum, Hermotimus Melissam*, causing it to be stuck upon a post, for all gazers to behold, and lost it in the way where he used to walk; which when the silly novice perceived, *statim ut legit credidit*, instantly apprehended it was so, came raving to me, &c. [b] and *so when I was in despair of his love, four months after I recovered him again.* Eugenia drew Timocles for her valentine, and wore his name a long time after in her bosome: Camæna singled out Pamphilus to dance, at Mysons wedding (some say) for there she saw him first; Fælicianus overtook Cælia by the high way side, offered his service, then came farther acquaintance, and thence came love. But who can repeat half their devices? What Aretine experienced, what conceited Lucian, or wanton Aristænetus? They will deny and take, stiffly refuse, and yet earnestly seek the same; repel to make them come with more eagerness; fly from if you follow; but if averse, as a shadow they will follow you again, *fugientem sequitur, sequentem fugit:* with a regaining retrait, a gentle reluctancy, a smiling threat, a pretty pleasant peevishness, they will put you off, and have a thousand such several entisements. For as he saith,

[c] Non est forma satis, nec quæ vult bella videri,
Debet vulgari more placere suis.
Dicta, sales, lusus, sermones, gratia, risus,
Vincunt naturæ candidioris opus.

'Tis not enough though she be fair of shew,
For her to use this vulgar complement;
But pretty toyes, and jests, and sawes, and smiles,
Are far beyond what beauty can attempt.

[d] For this cause, belike, Philostratus in his images, makes divers loves, *some yong, some of one age, some of another, some winged, some of one sex, some of another, some with torches, some with golden apples, some with darts, gins, snares, and other engins in their hands*, as Propertius hath prettily painted them out, *lib.* 2. *et* 29. and which some interpret, divers entisements, or divers affections of lovers; which if not alone, yet joyntly may batter and overcome the strongest constitutions.

It is reported of Decius, and Valerianus, those two notorious persecutors of the church, that when they could enforce a yong christian by no means (as [e] Hierome records) to sacrifice to their idols, by no torments or promises, they took another course to tempt him; they put him into a fair garden, and set a yong courtesan to dally with him; [f] *she took him about the neck and kissed him, and that which is not to be named, manibusque attrectare, &c.* and all those entisements which might be used; that whom torments could not, love might batter and beleaguer. But such was his constancy, she could not overcome; and when this last engin would take no place, they left him to his own ways. At [g] Barclye in Glocester-shire, there was in times past a nunnery (saith Gualterus Mapes, an old historiographer of ours, that lived 400 years since) *of which there was a noble and a fair lady abbess: Godwin, that subtile earl of Kent, travelling that way, (seeking not her but hers) leaves a nephew of his, a proper yong gallant (as if he had been sick) with her, till he came back again; and gives the yong man charge so long to counterfeit, till he had deflowred the abbess, and as many besides of the nuns as he could; and leaves him withall, rings, jewels, girdles, and such toyes to give them still, when they came to visit him. The yong man willing to undergo such a business, plaid his part so well, that in short space he got up most of their bellies; and when he had done, told his lord how he had sped:* [h] *his*

[b] Et sic cum fere de illo desperässem, post menses quatuor ad me rediit. [c] Petronius Catalect. [d] Imagines Deorum, fol. 327. Varios amores facit, quos aliqui interpretantur multiplices affectus et illecebras, alios puellos, puellas, alaios, alios poma aurea, alios sagittas, alios laqueos, &c. [e] Epist. lib. 3. vitâ Pauli Eremitæ. [f] Meretrix speciosa cepit delicatius stringere colla complexibus, et corpore in libidinem concitato, &c. [g] Camden in Glocestershire. Huic præfuit nobilis et formosa abbatissa: Godwinus comes, indole subtilis, non ipsam, sed sua cupiens, reliquit nepotem suum formâ elegantissimum, tanquam infirmum, donec reverteretur, instruit, &c. [h] Ille impiger regem adit, abbatissam et suas prægnantes edocet, exploratoribus missis probat, et iis ejectis, a domino suo mansrinam accepit.

lord makes instantly to the court, tells the king how such a nunnery was become a bawdy house, procures a visitation, gets them to be turned out, and begs the lands to his own use. This story I do therefore repeat, that you may see of what force these entisements are, if they be opportunely used; and how hard it is even for the most averse and sanctified souls, to resist such allurements. John Major in the life of John the Monk, that lived in the dayes of Theodosius, commends the hermite to have been a man of singular continency and of a most austere life; but one night, by chance, the devil came to his cell in the habit of a yong market wench that had lost her way, and desired for Gods sake some lodging with him. [i] *The old man let her in; and after some common conference of her mishap, she began to inveagle him with lascivious talk and jests, to play with his beard, to kiss him, and do worse, till at last she overcame him. As he went to address himself to that business she vanished on a sudden, and the devils in the ayr laughed him to scorn.* Whether this be a true story, or a tale, I will not much contend; it serves to illustrate this which I have said.

Yet were it so, that these of which I have hitherto spoken, and such like intising baits be not sufficient, there be many others, which will of themselves intend this passion of burning lust: amongst which, *dancing* is none of the least; and it is an engin of such force, I may not omit it. *Incitamentum libidinis*, Petrarch calls it, the spur of lust; *a* [j] *circle of which the divel himself is the center.* [k] *Many women that use it, have come dishonest home most indifferent; none better.* [l] Another terms it, *the companion of all filthy delights and entisements; and 'tis not easily told what inconveniences come by it, what scurrile talk, obscene actions;* and many times such monstrous gestures, such lascivious motions, such wanton tunes, meretricious kisses, homely embracings,

> [m] (ut Gaditana canoro
> Incipiat prurire choro, plausuque probatæ
> Ad terram tremulâ descendant clune puellæ,
> Irritamentum Veneris languentis) ———

that it will make the spectators mad. When that epitomizer of [n] Trogus had to the full described, and set out king Ptolomies riot, as a chief engin and instrument of his overthrow, he adds *tympanum et tripudium*, fidling and dancing; *the king was not a spectator onely, but a principall actor himself.* A thing nevertheless frequently used, and part of a gentlewomans bringing up, to sing, dance, and play on the lute, or some such instrument, before she can say her *Pater Noster*, or ten commandements. 'Tis the next way their parents think, to get them husbands; they are compelled to learn, and by that means, [o] *incestos amores de tenero meditantur ungue*; 'tis a great allurement as it is often used, and many are undone by it. Thais in Lucian, inveagled Lamprias in a dance. Herodias so far pleased Herod, that she made him swear to give her what she would ask, John Baptists head in a platter. [p] Robert duke of Normandy, riding by Falais, spied Arlette a fair maid, as she danced on a green; and was so much enamoured with the object, that he [q] must needs lye with her that night. Owen Tudor won queen Catharines affection in a dance; falling by chance, with his head in her lap. Who cannot parallel these stories out of his experience? Speusippus a noble gallant in [r] that Greek Aristænetus, seeing Panareta a fair yong gentlewoman dancing by accident, was so far in love with her, that for a long time after he

[i] Post sermones de casu suo suavitate sermonis conciliat animum hominis, manumque inter colloquia et risus ad barbam protendit et palpare cœpit cervicem suam et osculari. Quid multa? captivum ducit militem Christi. Complexurâ evanescit, dæmones in aëre monachum riserunt. [j] Chorœa circulus, cujus centrum diabolus. [k] Multæ inde impudicæ domum redîêre, plures ambiguæ, melior nulla. [l] Turpium delicarum comes est externa saltatio; neque certe facile dictu quæ mala hinc visus hauriat, et quæ pariat colloquia, monstrosos, inconditos gestus, &c. [m] Juv. Sat. 11. [n] Justin. l. 10. Adduntur instrumenta luxuriæ, tympana et tripudia; nec tam spectator rex, sed nequitiæ magister, &c. [o] Hor. l. 3. od. 6. [p] Havarde vitâ ejus. [q] Of whom he begat William the Conqueror; by the same token she tore her smock down, saying, &c. [r] Epist. 26. Quis non miratus est saltantem? Quis non vidit et amavit? veterem et novam vidi Romam, sed tibi similem non vidi, Panareta; felix qui Panaretâ fruitur, &c.

could think of nothing but Panareta; he came raving home full of Panareta: *Who would not admire her, who would not love her, that should but see her dance as I did? O admirable, O divine Panareta! I have seen old and new Rome, many fair cities, many proper women, but never any like to Panareta! they are dross, dowdies all to Panareta! O how she danced, how she tript, how she turn'd, with what a grace! happy is that man that shall enjoye her. O most incomparable, onely, Panareta!* When Xenophon in Symposio, or banquet, had discoursed of love, and used all the engins that might be devised to move Socrates; amongst the rest, to stir him the more, he shuts up all with a pleasant interlude or dance of Dionysius and Ariadne. [s]First, Ariadne *dressed like a bride came in and took her place: by and by Dionysius entred, dancing to the musick. The spectators did all admire the yong mans carriage: and Ariadne herself was so much affected with the sight, that she could scarce sit. After a while Dionysius beholding Ariadne, and incensed with love, bowing to her knees, embraced her first, and kissed her with a grace; she embraced him again, and kissed him with like affection, &c. as the dance required; but they that stood by and saw this, did much applaud and commend them both for it. And when Dionysius rose up, he raised her up with him, and many pretty gestures, embraces, kisses, and love complements passed between them; which when they saw fair Bacchus and beautiful Ariadne, so sweetly and so unfainedly kissing each other, so really embracing, they swore they loved indeed, and were so enflamed with the object, that they began to rouse up themselves, as if they would have flown. At the last, when they saw them still, so willingly embracing, and now ready to go to the bride-chamber, they were so ravished with it, that they that were unmarried, swore they would forthwith marry; and those that were married, called instantly for their horses, and gallopped home to their wives.* What greater motive can there be then this burning lust? What so violent an oppugner? Not without good cause therefore, so many general councels condemn it; so many fathers abhor it; so many grave men speak against it: *use not the company of a woman*, saith Siracides, 9. 4. *that is a singer, or a dancer; neither hear, least thou be taken in her craftiness. In circo non tam cernitur quam discitur libido.* [t]Hædus holds, lust in theaters is not seen, but learned. Gregory Nazianzen, that eloquent divine ([u]as he relates the story himself) when a noble friend of his solemnly invited him, with other bishops, to his daughter Olympias wedding, refused to come: [v]*for it is absurd to see an old gouty bishop sit amongst dancers;* he held it unfit to be a spectator; much less an actor. *Nemo saltat sobrius*, Tully writes; he is not a sober man that danceth; for some such reason (belike) Domitian forbad the Roman senators to dance; and for that fact, removed many of them from the senate. But these, you will say, are lascivious and pagan dances, 'tis the abuse that causeth such inconvenience, and I do not well therefore to condemn, speak against, or *innocently to accuse the best and pleasan'est thing* (so [w]Lucian calls it) *that belongs to mortall men.* You misinterpret; I condemn it not; I hold it notwithstanding an honest disport, a lawful recreation, if it be opportune, moderately and soberly used: I am of Plutarchs mind, [x]*that which respects pleasure alone, honest recreation, or bodily exercise, ought not to be rejected and contemned:* I subscribe to

[s] Principio Ariadne velut sponsa prodit, ac sola recedit; prodiens illico Dionysius ad numeros cantante tibiâ saltabat; admirati sunt omnes saltantem juvenem, ipsaque Ariadne, ut vix potuerit conquiescere; postea vero cum Dionysius eam aspexit, &c. Ut autem surrexit Dionysius, erexit simul Ariadnem, licebatque spectare gestus osculantium, et inter se complectentium; qui autem spectabant, &c. Ad extremum videntes eos mutuis amplexibus implicatos et jamjam ad thalamum ituros; qui non duxerant uxores, jurabant uxores se ducturos; qui autem duxerant, conscensis equis et incitatis, ut iisdem fruerentur, domum festinârunt. [t] Lib. 4. de contemnend. amoribus. [u] Ad Anysium epist. 57. [v] Intempestivum enim est, et a nuptiis abhorrens, inter saltantes podagricum videre senem, et episcopum. [w] Rem omnium in mortalium vitâ optimam innocenter accusare. [x] Quæ honestam voluptatem respicit, aut corporis exercitium, contemni non debet.

ucian; *'tis an elegant thing, which cheareth up the mind, exerciseth the dy, delights the spectators, which teacheth many comely gestures, equally fecting the ears, eys, and soul it self.* Salust discommends singing and ncing in Sempronia, not that she did sing or dance, but that she did it in cess; 'tis the abuse of it: and Gregories refusal doth not simply condemn but in some folks. Many will not allow men and women to dance together, cause it is a provocation to lust: they may as well, with Lycurgus and ahomet, cut down all vines, forbid the drinking of wine, for that it makes ne men drunk.

[a] Nihil prodest quod non lædere posset idem:
Igne quid utilius? ———

ay of this, as of all other honest recreations; they are like fire, good and d, and I see no such inconvenience, but that they may so dance, if it be ne at due times, and by fit persons: and conclude with Wolfongus [a] Hider, d most of our modern divines: *Si decoræ, graves, verecundæ, plená luce norum virorum et matronarum honestarum, tempestive fiant, probari posnt, et debent. There is a time to mourn, a time to dance,* Eccles. 3. 4. t them take their pleasures then, and as [b] he said of old, *yong men and tids flourishing in their age, fair and lovely to behold, well attired and of mely carriage, dancing a Greek galliard, and as their dance required, pt their time, now turning, now tracing, now apart, now altogether, now a urtesie, then a caper, &c.* and it was a pleasant sight to see those pretty ots, and swimming figures. The sun and moon (some say) dance about the rth; the three upper planets about the sun as their center, now stationary, w direct, now retrograde, now in *apogæo*, then in *perigæo*, now swift, then ow, occidentall, orientall, they turn round, jumpe and trace, ♀ and ☿ about e sun with those thirty-three Maculæ or burbonian planet; *circa Solem ltantes Cytharedum*, saith Fromundus. Four Medicean stars dance about piter; two Austrian about Saturn, &c. and all (belike) to the musick of e sphears. Our greatest counsellors, and staid senators, at sometimes, nce; as David before the ark, 2 Sam. 6. 14. Miriam, Exod. 15. 20. dith, 15. 13. (though the divel hence perhaps hath brought in those bawdy rechanals) and well may they do it. The greatest souldiers, as [c] Quintilias, [d] Æmilius Probus, [e] Cælius Rhodiginus, have proved at large, still use it Greece, Rome, and the most worthy senators, *cantare, saltare*. Lucian, acrobius, Libanus, Plutarch, Julius Pollux, Athenæus, have written just ets in commendation of it. In this our age it is in much request in those untries, as in all civil commonwealths, as Alexander *ab Alexandro, lib.* 4. *p.* 10. *et lib.* 2. *cap.* 25. hath proved at large; [f] amongst the Barbarians emselves, nothing so pretious; all the world allows it.

[c] Divitias contemno tuas, rex Crœse, tuamque
Vendo Asiam, unguentis, flore, mero, chorels.

[h] Plato in his Common-wealth, will have dancing-schools to be maintained, *ut young folks might meet, be acquainted, see one another, and be seen;* y more, he would have them dance naked; and scoffs at them that laugh it. But Eusebius *præpar. Evangel. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. and Theodoret, *lib.* 9. *rat. Græc. affect.* worthily lash him for it; and well they might: for as e saith, [i] *The very sight of naked parts causeth enormous, exceeding conpiscences, and stirs up both men and women to burning lust.* There is a

Elegantissima res est, quæ et mentem acuit, corpus exercent, et spectantes oblectet, multos gestus deos docens, oculos, aures, animum ex æquo demulcens. [a] Ovid. [b] System. moralis Philosophiæ. puleius. 10. Puelli, puellæque virenti florentes ætatulâ, formâ conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gratiosi, ecanicam saltantes Pyrrhicam, dispositis ordinationibus, decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbem flexi, ic in obliquam seriem connexi, nunc in quadrum cuneati, nunc inde separati. [c] Lib. 1. cap 11. [d] Vit. aminondæ. [e] Lib. 5. [f] Read P. Martyr Ocean Decad. Benzo, Lerius, Hacluit, &c. [g] Angerianus ntopædium. [h] 10. Leg. τῆς γὰρ τοιαύτης σπουδῆς ἕνεκα, &c. hujus causâ oportuit disciplinam stitui, ut tam pueri quam puellæ choreas celebrent, spectenturque ac spectent &c. [i] Aspectus enim lorum corporum tam mares quam fœminas irritare solet ad enormes lasciviæ appetitus.

mean in all things: this is my censure in brief; dancing is a pleasant recreation of body and mind, if sober and modest (such as our Christian dances are) if tempestively used; a furious motive to burning lust, if, as by Pagans heretofore, unchastely abused. But I proceed.

If these allurements do not take place, (for [j]Simierus, that great master of dalliance shall not behave himself better) the more effectually to move others, and satisfie their lust, they will swear and lye, promise, protest, forge, counterfeit, brag, bribe, flatter and dissemble of all sides. 'Twas Lucretias counsel in Aretine, *Si vis amicâ frui, promitte, finge, jura, perjura, jacta, simula, mentire*, and they put it well in practice, as Apollo to Daphne,

——— [k] mihi Delphica tellus,	Delphos, Claros and Tenedos serve me,
Et Claros, et Tenedos, Patareaque regia servit,	And Jupiter is known my sire to be.
Jupiter est genitor ———	

[l] The poorest swaines will do as much; [m] *Mille pecus nivei sunt et mihi vallibus agni.* I have a thousand sheep, good store of cattle, and they are all at her command,

——— [n] Tibi nos, tibi nostra supellex,
Ruraque servierint ———

house, land, goods, are at her service, as he is himself. Dinomachus, a senators son in [o]Lucian, in love with a wench inferior to him in birth and fortunes, the sooner to accomplish his desire, wept unto her, and swore he loved her with all his heart, and her alone; and that, as soon as ever his father died (a very rich man and almost decrepit) he would make her his wife. The maid by chance made her mother acquainted with the business, who being an old fox, well experienced in such matters, told her daughter, now ready to yeeld to his desire, that he meant nothing less; for dost thou think he will ever care for thee, being a poor wench, [p]that may have his choice of all the beauties in the city, one noble by birth, with so many talents, as yong, better qualified, and fairer then thy self? daughter beleeve him not: the maid was abasht, and so the matter broke off. When Jupiter wooed Juno first (Lilius Giraldus relates it out of an old Comment on Theocritus) the better to effect his suite, he turned himself into a cuckow; and spying her one day walking alone, separated from the other goddesses, caused a tempest suddenly to arise, for fear of which she fled to shelter: Jupiter to avoid the storm likewise flew into her lap, *in virginis Junonis gremium devolavit*, whom Juno for pitty covered in her [q]*apron*. But he turned himself forthwith into his own shape, began to embrace and offer violence unto her, *sed illa matris metu abnuebat*, but she by no means would yeeld, *donec pollicitus connubium obtinuit*, till he vowed and swore to marry her, and then she gave consent. This fact was done at Thornax hill, which ever after was called Cuckow hill; and in perpetuall remembrance, there was a temple erected to Telia Juno in the same place. So powerfull are fair promises, vows, oathes, and protestations. It is an ordinary thing too, in this case, to belie their age, which widdows usually do, that mean to marry again: and batchelours too, sometimes,

[r] Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum;

to say they are yonger then they are. Charmides, in the said Lucian, loved Philematium, an old maid of 45 years, [s]she swore to him she was but 32 next December. But to dissemble in this kinde, is familiar of all sides, and often it takes. [t]*Fallere credentem res est operosa puellam*, 'tis soon done, no such great mastery, *Egregiam vero laudem, et spolia ampla*,——And nothing so frequent as to belie their estates; to prefer their suites; and to advance

[j] Camden Annal. Anno 1578, fol. 276. Amatoriis facetiis et illecebris exquisitissimus. [k] Met. 1. Ovid. [l] Erasmus egl. Mille mei Siculis errant in montibus agni. [m] Virg. [n] Lucchæus. [o] Tom 4. merit. dial. Amare se jurat et lacrymatur, dicitque uxorem me ducere velle, quum pater oculos clausisset. [p] Quum dotem alibi multo majorem aspiciet, &c. [q] Or upper garment. Quem Juno miserata veste contexit. [r] Hor. [s] Dejeravit illa secundum supra trigesimum ad proximum Decembrem completuram se esse. [t] Ovid.

mselves. Many men, to fetch over a yong woman, widdows, or whom they e, will not stick to crack, forge and fain any thing comes next; bid his boy :h his cloak, rapier, gloves, jewels, &c. in such a chest, scarlet-golden-tissue eches, &c. when there is no such matter; or make any scruple to give out, he did in Petronius, that he was master of a ship, kept so many servants; l, to personate their part the better, take upon them to be gentlemen of good ıses; well descended and allied; hire apparell at brokers; some scavinger prick-louse taylors to attend upon them for the time; swear they have great ssessions, [u] bribe, lye, cog, and foist, how dearly they love, how bravely they l maintain her like any lady, countess, dutchess, or queen; they shall have wns, tires, jewels, coaches, and caroches, choice diet,

he heads of parrats, tongues of nightingals,	Spirit of roses and of violets,
he brains of peacocks, and of estriches,	The milk of unicorns, &c.
heir bath shall be the juyce of gilliflowres,	

old Volpone courted Cælia in the [v] comœdy, when as, they are no such men, t worth a groat, but meer sharkers, to make a fortune, to get their desire, else pretend love to spend their idle hours, to be more welcome, and for ter entertainment. The conclusion is, they mean nothing less;

Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere curant:	Oathes, vows, promises, are much protested;
Sed simul ac cupidæ mentis satiata libido est,	But when their minde and lust is satisfied,
Dicta nihil metuêre, nihil perjuria curant.	Oathes, vows, promises, are quite neglected.

ough he solemnly swear by the genius of Cæsar, by Venus shrine, Hymens ity, by Jupiter, and all the other gods, give no credit to his words, for ien lovers swear, Venus laughs, *Venus hæc perjuria ridet;* [x] Jupiter him- f smiles, and pardons it withall, as grave [y] Plato gives out; of all perjury, at alone for love matters is forgiven by the gods. If promises, lies, :hes, and protestations will not avail, they fall to bribes, tokens, gifts, and :h like feates. [z] *Plurimus auro conciliatur amor:* as Jupiter corrupted naë with a golden shower, and Liber Ariadne with a lovely crown, (which is afterwards translated into the heavens, and there for ever shines;) they ll rain chickins, florens, crowns, angels, all maner of coines and stamps in r lap. And so must he certainly do that will speed; make many feasts, nquets, invitations, send her some present or other every foot. *Summo ıdio parentur epulæ* (saith [a] Hædus) *et crebræ fiant largitiones;* he must be ry bountiful and liberal, seek and sue, not to her onely, but to all her fol- vers, friends, familiars, fidlers, panders, parasites, and houshold servants; must insinuate himself, and surely will, to all, of all sorts, messengers, rters, carriers; no man must be unrewarded, or unrespected. I had a iter (saith [b] Aretines Lucretia) that when he came to my house, flung gold d silver about, as if it had bin chaff. Another suiter I had, was a very olerick fellow; but I so handled him, that for all his fuming, I brought n upon his knees: If there had been an excellent bit in the market, y novelty, fish, fruit, or fowl, muskadel, or malmesey, or a cup of neat wine all the city, it was presented presently to me, though never so dear, hard come by, yet I had it: the poor fellow was so fond at last, that I think, I would, I might have had one of his eys out of his head. A third suiter ıs a merchant of Rome; and his manner of wooing was, with [c] exquisite usick, costly banquets, poems, &c. I held him off, till at length he pro- ıted, promised, and swore *pro virginitate regno me donaturum*, I should ıve all he had, house, goods, and lands, *pro concubitu solo;* [d] Neither was

[u] Nam donis vincitur omnis amor. Catullus 1. el. 5. [v] Fox. act. 3. sec. 3. [w] Catullus. [x] Perjuria et amantum Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet. Tibul. lib. 3. et 6. [y] In Philebo. Pejerantibus his soli ignoscunt. [z] Catul. [a] Lib. 1. de contemnendis amoribus. [b] Dial. Ital. Argentum ut paleas jiciebat. Biliosum habui amatorem qui supplex flexis genibus, &c. Nullus recens allatus terræ fructus, ilum cupediarum genus tam carum erat, nullum vinum Creticum pretiosum, quin ad me ferret illico; do alterum oculum pignori daturus, &c. [c] Post musicam opiperas epulas, et tantis juramentis, donis, [d] Nunquam aliquis umbrarum conjurator tantâ attentione, tamque potentibus verbis usus est, quam exquisitis mihi dictis, &c.

there ever any conjurer, I think, to charm his spirits, that used such attention, or mighty words, as he did exquisite phrases; or general of any army, so many stratagems to win a city, as he did tricks and devices to get the love of me. Thus men are active and passive; and women not far behind them in this kinde: *audax ad omnia fœmina, quæ vel amat, vel odit.*

[e] For halfe so boldly there can non,
Swear and lye as women can.

[f] They will crack, counterfeit and collogue, as well as the best, with handkerchiefs, and wrought nightcaps, purses, posies, and such toyes: as he justly complained,

[g] Cur mittis violas? nempe ut violentius urar;
Quid violas violis me violenta tuis? &c.

Why dost thou send me violets, my dear?
To make me burn more violent I fear;
With violets too violent thou art,
To violate and wound my gentle heart.

When nothing else will serve, the last refuge is their tears. *Hæc scripsi (testor amorem) mixta lachrymis et suspiriis,* 'twixt tears and sighs, I write this (I take love to witness) saith [h] Chelidonia to Philonius. *Lumina quæ modo fulmina, jam flumina lachrymarum,* those burning torches are now turn'd to floods of tears. Aretines Lucretia, when her sweet heart came to town [i] wept in his bosome, *that he might be perswaded those tears were shed for joye of his return.* Quartilla in Petronius, when nought would move, fell a weeping; and as Balthazar Castilio paints them out, [j] *To these crocodiles tears, they will add sobs, fiery sighs, and sorrowful countenance; pale colour, leanness; and if you do but stir abroad, these fiends are ready to meet you at every turn, with such a sluttish neglected habit, dejected look, as if they were now ready to dye for your sake; and how, saith he, shall a yong novice thus beset, escape?* But beleeve them not.

[k] ——— animam ne crede puellis,
Namque est fœminea tutior unda fide.

Thou thinkest, peradventure, because of her vows, tears, smiles, and protestations, she is solely thine; thou hast her heart, hand, and affection, when as indeed there is no such matter; as the [l] Spanish bawde said, *gaudet illa habere unum in lecto, alterum in portâ, tertium qui domi suspiret,* she will have one sweet heart in bed, another in the gate, a third sighing at home, a fourth, &c. Every yong man she sees and likes, hath as much interest, and shall as soon enjoye her as thy self. On the other side, which I have said, men are as false, let them swear, protest, and lye; [m] *Quod vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis.* They love, some of them, those eleven thousand virgins at once; and make them believe, each particular, he is besotted on her; or love one till they see another, and then her alone: like Milos wife in Apuleius, *lib.* 2. *Si quem conspexerit speciosæ formæ juvenem, venustate ejus sumitur, et in eum animum intorquet.* 'Tis their common complement in that case; they care not what they swear, say, or do. One while they slight them, care not for them, rail down right, and scoffe at them; and then again they will run mad, hang themselves, stab and kill, if they may not injoye them. Henceforth therefore,——*nulla viro juranti fœmina credat,* let not maids beleeve them. These tricks and counterfeit passions are more familiar with women, [n] *finem hic dolori faciet aut vitæ dies, miserere amantis,* quoth Phædra to Hippolitus. Joessa in [o] Lucian told Pythias *a yong man,* to move him the more, that if he would not have her, she was resolv'd to make away her self. *There is a Nemesis, and it cannot chuse*

[e] Chaucer. [f] Ah crudele genus nec tutum fœmina nomen! Tibul. 1. 3. eleg. 4. [g] Jovianus Pon. [h] Aristænetus lib. 2. epist. 13. [i] Suaviter flebam, ut persuasum habeat lachrymas præ gaudio illius reditûs mihi emanare. [j] Lib. 3. His accedunt, vultus subtristis color pallidus, gemebunda vox, ignita suspiria, lachrymæ prope innumerabiles. Istæ se statim umbræ offerunt tanto squalore, et in omni fere diverticulo, tantâ macie, ut illas jamjam moribundas putes. [k] Petronius. [l] Cœlestina act 7. Barthio interpret. Omnibus arridet, et a singulis amari se solam dicit. [m] Ovid. [n] Seneca. Hippol. [o] Tom. 4. dial. meret. Tu vero aliquando mœrore afficieris ubi audieris me a meipsâ laqueo tui causâ suffocatam aut in puteum præcipitatam.

but grieve and trouble thee, to hear that I have either strangled or drowned my self for thy sake. Nothing so common to this sexe, as oathes, vows, and protestations; and as I have already said, tears, which they have at command: for they can so weep, that one would think, their very hearts were dissolved within them, and would come out in tears, their eys are like rocks, which still drop water, *diariæ lachrymæ et sudoris in modum turgeri promptæ*, saith [p] Aristænetus, they wipe away their tears like sweat; weep with one eye, laugh with the other; or as children [q] weep and cry, they can both together.

[r] Neve puellarum lachrymis moveare memento,
Ut fierent oculos erudîêre suos.

Care not for womens tears, I counsel thee,
They teach their eys as much to weep as see.

And as much pitty is to be taken of a woman weeping, as of a goose going bare-foot. When Venus lost her son Cupid, she sent a cryer about, to bid every one that met him take heed.

[s] Si flentem aspicias, ne mox fallâre, caveto;
Sin arridebit, magis effuge; et oscula si fors
F rre volet, fugito: sunt oscula noxia, in ipsis
Suntque venena labris, &c.

Take heed of Cupids tears, if cautelous,
And of his smiles and kisses I thee tell,
If that he offer't, for they be noxious,
And very poyson in his lips doth dwell.

[t] A thousand years, as Castilio conceives, *will scarce serve to reckon up those allurements and guiles, that men and women use to deceive one another with.*

Subsect. V.—*Bawdes, Philters, causes.*

When all other engins fail, that they can proceed no farther of themselves, their last refuge is to flye to bawdes, panders, magical philters, and receipts; rather then fail, to the divel himself. *Flectere si nequeunt Superos, Acheronta movebunt.* And by those indirect means, many a man is overcome, and precipitated into this malady, if he take not good heed. For these bawdes first; they are every where so common, and so many, that as he said of old Croton, [u] *omnes hîc aut captantur, aut captant*, eather inveagle or be inveagled, we may say of most of our cities, there be so many professed, cunning bawdes in them. Besides, bawdry is become an art, or a liberal science, as Lucian calls it; and there be such tricks and subtleties, so many nurses, old women, panders, letter-carriers, beggers, physicians, friers, confessors, employed about it, that *nullus tradere stylus sufficiat*, one saith,

——— [v] trecentis versibus
Suas impuritias traloqui nemo potest.

Such occult notes, stenography, polygraphy, *Nuntius animatus*, or magnetical telling of their minds, which [w] Cabeus the Jesuit, by the way, counts fabulous and false; cunning conveyances in this kinde, that neither Junos jealousie, nor Danäes custody, nor Argos vigilancy can keep them safe. 'Tis the last and common refuge to use an assistant, such as that Cataneau Philippa was to Jone queen of Naples; a [x] bawdes help, an old woman in the business, as [y] Myrrha did when she doted on Cyniras, and could not compass her desire, the old jade her nurse was ready at a pinch; *dic inquit, opemque me sine ferre tibi——et in hac mea (pone timorem) sedulitas erit apta tibi*, fear it not, if it be possible to be done, I will effect it; *non est mulieri mulier insuperabilis*, as [z] Cælestina said; let him or her be never so honest, watched, and reserved, 'tis hard but one of these old women will get access: and scarse shall you find, as [a] Austin observes, in a nunnery, a maid alone; *if she cannot have egress, before her window you shall have an old*

[p] Epist. 20. l. 2. [q] Matronæ flent duobus oculis, moniales quatuor, virgines uno, meretrices nullo. [r] Ovid. [s] Imagines Deorum fol. 332. e Moschi amore fugitivo, quem Politianus Latinum fecit. [t] Lib. 3. Mille vix anni sufficerent ad omnes illas machinationes, dolosque commemorandos, quos viri et mulieres ut se invicem circumveniant, excogitare solent. [u] Petronius. [v] Plautus Tritemius. [w] De Magnet. Philos. lib. 4. cap. 10. [x] Catul. eleg. 5. lib. 1. Venit in exitium callida lena meum. [y] Ovid. 10. met. [z] Parobosc. Barthii. [a] De vit. Erem. c. 3. ad sororem. Vix aliquam reclusarum hujus temporis solam *invenies, ante* cujus fenestram non anus garrula, vel nugigerula mulier sedet, quæ eam fabulis occupet rumoribus pascat, hujus vel illius monachi, &c.

woman, or some prating gossip, tell her some tales of this clerk, and that monk, describing or commending some yong gentleman or other unto her. As I was walking in the street (saith a good fellow in Petronius) to see the town served one evening, [b]*I spied an old woman in a corner, selling of cabbages and roots* (as our hucksters do plums, apples, and such like fruits); *mother* (quoth he) *can you tell where I dwell? she being well pleased with my foolish urbanity, replied, and why, sir, should I not tell? with that she rose up and went before me; I took her for a wise woman; and by and by she led me into a by-lane, and told me there I should dwell: I replyed again, I knew not the house; but I perceived on a sudden by the naked queans, that I was now come into a bawdy-house; and then too late, I began to curse the treachery of this old jade.* Such tricks you shall have in many places, and amongst the rest, it is ordinary in Venice, and in the island of Zante, for a man to be bawde to his own wife. No sooner shall you land, or come on shore, but as the comical poet hath it,

[c] Morem hunc meretrices habent,
Ad portum mittunt servulos, ancillulas,
Si qua peregrina navis in portum aderit,
Rogant cujatis sit, quod ei nomen siet,
Post illæ extemplo sese applicent.

These white divels have their panders, bawdes and factors in every place, to seek about, and bring in customers; to tempt, and way-lay novices and silly travellers. And when they have them once within their clutches, as Ægidius Maserius in his comment upon Valerius Flaccus describes them, [d]*with promises and pleasant discourse, with gifts, tokens, and taking their opportunities, they lay nets which Lucretia cannot avoid; and baits that Hippolitus himself would swallow: they make such strong assaults and batteries, that the Goddess of Virginity cannot withstand them: give gifts, and bribes to move Penelope, and with threats able to terrifie Susanna. How many Proserpinas with those catchpoles doth Pluto take? These are the sleepy rods, with which their souls touched, descend to hell; this the glew or lime with which the wings of the minde once taken, cannot flye away; the divels ministers to allure, entise, &c.* Many yong men and maids, without all question, are inveagled by these Eumenides and their associates. But these are trivial and well known. The most slye, dangerous, and cunning bawdes, are your knavish physicians, empyricks, mass-priests, monks, [e]jesuits, and friers. Though it be against Hippocrates oath, some of them will give a dram, promise to restore maiden-heads, and do it without danger; make an abort if need be, keep down their paps, hinder conception, procure lust, make them able with Satyrions, and now and then step in themselves. No monastery so close, house so private, or prison so well kept, but these honest men are admitted to censure and ask questions; to feel their pulse, be at their bed side, and all under pretence of giving physick. Now as for monks, confessors, and friers, as he said,

[f] Non audet Stygius Pluto tentare quod audet
Effrenis monachus, plenaque fraudis anus.
That Stygian Pluto dares not tempt or do,
What an old hag or monk will undergo:

Either for himself to satisfie his own lust; for another, if he be hired thereto; or both at once, having such excellent means. For under colour of visitation, auricular confession, comfort and penance, they have free egress and regress, and corrupt, God knows how many. They have so many trades, some of them, practise physick, use exorcisms, &c.

[g] That whereas was wont to walk an elfe,
There now walks the limiter himselfe,
In every bush and under every tree,
There needs no other incubus but he.

[h]In the mountains betwixt Dauphine and Savoy, the friers perswaded the good

[b] Agreste olus anus vendebat, et rogo, inquam, mater, nunquid scis ubi ego habitem? delectata illa urbanitate tam stultâ, et, quid nesciam? inquit: consurrexitque et cœpit me præcedere; divinam ego putabam, &c. nudas video meretrices et in lupanar me adductum, sero execratus aniculæ insidias. [c] Plautus Menech. [d] Promissis everberant, molliunt dulciloquiis, et opportunum tempus aucupantes laqueos ingerunt quos vix Lucretia vitaret; escam parant quam vel satur Hippolitus sumeret, &c. Hæ sane sunt virgæ soporiferæ quibus contactæ animæ ad Orcum descendunt; hoc gluten quo compactæ mentium alæ evolare nequeunt, dæmonis ancillæ, quæ sollicitant, &c. [e] See the practices of the Jesuits, Anglice edit. 1630. [f] Æn. Silv. [g] Chaucer in the wife of Bath's tale. [h] H. Stephanus Apol. Herod. lib. 1. cap. 21.

wives to counterfeit themselves possessed, that their husbands might give them free access; and were so familiar in those dayes with some of them, that, as one [i] observes, *wenches could not sleep in their beds for necromantick friers*: and the good abbess, in Bocace, may in some sort witness, that rising betimes, mistook and put on the friers breeches instead of her vail or hat. You have heard the story, I presume of [j] Paulina, a chaste matron in Ægesippus, whom one of Isis priests did prostitute to Mundus a yong knight, and made her beleeve it was their god Anubis. Many such pranks are played by our Jesuits; sometimes in their own habits, sometimes in others, like souldiers, courtiers, citizens, schollars, gallants, and women themselves. Proteus like, in all forms and disguises, that go abroad in the night, to inescate and beguile yong women, or to have their pleasure of other mens wives: and if we may believe [k] some relations, they have wardrops of several suits in their colledges for that purpose. However in publike, they pretend much zeal, seem to be very holy men, and bitterly preach against adultery, fornication, there are no verier bawdes or whoremasters in a country; [l] *Whose souls they should gain to God, they sacrifice to the divel.* But I spare these men for the present.

The last battering engins, are philters, amulets, spells, charms, images, and such unlawful means; if they cannot prevail of themselves by the help of bawds, panders, and their adherents, they will flye for succour to the divel himself. I know there be those that deny the divel can do any such thing, (Crato, *epist.* 2. *lib. med.*) and many divines, that there is no other fascination then that which comes by the eys, of which I have formerly spoken; and if you desire to be better informed, read Camerarius *oper. subcis. cent.* 2. *c.* 5. It was given out of old, that a Thessalian wench had bewitched king Phillip to dote upon her, and by philters enforced his love; but when Olympia the queen saw the maid of an excellent beauty, well brought up, and qualified: These, quoth she, were the philters which inveagled king Phillip; those the true charms, as Henry to Rosamund:

> [m] One accent from thy lips, the blood more warms,
> Then all their philters, exorcisms and charms.

With this alone Lucretia brags in [n] Aretine, she could do more then all philosophers, astrologers, alchymists, necromancers, witches, and the rest of the crew. As for hearbs and philters, I could never skill of them, *The sole philter that ever I used, was kissing and embracing, by which alone I made men rave like beasts stupified, and compelled them to worship me like an idol.* In our times 'tis a common thing, saith Erastus in his book *de Lamiis*, for witches to take upon them the making of these philters, [o] *to force men and women to love and hate whom they will; to cause tempests, diseases, &c.* by charms, spels, characters, knots. ——[p] *hic Thessala vendit philtra.* S[t]. Hierome proves that they can do it, (as in Hilarius life, *epist. lib.* 3.) he hath a story of a yong man, that with a philter made a maid mad for the love of him; which maid was after cured by Hilarian. Such instances I finde in John Nider, *Formicar. lib.* 5. *cap.* 5. Plutarch records of Lucullus that he died of a philter; and that Cleopatra used philters to inveagle Anthony, amongst other allurements. Eusebius reports as much of Lucretius the poet. Panormitan, *lib.* 4. *de gest. Alphonsi*, hath a story of one Stephan a Neapolitan knight, that by a philter was forced to run mad for love. But of all others, that which [q] Petrarch *epist. famil. lib.* 1. *ep.* 5. relates of Charls the

[i] Bale. Puellæ in lectis dormire non poterant. [j] Idem Josephus lib. 18. cap. 4. [k] 4 Liber edit. Augustæ Vindelicorum An. 1608. [l] Quarum animas lucrari debent Deo, sacrificant diabolo. [m] M. Drayton Her. epist. [n] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Latin. fact. a Gasp. Barthio. Plus possum quam omnes philosophi, astrologi, necromantici, &c. solâ salivâ inungens. 1. amplexu et bestiis tam furiose furere, tam bestialiter obstupefieri coëgi, ut instar idoli me adorârint. [o] Segæ omnes sibi arrogant *notitiam, et facultatem* in amorem alliciendi quos velint; odia inter conjuges serendi, tempestates excitandi, morbos infligendi, &c. [p] Juvenalis Sat. [q] Idem refert Hen. Kornmannus de mir. mort. lib. *1. cap. 14. Perdite amavit mulierculam quandam, illius amplexibus acquiescens, summâ cum indignatione suorum et dolore.*

great, is most memorable: He foolishly doted upon a woman of mean favour and condition, many years together; wholly delighting in her company, to the great grief and indignation of his friends and followers. When she was dead, he did embrace her corps, as Apollo did the bay-tree, for his Daphne, and caused her coffin (richly embalmed and decked with jewels) to be carried about with him, over which he still lamented. At last a venerable bishop that followed his court, pray'd earnestly to God (commiserating his lord and masters case) to know the true cause of this mad passion, and whence it proceeded; it was revealed to him, in fine, *that the cause of the emperors mad love lay under the dead womans tongue.* The bishop went hastily to the carkass, and took a small ring thence; upon the removal, the emperour abhorr'd the corse, and instead [r] of it, fell as furiously in love with the bishop; he would not suffer him to be out of his presence: which when the bishop perceived, he flung the ring into the midst of a great lake, where the king then was. From that houre the emperour neglecting all his other houses, dwelt at [s] Ache, built a fair house in the midst of the marsh, to his infinite expence, and a [t] temple by it, where after he was buried, and in which city all his posterity ever since use to be crowned. Marcus the heretick is accused by Irenæus to have inveagled a yong maid by this means; and some writers speak hardly of the lady Eleanor Cobham, that by the same art, she circumvented Humphrey duke of Glocester to be her husband. Sycinius Æmilianus summoned [u] Apuleius to come before Cneius Maximus, proconsul of Africk, that he being a poor fellow, *had bewitched by philters, Pudentilla, an ancient rich matron, to love him;* and being worth so many thousand sesterces, to be his wife. Agrippa *lib.* 1. *cap.* 48. *occult. philos.* attributes much in this kinde to philters, amulets, images: and Salmutz. *com. in Pancirol. Tit.* 10. *de Horol.* Leo Afer. *lib.* 3. saith, 'tis an ordinary practice at Fez in Africk, *præstigiatores ibi plures, qui cogunt amores et concubitus:* as skilful all out as that Hyperborean magitian, of whom Cleodemus, in [v] Lucian, tells so many fine feats, perform'd in this kind. But Erastus, Wierus, and others, are against it; they grant, indeed, such things may be done, but (as Wierus discourseth, *lib.* 3. *de Lamiis cap.* 37.) not by charms, incantations, philters, but the divel himself; *lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. he contends as much; so doth Freitagius *noc. med. cap.* 74. Andreas Cisalpinus *cap.* 5. and so much Sigismundus Schereczius *cap.* 9. *de hirco nocturno*, proves at large. [w] *Unchast women by the help of these witches, the divels kitchen maids, have their loves brought to them in the night, and carried back again by a phantasm, flying in the air, in the likeness of a goat. I have heard* (saith he) *divers confess, that they have been so carried on a goats back to their sweet hearts, many miles in a night.* Others are of opinion that these feats, which most suppose to be done by charms and philters, are meerly effected by natural causes; as, by mans blood chimically prepared, which much avails, saith Ernestus Burgranius, *in Lucernâ vitæ et mortis Indice, ad amorem conciliandum et odium*, (so huntsmen make their dogs love them, and farmers their pullen) 'tis an excellent philter, as he holds; *sed vulgo prodere grande nefas*, but not fit to be made common: and so be *mala insana*, mandrake roots, mandrake [x] apples, pretious stones, dead mens cloaths, candles, *mala bacchica, panis porcinus, Hippomanes*, a certain hair in a [y] wolfs tail, &c. of which Rhasis, Dioscorides, Porta, Wecker, Rubeus, Mizaldus, Albertus, treate: a swallows heart, dust of a doves heart, *multum valent linguæ viperarum, cerebella asinorum, tela equina, palliola quibus infantes obvoluti nascuntur, funis strangulati hominis, lapis de nido aquilæ, &c.* See more

[r] Et inde totus in episcopum furere, illum colere. [s] Aquisgranum, vulgo Aixe. [t] Immenso sumptu templum et ædes, &c. [u] Apolog. Quod Pudentillam viduam ditem et provectioris ætatis fœminam cantaminibus in amorem sui pellexisset. [v] Philopseudo, Tom. 3. [w] Impudicæ mulieres operâ venefícarum, diaboli coquarum, amatores suos ad se noctu ducunt et reducunt, ministerio hirci in aëre volantis: multos novi qui hoc fassi sunt, &c. [x] Mandrake apples, Lemnius lib. herb. bib. c. 2. [y] Of which read Plin. lib. 8. cap. 22. et lib. 13. c. 25. et Quintilianum lib. 7.

...rerat. naturali. lib. 4. &c. which are as horrible, and as ... as that fountain Salmacis in [a] Virgil, Ovid, Strabo, that ... hath the like, or that hot bath at [b] Aix ... Germany, wherein Caput nihil capit its arrows, which ever since hath ... to make lovers ... that wash in it. But hear the poets own ...

...	... et hæc plumescere nostra memorarunt nemo.
...	Ea tibi ferrea, rarique hic marmoris humor,
...	Cui non tristes pectora tundat Amor.

... *alia remedia* have happily as much power as that hath of ..., or Ver. ... charlock, garlic; which saith [c] Natales Comes, *love-toyes (dalliance, pleasantness, sweetness, perswasions, subtilties, gentle speeches) all witchcraft to enforce love, was contained.* Read more of these in ...ppia *de occult. Philos. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. *et* 45. Malleus *maleficar. part.* 1. *qu.* 7. Delrio *tom.* 2. *quæst.* 3. *lib.* 3. Wierus. Pomponatius, *cap.* 8. *de incantat.* Fienus *lib.* 1. *Tract. Plat. Calcagninus, &c.*

MEMB. IV.

Subsect. I.—*Symptomes or signs of Love-Melancholy; in Body, Minde; good, bad, &c.*

Symptomes are either of body or minde: of body; paleness, leanness, ...ness, &c. [d] *Pallidus omnis amans, color hic est aptus amanti,* as the ...t describes lovers: *facit amor maciem,* love causeth leanness. [e] Avicenna *Ilishi c.* 33. *makes hollow eys, driness, symptomes of this disease, to go ...dling to themselves, or acting as if they saw or heard some delectable ob...t.* Valleriola *lib.* 2. *observat. cap.* 7. Laurentius *cap.* 10. Ælianus Mon...us *de Her. amore.* Langius *epist.* 24. *lib.* 1. *epist. med.* deliver as much; *pus exsangue pallet, corpus gracile, oculi cavi,* lean, pale; ——— *ut lis qui pressit calcibus anguem,* hollow ey'd, their eys are hidden in their ...ds; [f] *Teneræque nitidi corporis cecidit decor;* They pine away, and look ill ...h waking, cares, sighs,

> Et qui tenebant signa Phœbæ facis
> Oculi, nihil gentile nec patrium micant.

...th groans, griefs, sadness, dulness,

> ——— [g] Nulla jam Cereris subit
> Cura aut salutis,———

...nt of appetite, &c. A reason of all this, [h] Jason Pratensis gives; *because the distraction of the spirits, the liver doth not perform his part, nor ...rns the aliment into bloud as it ought; and for that cause, the members ...weak for want of sustenance; they are lean and pine, as the hearbs of ...garden do this month of May, for want of rain.* The green sickness, ...refore, often happeneth to yong women; a cachexia or an evil habit to ...n; besides their ordinary sighs, complaints and lamentations, which are ...frequent. As drops from a still, ——— *ut occluso stillat ab igne liquor,* ...th Cupids fire provoke tears from a true lovers eys,

> [i] The mighty Mars did oft for Venus shreek,
> Privily moistning his horrid cheek
> With womanish tears,———

> ——— [j] ignis distillat in undas,
> Testis erit largus qui rigat ora liquor,

...th many such like passions. When Chariclea was enamored on Theagines, [k] Heliodorus sets her out, *she was half distracted, and spake she knew not*

Lib. 11. c. 8. Venere implicat eos, qui ex eo bibunt. Idem Ov. Met. 4. Strabo. Geog. 1. 14. [b] Lod ...ericus Vartomannus descript. Ger. in Aquisgrano. [c] Baltheus Veneris, in quo suavitas, et dulcia colloquia, ...evolentiæ, et blanditiæ, suasiones, fraudes et veneficia includebantur. [d] Ovid. Facit hunc amor ...colorem. Met. 4. [e] Signa ejus sunt profunditas oculorum, privatio lachrymarum, suspiria, sæpe ...nt sibi, ac si quid delectabile viderent, aut audirent. [f] Seneca Hip. [g] Seneca Hip. [h] De ...ebris cerebri de erot. amore. Ob spirituum distractionem hepar officio suo non fungitur, nec vertit ali...entum in sanguinem, ut debeat. Ergo membra debilia, et penuria alibilis succi marcescunt, squalentque ...herbæ in horto meo hoc mense Malo Zerisco, ob imbrium defectum. [i] Faery Queen 1. 3. cant. 11. ...nator. Emblem. 3. [j] Lib. 4. Animo errat, et quidvis obvium loquitur, vigilias absque causâ susti...et, et suorum corporis subito amisit.

what; sighed to herself, lay much awake, and was lean upon a sudden; and when she was besotted on her son-in-law, [k] *pallor deformis, marcentes oculi, &c.* she had ugly paleness, hollow eys, restless thoughts, short wind, &c. Eurialus, in an epistle sent to Lucretia his mistress, complains amongst other grievances, *tu mihi et somni et cibi usum abstulisti,* thou hast taken my stomack and my sleep from me. So he describes it aright;

[l] His sleep, his meat, his drink, is him bereft,
That lean he waxeth, and dry as a shaft,
His eys hollow and grisly to behold,
His hew pale and ashen to unfold,
And solitary he was ever alone,
And waking all the night, making mone.

Theocritus *Edyl.* 2. makes a fair maid of Delphos in love with a yong man of Minda, confess as much;

Ut vidi ut insanii, ut animus mihi male affectus est,
Miseræ mihi forma tabescebat, neque amplius pompam
Ullam curabam, aut quando domum redieram
Novi, sed me ardens quidam morbus consumebat.
Decubui in lecto dies decem, et noctes decem,
Defluebant capite capilli, ipsaque sola reliqua
Ossa et cutis.———

No sooner seen I had, but mad I was,
My beauty fail'd, and I no more did care
For any pomp; I knew not where I was,
But sick I was, and evil I did fare;
I lay upon my bed ten dayes and nights,
A sceleton I was in all mens sights.

All these passions are well expressed, by [m] that heroical poet, in the person of Dido;

At non infelix animi Phœnissa, nec unquam
Solvitur in somnos, oculisque ac pectore amores
Accipit; ingeminant curæ, rursusque resurgens
Sævit amor, &c.———
Unhappy Dido could not sleep at all,
But lies awake, and takes no rest:
And up she gets again, whilst care and grief,
And raging love torments her breast.

Accius Sanazarius *Eyloga* 2. *de Galated,* in the same manner, fains his Lycoris [n] tormenting her self for want of sleep; sighing, sobbing, and lamenting; and Eustathius in his Ismenias, much troubled, and [o] *panting at heart, at the sight of his mistress;* he could not sleep; his bed was thorns. [p] All make leanness, want of appetite, want of sleep, ordinary symptomes; and by that means they are brought often so low, so much altered, and changed, that as [q] he jested in the comœdy, *one can scarce know them to be the same men.*

Attenuant juvenum vigilatæ corpora noctes,
Curaque, et immenso qui fit amore dolor.

Many such symptomes there are of the body, to discern lovers by;——[r] *quis enim bene celet amorem?* Can a man, saith Solomon, *Prov.* 6. 27. carry fire in his bosome and not burn? it will hardly be hid, though they do all they can to hide it, it must out, *plus quam mille notis*—it may be described, [s] *Quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis æstuat ignis.* 'Twas Antiphanes the comœdians observation of old, love and drunkenness cannot be concealed, *celare alia possis, hæc præter duo, vini potum, &c.* words, looks, gestures, all will betray them: but two of the most notable signs are observed by the pulse and countenance. When Antiochus the son of Seleucus, was sick for Stratonice his mother-in-law, and would not confess his grief, or the cause of his disease, Erasistratus the physician found him, by his pulse and countenance to be in love with her, [t] *because, that when she came in presence, or was named, his pulse varied, and he blushed besides.* In this very sort, was the love of Callicles the son of Polycles, discovered by Panacæus the physician, as you may read the story at large in [u] Aristænetus. By the same signs, Galen brags, that he found out Justa, Boëthius the consuls wife, to dote on Pylades the player: because at his name, still, she both altered pulse and countenance, as [v] Polyarchus did at the name of Argenis. *Franciscus Valesius, l. 3. controv. 13. med. contr.* denies there is any such *pulsus amatorius;* or, that love may be so discerned; but Avicenna confirms this of Galen, out of his experience, *lib. 3. Fen. 1.* and Gordonius, *cap. 20.*

[k] Apuleius. [l] Chaucer in the Knights tale. [m] Virg. Æn. 4. [n] Dum vaga passim sidera fulgent, numerat longas tetricus horas, et sollicito nixus cubito suspirando viscera rumpit. [o] Sallebat crebro trepidum cor ad aspectum Ismenes. [p] Gordonius, c. 20. Amittunt sæpe cibum, potum, et maceratur inde totum corpus. [q] Ter. Eunuch. Dii boni, quid hoc est, adeone homines mutari ex amore, ut non cognoscas eundem esse! [r] Ovid. [s] Ovid. Met. 4. [t] Ad ejus nomen rubebat, et ad aspectum pulsus variebatur. Plutar. [u] Epist. 13. [v] Barck. lib. I. Oculi medico tremore errabant.

Their pulse, he saith, is inordinate and swift. if she go by, whom he loves. ngius *epist.* 24. *lib.* 1. *med. epist.* Nevisanus *lib.* 4. *numer.* 66. *syl. aphs*; Valescus de Taranta, Guianerius. *tract.* 15. Valleriola sets down this a symptome; [a] *Difference of pulse, neglect of business, want of sleep, often hs, blushings, when there is any speech of their mistress, are manifest signs.* t amongst the rest. Josephus Struthius that Polonian, in the fift book *cap.* . of his doctrine of pulses, holds, that this, and all other passions of the nde, may be discovered by the pulse. [b] *And if you will know,* saith he, *ether the men suspected be such or such, touch their arteries, &c.* And his fourth book, 14 chapter, he speaks of this particular love pulse; [c] *Love kes an unequall pulse, &c.* he gives instance of a gentlewoman, [d] a patient his, whom by this means, he found to be much enamored, and with whom; named many persons, but at the last when his name came whom he suscted, [e] *her pulse began to vary, and to beat swifter, and so by often feeling r pulse, he perceived what the matter was.* Apollonius Argonaut. *lib.* 4. etically setting down the meeting of Jason and Medea, makes them both to sh at one anothers sight, and at the first they were not able to speak.

——— totus, Parmeno,
Tremo, horreoque, postquam aspexi hanc;

medria trembled at the sight of Thais; others sweat, blow short, *Crura munt ac poplites,*——are troubled with palpitation of heart upon the like asion, *cor proximum ori,* saith [f] Aristænetus, their heart at their mouth, ps, these burn and freeze, (for love is fire, ice, hot, cold, itch, feaver, nzy, plurisy, what not) they look pale, red, and commonly blush at their t congress; and sometimes through violent agitation of spirits, bleed at nose, when she is talked of: which very sign [g] Eustathius makes an argument of nenes affection; that when she met her sweet-heart by chance, she changed r countenance, to a maiden-blush. 'Tis a common thing amongst lovers, [f] Arnulphus that merry-conceited bishop, hath well expressed in a facete igram of his:

Iterno facies sibi dat responsa rubore,
Et tener affectum prodit utrique pudor, &c.

Their faces answer, and by blushing say,
How both affected are, they do bewray.

t the best conjectures are taken from such symptomes as appear, when ey are both present; all their speeches, amorous glances, actions, lascivious stures will bewray them; they cannot contain themselves, but that they ll be still kissing. [g] Stratocles the physician upon his wedding day, when was at dinner, *Nihil prius sorbillavit, quam tria basia puellæ pangeret,* uld not eat his meat for kissing the bride, &c. First a word, and then a s; then some other complement, and then a kiss; then an idle question, n a kiss; and when he hath pumped his wits dry, can say no more, kissing d colling are never out of season: [h] *Hoc non deficit, incipitque semper,* never at an end; [i] another kiss, and then another, another, and other, &c.

——— huc ades O Thelayra——Come kiss me Corinna!

[j] Centum basia centies.
Centum basia millies,
Mille basia millies,
Et tot millia millies,
Quot guttæ Siculo mari,
Quot sunt aidera cœlo,

Istis purpureis genis,
Istis turgidulis labris,
Ocellisque loquaculis,
Figam continuo impetu;
O formosa Nesera.

. Catullus to Lesbia.

Pulsus eorum velox et inordinatus, si mulier quam amat forte transeat. [a] Signa sunt cessatio ab ni opere insueto, privatio somni, suspiria crebra, rubor cum sit sermo de re amatâ, et commotio pulsûs. noscere vis an homines suspecti tales sint, tangito eorum arterias. [b] Amor facit inæquales inordi- os. [c] In nobilis cujusdam uxore quum subolfacerem adulterii amore fuisse correptam et quam ma- is, &c. [d] Cæpit illico pulsus variari et ferri celerius, et sic inveni. [e] Eunuch. act. 2. sc. 2. pist. 7. lib. 2. Tener sudor et creber anhelitus, palpitatio cordis, &c. [f] Lib. 1. [g] Lexoviensis epis- us. [h] Theodorus prodromus Amaranto dial. Gaulimo interpret. [i] Petron. Catal. [j] Sed unum usque et unum Petam a tuis labellis, postque unum et unum et unum, dari rogabo. Lochæus Anson. [j] Jo. Secundus bas. 7.

Da mihi basia mille, deinde centum,
Dein mille altera, da secunda centum,
Dein usque altera millia, deinde centum.

[k] first give an hundred,
Then a thousand, then another
Hundred, then unto the other
Add a thousand, and so more, &c.

'Till you equall with the store, all the grass, &c. So Venus did by her Adonis; the Moon with Endymion; they are still dallying and colling, as so many doves: *Columbatimque labra conserentes labiis;* and that with alacrity and courage;

[l] Affligunt avide corpus, junguntque salivas
Oris, et inspirant prensantes dentibus ora.

[m] *Tam impresso ore ut vix inde labra detrahant, cervice reclinata, as Lamprias in Lucian kissed Thais; Philippus her* [n] *in Aristænetus, amore lymphato tam furiose adhæsit, ut vix labra solvere esset, totumque os mihi contrivit;* [o] Aretines Lucretia, by a suiter of hers was so saluted; and 'tis their ordinary fashion.

——— dentes illudunt sæpe labellis,
Atque premunt arcte adfigentes oscula———

They cannot, I say, contain themselves; they will be still not only joyning hands, kissing, but embracing, treading on their toes, &c. diving into their bosomes, and that *libenter, et cum delectatione,* as [p] Philostratus confesseth to his mistress; and Lamprias in Lucian, *Mammillas premens, per sinum clam dextrâ, &c.* feeling their paps, and that scarce honestly sometimes: as the old man in the [q] comœdy well observed of his son, *Non ego te videbam manum huic puellæ in sinum inserere?* Did not I see thee put thy hand into her bosome? go to, with many such love tricks. [r] Juno in *Lucian Deorum, Tom.* 3. *dial.* 3. complains to Jupiter of Ixion, [s] *he looked so attentively on her, and sometimes would sigh and weep in her company, and when I drank by chance and gave Ganymede the cup, he would desire to drink still in the very cup that I drank of, and in the same place where I drank, and would kiss the cup, and then look steddily on me, and sometimes sigh, and then again smile.* If it be so they cannot come neer to dally, have that opportunity, familiarity, or acquaintance to confer and talk together; yet if they be in presence, their eye will bewray them: *Ubi amor ibi oculus,* as the common saying is, where I look I like, and where I like I love; but they will lose themselves in her looks.

Alter in alterius jactantes lumina vultus,
Quærebant taciti noster ubi esset amor.

They cannot look off whom they love; they will *impregnare eam ipsis oculis,* deflowre her with their eys; be still gazing, staring, stealing faces, smiling, glancing at her, as [t] Apollo on Leucothöe, the Moon on her [u] Endymion, when she stood still in Caria, and at Latmos caused her chariot to be stayed. They must all stand and admire, or if she go by, look after her as long as they can see her; she is *animæ auriga,* as Anacreon calls her; they cannot go by her door or window, but as an adamant, she draws their eys to it; though she be not there present, they must needs glance that way, and look back to it. Aristænetus of [v] Exithemus, Lucian in his Imagin. of himself, and Tatius of Clitiphon say as much; *Ille oculos de Leucippe* [w] *nunquam dejiciebat;* and many lovers confess, when they came in their mistress presence, they could not hold off their eys, but looked wistly and steddily on her, *inconnivo aspectu,* with much eagerness and greediness, as if they would look thorow, or should never have enough sight of her. ——*fixis ardens obtutibus hæret;* So she will do by him, drink to him with her eys, nay drink him up, devour him, swallow him, as Martials Mamurra is remembred to have done:

[k] Translated or imitated by M. B. Jonson, our arch poet in his 119 Ep. [l] Lucret. l. 4. [m] Lucian. dial. Tom. 4. Meret. sed et aperientes, &c. [n] Epist. 16. [o] Deducto ore longo me basio demulcet. [p] In deliciis mammas tuas tango, &c. [q] Terent. [r] Tom. 4. Meret. dial. [s] Attente adeo in me aspexit, et interdum ingemiscebat, et lachrymabatur. Et si quando bibens, &c. [t] Quique omnia cernere debes Leucothöen spectas et virgine figis in unâ quos mundo debes oculos. Ovid. Met. 4. [u] Lucian, Tom. 3. Quoties ad Cariam venis currum sistis, et desuper aspectas. [v] Ex quo te primum vidi, Pythia, alio oculos vertere non fuit. [w] Lib. 4.

spexit molles pueros, oculisque comedit, &c. There is a pleasant story, t
s purpose, in *Navigat. Vertom. lib. 3. cap. 5.* The Sultan of Sanas wi
Arabia, because Vertomannus was fair and white could not look off hi
m sun-rising to sun-setting, she could not desist; she made him one da
ne into her chamber, *et geminæ horæ spatio intuebatur, non a me unqua
iem oculorum avertebat, me observans veluti Cupidinem quendam,* for tw
urs space she still gazed on him. A yong man in [x]Lucian fell in love wi
nus picture, he came every morning to her temple, and there continued a
y long, [y]from sun-rising to sun-set, unwilling to go home at night, sittin
er against the goddess picture, he did continually look upon her, and mutt
himself I know not what. If so be they cannot see them whom they lov
ey will still be walking and waiting about their mistress doors, taking a
portunity to see them, as in [z]Longus Sophista, Daphnis and Cloe, tw
ers, were still hovering at one anothers gates; he sought all occasions to t
her company, to hunt in summer, and catch birds in the frost, about h
hers house in the winter, that she might see him, and he her. [a]*A kin
lace was not so diligently attended,* saith Aretines Lucretia, *as my hou
s when I lay in Rome,* the porch and street was ever full of some, walkin
riding, on set purpose to see me; their eye was still upon my window,
ey passed by; they could not choose but look back to my house when the
re past, and sometimes hem or cough, or take some impertinent occasi
speak aloud, that I might look out and observe them. 'Tis so in oth
ices; 'tis common to every lover; 'tis all his felicity to be with her, to tal
th her, he is never well but in her company, and will walk [b]*seven or eig
ies a day, through the street where she dwells, and make sleeveless errau
see her;* plotting still where, when, and how to visit her:

[c] Levesque sub nocte susurri
Compositâ repetuntur horâ.

id when he is gone, he thinks every minute an hour, every hour as long
day, ten days a whole year, till he see her again. [d]*Tempora si numere
ue quæ numeramus amantes.* And if thou be in love, thou wilt say
), *Et longum formosa vale,* farewell sweet-heart, *vale charissima Argeni
.* Farewell my dear Argenis, once more farewell, farewell. And thoug
is to meet her by compact, and that very shortly, perchance to-morro
t loath to depart, he'l take his leave again, and again, and then come bac
ain, look after, and shake his hand, wave his hat afar off. Now gone, h
nks it long till he see her again, and she him; the clocks are surely set bac
e hour's past.

[e] Hospita Demophoon tua te Rodopheia Phillis,
Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror;

e looks out at window still, to see whether he come; [f]and by repor
illis went nine times to the sea-side that day, to see if her Demophoo
ere approaching; and [g]Troilus to the city gates, to look for his Cressi
e is ill at ease, and sick till she see him again; peevish in the mean tim
scontent, heavy, sad, and why comes he not? where is he? why breaks h
omise? why tarries he so long? sure he is not well; sure he hath son
schance; sure he forgets himself and me; with infinite such. And the
nfident again, up she gets, out she looks, listens and enquires, harken
ns, every man afar off is sure he, every stirring in the street, now he
ere, that's he, *male Auroræ, male Soli dicit, dejeratque, &c.* the longe
y that ever was; so she raves, restless and impatient; for *Amor non patitu*

Dial. amorum. [y] Ad occasum solis ægre domum rediens, atque totum diem ex adverso Deæ sede
to, in ipsam perpetuo oculorum ictus direxit, &c. [z] Lib. 3. [a] Regum palatium non tam diligen
todiâ septum fuit, ac sedes meas stipabant &c. [b] Uno et eodem die sexties vel septies ambulant p
dem platæam, ut vel unico amicæ suæ fruantur aspectu. lib. 3. Theat. mundi. [c] Mor. [d] Ovi
rid. [e] Hyginus. fab. 59. Eo die dicitur nonies ad littus currisse. [f] Chaucer.

moras, love brooks no delayes; the time's quickly gone that's spent in her company, the miles short, the way pleasant, all weather is good whilst he goes to her house, heat or cold, though his teeth chatter in his head, he moves not, wet or dry, 'tis all one, wet to the skin, he feels it not, cares not, at least, for it, but will easily endure it and much more, because it is done with alacrity, and for his mistress sweet sake; let the burden be never so heavy, love makes it light. [h]Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and it was quickly gone, because he loved her. None so merry, if he may happily enjoy her company; he is in heaven for the time; and if he may not, dejected in an instant, solitary, silent, he departs weeping, lamenting, sighing, complaining.

But the symptomes of the minde in lovers are almost infinite; and so diverse, that no art can comprehend them; though they be merry sometimes, and rapt beyond themselves for joy, yet most part, love is a plague, a torture, an hell, a bitter sweet passion at last; [i]*Amor melle et felle est fœcundissimus, gustum dat dulcem et amarum.* 'Tis *suavis amaricies, dolentia delectabilis, hilare tormentum;*

[j]Et me melle beant suaviora,
Et me felle necant amariora;

Like a summer fly or Sphines wings, or a rainbow of all colours,

Quæ ad Solis radios conversæ aureæ erant,
Adversus nubes cæruleæ, quale jubar Iridis,

fair, fowle, and full of variation, though most part, irksome and bad. For in a word, the Spanish inquisition is not comparable to it; a *torment* and [k]*execution* it is, as he cals it in the poet, an unquenchable fire, and what not? [l]From it, saith Austin, arise *biting cares, perturbations, passions, sorrows, fears, suspitions, discontents, contentions, discords, wars, treacheries, enmities, flattery, cosening, riot, lust, impudence, cruelty, knavery, &c.*

[m]——dolor, querelæ,
Lamentatio, lachrymæ perennes,
Languor, anxietas, amaritudo:

Aut si triste magis potest quid esse,
Hos tu das comites, Nessra, vitæ.

These be the companions of lovers, and the ordinary symptomes, as the poet repeats them.

[n]In amore hæc insunt vitia,
Suspiciones, inimicitiæ, audaciæ,
Bellum, pax rursum, &c.

[o]Insomnia, ærumna, error, terror, et fuga,
Excogitantia, excors immodestia,
Petulantia, cupiditas, et malevolentia;
Inhæret etiam aviditas, desidia, injuria,
Inopia, contumelia et dispendium, &c.

In love these vices are; suspicions,
Peace, war, and impudence, detractions,
Dreams, cares, and errors, terrors and affrights,
Immodest pranks, devices, sleights and flights,
Heart-burnings, wants, neglects; desire of wrong,
Loss continual, expence and hurt among.

Every poet is full of such catalogues of love symptomes; but fear and sorrow may justly challenge the chief place. Though *Hercules de Saxoniâ cap.* 3. *Tract. de melanch.* will exclude fear from Love-Melancholy, yet I am otherwise perswaded. [p]*Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.* 'Tis full of fear, anxiety, doubt, care, peevishness, suspition, it turns a man into a woman, which made Hesiod (belike) put Fear and Paleness Venus daughters:

——Marti clypeos atque arma secanti
Alma Venus peperit Pallorem, unaque Timorem:

because fear and love are still linked together. Moreover, they are apt to mistake, amplifie, too credulous sometimes, too full of hope and confidence, and then again very jealous, unapt to believe or entertain any good news. The comical Poet hath prettily painted out this passage amongst the rest in a [q]dialogue betwixt Mitio and Æschines, a gentle father and a love-sick son. M. *Be of good chear, my son, thou shalt have her to wife.* Æ. *Ah father, do you mock me now?* M. *I mock thee, why?* Æ. *That which I so*

[h]Gen. 29. 20. [i]Plautus Cistel. [j]Stobæus e Græco. [k]Plantus. Credo ego ad hominis carnificinam amorem inventum esse. [l]De civitat. lib. 22. cap. 20. Ex eo oriuntur mordaces curæ, perturbationes, mœrores, formidines, insana gaudia, discordiæ, lites, bella, insidiæ, iracundiæ, inimicitiæ, fallaciæ, adulatio, fraus, furtum, nequitia, impudentia. [m]Marullus, l. 1. [n]Ter. Eunuch. [o]Plantus Mercat. [p]Ovid. [q]Adelph. Act. 4. scen. 5. M. Bono animo es, duces uxorem hanc, Æschines. Æ. Hem, pater, num tu ludis me nunc? M. Egone te, quamobrem? Æ. Quod tam misere cupio, &c.

nestly desire, I more suspect and fear. M. *Get you home, and send*
to be your wife. Æ. *What, now, a wife? now, father! &c.* Th
ıbts, anxieties, suspitions, are the least part of their torments; they bre
ny times, from passions to actions; speak fair and flatter; now most
ıious and willing, by and by, they are averse; wrangle, fight, sw
arrel, laugh, weep: and he that doth not so by fits, [r] Lucian holds, is
oughly touched with this loadstone of love. So their actions and p
ns are intermixt; but of all other passions, sorrow hath the grea
ıre. [s] Love to many is bitterness it self; *rem amaram*, Plato calls it
ter potion, an agony, a plague,

Eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi;	O take away this plague, this mischief from m
uæ mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus,	Which as a numbnesse over all my body,
Expulit ex omni pectore lætitias.	Expels my joyes, and makes my soul so heavy.

ædra had a true touch of this, when he cryed out,

——[t] O Thais, utinam esset mihi	O Thais, would thou hadst of these my pai
ars æqua amoris tecum, ac pariter fieret ut	part,
ut hoc tibi doleret itidem, ut mihi dolet.	Or as it doth me now, so it would make thee sm

had that yong man, when he roared again for discontent;

[u] Jactor, crucior, agitor, stimulor,	Exanimor, feror, distrahor, deripior,
Versor in amoris rotâ miser,	Ubi sum, ibi non sum; ubi non sum, ibi est ani

I am vext and toss'd, and rack't on Loves wheel;
Where not, I am; but where am, do not feel.

e Moon in [v] Lucian, made her mone to Venus, that she was almost d
love, *pereo equidem amore*, and after a long tale, she broke off abru
d wept, [w] *O Venus, thou knowest my poor heart.* Charmides in [x] Luci
s so impatient, that he sob'd and sighed, and tore his hair, and said
ıuld hang himself; *I am undone, O sister Tryphena, I cannot endure th*
e pangs, what shall I do? Vos, O Dii Averrunci, solvite me his cu
yee Gods, free me from these cares and miseries, out of the anguish of
ıl, [y] Theocles prays. Shall I say, most part of a lovers life is full of ago
xiety, fear and grief, complaints, sighs, suspitions and cares (high ho,
ırt is wo) full of silence and irksome solitariness!

Frequenting shady bowers in discontent,
To the ayr his fruitless clamors he will vent;

:ept at such times that he hath *lucida intervalla*, pleasant gales, or sud
erations; as if his mistress smile upon him, give him a good look, a kiss
at some comfortable message be brought him, his service is accepted, &c
He is then too confident and rapt beyond himself, as if he had heard
ghtingale in the spring before the cuckow; or as [z] Calisto was at Meleb
esence, *Quis unquam hac mortali vitâ tam gloriosum corpus vid*
manitatem transcendere videor, &c. who ever saw so glorious a sig
ıat man ever enjoyed such delight? More content cannot be given of
ods, wished, had, or hoped, of any mortal man. There is no happiness
: world comparable to his, no content, no joy to this, no life to love, h
paradise.

Quis me uno vivit fœlicior? aut magis hac est	Who lives so happy as my self? what bliss
Optandum vitâ dicere quis poterit?	In this our life, may be compar'd to this?

: will not change fortune in that case with a prince.

[b] Donec gratus eram tibi,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.

ıe Persian kings are not so joviall as he is; [c] *O festus dies hominis*, O hap
y; so Chærea exclaims when he came from Pamphila his sweetheart, v
:ased;

Nunc est profecto interfici cum perpeti me possem,
Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aliqua ægritudine;

Tom. 4. dial. amorum. [s] Aristotle 2. Rhet. puts love therefore in the irascible part. Ovid. [t]
ıuch. Act. 1. sc. 2. [u] Plautus. [v] Tom. 3. [w] Scis quod posthac dicturus fuerim. [x] Tot
.. meret. Tryphena, Amor me perdit, neque malum hoc amplius sustinere possum. [y] Aristæne
2. epist. 8. [z] Cœlestina, act. 1. Sancti majore lætitiâ non fruuntur. Si mihi Deus omnium voto
talium summam concedat, non magis, &c. [a] Catullus de Lesbiâ. [b] Hor. ode 9. lib. 3. [c] Ac
n. 5. Eunuch. Ter.

He could find in his heart to be killed instantly, lest if he live longer, some sorrow or sickness should contaminate his joyes. A little after, he was so merrily set upon the same occasion, that he could not contain himself.

> [d] O populares, ecquis me vivit hodie fortunatior?
> Nemo hercle quisquam; nam in me Dii plane potestatem
> Suam omnem ostendêre;

Is't possible, O my countrymen, for any living to be so happy as my self? No sure, it cannot be; for the Gods have shewed all their power, all their goodness in me. Yet, by and by, when this yong gallant was crossed in his wench, he laments, and cries, and roars down-right. *Occidi*——*I* am undone:

> Neque virgo est usquam, neque ego, qui e conspectu illam amisi meo.
> Ubi quæram, ubi investigem, quem percuncter, quam insistam viam?

The virgin's gone, and I am gone; she's gone, she's gone, and what shall I do? where shall I seek her, where shall I find her, whom shall I ask? what way, what course shall I take? what will become of me?——[e] *vitales auras invitus agebat*; he was weary of his life, sick, mad and desperate; [f] *utinam mihi esset aliquid hîc, quo nunc me præcipitem darem.* 'Tis not Chæreas case, this alone, but his, and his, and every lovers in the like state. If he hear ill news, have bad success in his suit, she frown upon him, or that his mistress in his presence respect another more, (as [g] Hædus observes) *Prefer another suiter, speak more familiarly to him, or use more kindly then himself; if by nod, smile, message, she discloseth herself to another, he is instantly tormented, none so dejected as he is,* utterly undone, a castaway, [h] *In quem fortuna omnia odiorum suorum crudelissima tela exonerat*, a dead man, the scorn of fortune, a monster of fortune, worse then naught, the losse of a kingdom had been less. [i] Aretines Lucretia made very good proof of this, as she relates it her self. *For when I made some of my suiters beleeve I would betake my self to a nunnery, they took on as if they had lost father and mother, because they were for ever after to want my company. Omnes labores leves fuére,* all other labour was light; [j] but this might not be endured, *Tui carendum quod erat——for I cannot be without thy company,* mournfull Amyntas, painfull Amyntas, carefull Amyntas; better a metropolitan city were sackt, a royall army overcome, an invincible armado sunk, and twenty thousand kings should perish, then her little finger ake; so zealous are they, and so tender of her good. "They would all turn friers for my sake (as she follows it), in hope, by that means, to meet, or see me again, as my confessors, at stool-ball, or at barly-break:" And so afterwards; when an importunate suitor came, [k] *If I had bid my maid say, that I was not at leisure, not within, busy, could not speak with him, he was instantly astonished, and stood like a pillar of marble; another went swearing, chafing, cursing, foaming.* [l] *Illa sibi vox ipsa Jovis violentior irâ, cum tonat, &c.* the voyce of a mandrake had been sweeter musick; *but he to whom I gave entertainment, was in the Elysian fields, ravished for joye, quite beyond himself.* 'Tis the generall humour of all lovers; she is their stern, pole-star, and guide. [m] *Deliciumque animi, deliquiumque sui.* As a tulipant to the sun (which our herbalists call Narcissus) when it shines, is *admirandus flos ad radios solis se pandens*, a glorious flower exposing it self; [n] but when the sun sets, or a tempest comes, it hides it self, pines away, and hath no pleasure left, (which Carolus Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, in a cause not unlike, sometimes used for an imprese) so do all inamorates to their mistress; she is

[d] Act. 5. scen. 9. [e] Mantuan. [f] Ter. And. act. 3. sc. 4. [g] Lib. 1. de contemn. amoribus. Si quem alium respexerit amica suavius et familiarius, si quem alloquuta fuerit, si nutu, nuntio, &c. statim cruciatur. [h] Calista in Cœlestinâ. [i] Pornodidasc. dial. Ital. Patre et matre se singultu orbos censebant, quod meo contubernio carendum esset. [j] Ter. Tui carendum quod erat. [k] Si responsum esset dominam occupatam esse aliisque vacaret, ille statim vix hoc audito velut in marmor obriguit, alii se damnare, &c. At cui favebam, in campis Elysiis esse videbatur, &c. [l] Mantuan. [m] Lœchæus. [n] Sole se occultante, aut tempestate veniente, statim clauditur ac languescit.

their sun, their *primum mobile*, or *animi informans*: this, [o] one hath elegantly expressed by a windmill, still moved by the winde, which otherwise hath no motion of it self. *Sic tua ni spiret gratia, truncus ero.* He is wholly animated from her breath; his soul lives in her body; [p] *sola claves habet interitûs et salutis*, she keeps the keys of his life; his fortune ebbes and flowes with her favour; a gracious or bad aspect turns him up or down; *Mens mea lucescit, Lucia, luce tuâ.* Howsoever his present state be pleasing or displeasing, 'tis continuate so long as [q] he loves; he can do nothing, think of nothing but her; desire hath no rest, she is his Cynosure, Hesperus and Vesper, his morning and evening star, his goddess, his mistress, his life, his soul, his every thing; dreaming, waking, she is always in his mouth; his heart, eys, ears, and all his thoughts, are full of her. His Laura, his Victorina, his Columbina, Flavia, Flaminia, Cælia, Delia or Isabella, (call her how you will;) she is the sole object of his senses, the substance of his soul, *nidulus animæ suæ*; he magnifies her above measure, *totus in illâ*, full of her, can breath nothing but her. *I adore Melibœa*, saith love-sick [r] Calisto, *I believe in Melibœa, I honour, admire and love my Melibœa*; his soul was sowced, imparadised, imprisoned in his lady. When [s] Thais took her leave of Phædria,——*mi Phædria, et nunquid aliud vis?* Sweet heart (she said) will you command me any further service? he readily replied, and gave this in charge,

——— egone quid velim?	Dost ask (my dear) what service I will have?
Dies noctesque ames me, me desideres,	To love me day and night is all I crave;
Me somnies, me expectes, me cogites,	To dream on me, to expect, to think on me,
Me speres, me te oblectes, mecum tota sis,	Depend and hope, still covet me to see,
Meus fac postremo animus, quando ego sum tuus.	Delight thy self in me, be wholly mine,
	For know, my love, that I am wholly thine.

But all this needed not, you will say; if she affect once, she will be his, settle her love on him, on him alone,

——— [t] Illum absens absentem
Auditque videtque ———

she can, she must think and dream of nought else but him, continually of him, as did Orpheus on his Euridice,

Te dulcis conjux, te solo in littore mecum,	On thee, sweet wife, was all my song,
Te veniente die, te discedente canebam.	Morn, evening, and all along.

And Dido upon her Æneas;

——— et quæ me insomnia terrent,	And ever and anon, she thinks upon the man
Multa viri virtus, et plurima currit imago.	That was so fine, so fair, so blith, so debonair.

Clitiphon in the first book of Achilles Tatius, complaineth, how that his mistress Leucippe tormented him much more in the night, then in the day. [u] *For all day long he had some object or other to distract his senses; but in the night all ran upon her: all night long he lay* [v] *awake, and could think of nothing else but her; he could not get her out of his minde; towards morning sleep took a little pitty on him, he slumbered awhile, but all his dreams were of her.*

——— [w] te nocte sub atrâ	In the dark night I speak, embrace and finde,
Alloquor, amplector, falsâque in imagine somni,	That fading joyes deceive my careful minde.
Gaudia sollicitam palpant evanida mentem.	

The same complaint Eurialus makes to his Lucretia: [x] *day and night I think of thee, I wish for thee, I talk on thee, call on thee, look for thee, hope for thee, delight myself in thee, day and night I love thee.*

[y] Nec mihi vespere
Surgente decedunt amores,
Nec rapidum fugiente Solem;

Morning, evening, all is alike with me, I have restless thoughts; [z] *Te vigilans*

[o] Emblem amat. 13. [p] Calisto de Melibœâ. [q] Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi amat. [r] Cœlestina, act. 1. Credo in Melibœam, &c. [s] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 1. sc. 2. [t] Virg. 4. Æn. [u] Interdiu oculi, et aures occupatæ distrahunt animum, at noctu solus jactor, ad Auroram somnus paulum misertus, nec tamen ex animo puella ablit, sed omnia mihi de Leucippe somnia erant. [v] Totâ hac nocte somnum hisce oculis non vidi. Ter. [w] Buchanan. Sylv. [x] Æn. Silv. Te dies, noctesque amo, te cogito, te desidero, te voco, te expecto, te spero, tecum oblecto me, totus in te sum. [y] Hor. lib. 2. ode 9. [z] Petronius.

oculis, animo te nocte requiro. Still I think on thee. *Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi amat.* I live and breath in thee, I wish for thee.

[a] O niveam quæ te poterit mihi reddere lucem,
O mihi felicem terque quaterque diem.

O happy day that shall restore thee to my sight. In the mean time, he raves on her; her sweet face, eys, actions, gestures, hands, feet, speech, length, bredth, highth, depth and the rest of her dimensions, are so survaied, measured, and taken, by that Astrolabe of phantasie, and that so violently sometimes, with such earnestness and eagerness, such continuance, so strong an imagination, that at length he thinks he sees her indeed; he talks with her, he imbraceth her, Ixion-like *pro Junone nubem*, a cloud for Juno, as he said. *Nihil præter Leucippen cerno, Leucippe mihi perpetuo in oculis, et animo versatur;* I see and meditate of naught but Leucippe. Be she present or absent, all is one;

[b] Et quamvis aberat placidæ præsentia formæ,
Quem dederat præsens forma, manebat amor.

That impression of her beauty is still fixed in his minde, ——[c] *hærent infixi pectore vultus:* as he that is bitten with a mad dog, thinks all he sees dogs, dogs in his meat, dogs in his dish, dogs in his drink: his mistress is in his eys, ears, heart, in all his senses. Valleriola had a merchant, his patient, in the same predicament, and [d] Ulricus Molitor out of Austin, hath a story of one, that through vehemency of this love passion, still thought he saw his mistress present with him; she talked with him; *et commisceri cum eâ vigilans videbatur*, still embracing him.

Now if this passion of love can produce such effects, if it be pleasantly intended, what bitter torments shall it breed, when it is with fear and continual sorrow, suspition, care, agony, (as commonly it is) still accompanied, what an intolerable [e] pain must it be?

—— Non tam grandes
Gargara culmos, quot demerso
Pectore curas longâ nexas
Usque catenâ, vel quæ penitus
Crudelis amor vulnera miscet.

Mount Gargarus hath not so many stems,
As lovers brest hath grievous wounds,
And linked cares, which love compounds.

When the king of Babylon would have punished a courtier of his, for loving a yong lady of the royal blood, and far above his fortunes, [f] Apollonius in presence, by all means perswaded to let him alone; *For to love and not enjoy was a most unspeakable torment;* no tyrant could invent the like punishment; as a gnat at a candle, in a short space, he would consume himself. For love is a perpetual [g] *flux, angor animi*, a warfare, *militat omnis amans*, a grievous wound is love still, and a lovers heart is Cupids quiver, a consuming [h] fire, [i] *accede ad hunc ignem, &c.* an inextinguishable fire.

——[j] aliter et crescit malum,
Et ardet intus, qualis Ætneo vapor
Exundat antro ——

As Ætna rageth, so doth love, and more then Ætna, or any material fire.

—— [k] Nam Amor sæpe Lyparco
Vulcano ardentiorem flammam incendere solet.

Vulcans flames are but smoak to this; For fire, saith [l] Xenophon, burns them alone that stand neer it, or touch it; but this fire of love burneth and scorcheth afar off, and is more hot and vehement then any material fire: [m] *Ignis in igne furit:* 'tis a fire in a fire; the quintessence of fire. For when Nero burnt Rome, as Calisto urgeth, he fired houses, consumed mens bodies and goods; but this fire devours the soule it self, and [n] *one soul is worth* 100000 *bodies.* No water can quench this wild fire.

[a] Tibullus l. 3. Eleg. 3. [b] Ovid. Fast. 2. ver. 775. [c] Virg. Æn. 4. [d] De Pythonissâ. [e] Juno, nec ira Deûm tantum, nec tela, nec hostis, quantum tute potis animis illapsus. Silius Ital. 15. bel. Punic. de amore. [f] Philostratus vitâ ejus. Maximum tormentum quod excogitare, vel docere te possum est ipse amor. [g] Ausonius, c. 35. [h] Et cæco carpitur igne; et mihi sese offert ultro meus ignis Amyntas. [i] Ter. Eunuch. [j] Sen. Hippol. [k] Theocritus edyl. 2. Levibus cor est violabile telis. [l] Ignis tangentes solum urit, at forma procul astantes inflammat. [m] Nonnius. [n] Major illa flamma quæ consumit unam animam, quam quæ centum millia corporum.

——— [o] In pectus cæcos absorbuit ignes,
Ignes qui nec aquâ perimi potuêre, nec imbre
Diminui, neque graminibus, magicisque susurris.

A fire he took into his brest,
Which water could not quench,
Nor hearb, nor art, nor magick spells
Could quell, nor any drench.

Except it be tears and sighs; for so, they may chance find a little ease.

[p] Sic candentia colla, sic patens frons,
Sic me blanda tui Neæra ocelli,
Sic pares minio genæ perurunt,
Ut ni me lachrymæ rigent perennes,
Totus in tenues eam favillas.

So thy white neck, Neæra, me poor soule
Doth scorch, thy cheeks, thy wanton eys that roul:
Were it not for my dropping tears that hinder,
I should be quite burnt up forthwith to cinder.

This fire strikes like lightning; which made those old Græcians paint Cupid in many of their [q]temples, with Jupiters thunderbolts in his hands: for it wounds, and cannot be perceived how, whence it came, where it pierced: [r] *Urimur, et cæcum pectora vulnus habent*, and can hardly be discerned at first.

——— [s] Est mollis flamma medullas
Et tacitum insano vivit sub pectore vulnus.

A gentle wound, an easie fire it was,
And slye at first, and secretly did pass.

But by and by it began to rage and burn amain;

——— [t] Pectus insanum vapor,
Amorque torret, intus sævus vorat
Penitus medullas, atque per venas meat
Visceribus iguis mersus, et venis latens,
Ut agilis altas flamma percurrit trabes.

This fiery vapour rageth in the veins,
And scorcheth entrals; as when fire burns
An house, it nimbly runs along the beames,
And at the last the whole it overturns.

Abraham Hoffemannus *lib.* 1. *amor. conjugal. cap.* 2. *pag.* 22. relates out of Plato, how that Empedocles the philosopher was present at the cutting up of one that died for love, [u] *his heart was combust, his liver smoakie, his lungs dried up, insomuch that he verily believed his soul was either sod or rosted, through the vehemency of loves fire.* Which (belike) made a modern writer of amorous emblems, express loves fury, by a pot hanging over the fire, and Cupid blowing the coals. As the heat consumes the water, [v] *Sic sua consumit viscera cæcus amor*; so doth love dry up his radical moisture. Another compares love to a melting torch, which stood too neer the fire.

[w] Sic quo quis propior suæ puellæ est,
Hoc stultus propior suæ ruinæ est.

The neerer he unto his mistress is,
The neerer he unto his ruine is.

So that to say truth, as [x]Castilio describes it, *The beginning, middle, end of love, is nought else but sorrow, vexation, agony, torment, irksomness, wearisomness; so that to be squalid, ugly, miserable, solitary, discontent, dejected, to wish for death, to complain, rave, and to be peevish, are the certain signes, and ordinary actions of a love-sick person.* This continual pain and torture makes them forget themselves, if they be far gone with it, or in doubt, or despair of obtaining; eagerly bent to neglect all ordinary business.

——— [y] pendent opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes, æquataque machina cœlo.

Love-sick Dido left her works undone; so did [z]Phædra;

——— Palladis telæ vacant,
Et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus.

Faustus in [a]Mantuan, took no pleasure in any thing he did;

Nulla quies mihi dulcis erat, nullus labor ægro
Pectore, sensus iners, et mens torpore sepulta;
Carminis occiderat studium. ———

And 'tis the humour of them all, to be careless of their persons, and their estates, as the shepheard in [b]Theocritus, *Et hæc barba inculta est, squalidique capilli*, their beards flag, and they have no more care of pranking themselves, or of any business; they care not as they say, which end goes forward.

[o] Mant. ecl. 2. [p] Marullus Epig. lib. 1. [q] Imagines Deorum. [r] Ovid. [s] Æneid. 4. [t] Seneca. [u] Cor totum combustum, jecur suffumigatum, pulmo arefactus, ut credam miseram illam animam his elixam aut combustam, ob maximum ardorem, quem patiuntur ob ignem amoris. [v] Embl. Amat. 4 et 5. [w] Grotius. [x] Lib. 4. Nam istius amoris neque principia, neque media aliud habent quid, quam molestias, dolores, cruciatus, defatigationes, adeo ut miserum esse mœrore, gemitu, solitudine torqueri, mortem optare, semperque debacchari, sunt certa amantium signa et certæ actiones. [y] Virg. Æn. 4. [z] Seneca Hip. act. [a] Eclog. 1. [b] Edyl. 14.

[e] Oblitusque greges, et rura domestica, totus
[d] Uritur, et noctes in luctum expendit amaras.

Forgetting flocks of sheep and country farms,
The silly shepheard always mourns and burns.

Love-sick [e] Chærea, when he came from Pamphilas house, and had not so good welcome as he did expect, was all amort; Parmeno meets him, *quid tristis es?* Why art thou so sad, man? *unde es?* whence com'st, how do'st? but he sadly replies, *Ego hercle nescio neque unde eam, neque quorsum eam, ita prorsus oblitus sum mei;* I have so forgotten myself, I neither know where I am, nor whence I come, nor whither I will, nor what I do. P. [f] *How so?* Ch. *I am in love. Prudens sciens.*——[g] *vivus videnque pereo, nec quid agam scio.* [h] *He that erst had his thoughts free* (as Philostratus Lemnius in an epistle of his, describes this fiery passion) *and spent his time like an hard student, in those delightsome philosophicall precepts; he that with the sun and moone wandred all over the world, with stars themselves ranged about, and left no secret, or small mystery in nature unsearched; since he was enamored, can doe nothing now but think and meditate of love matters, day and night composeth himself how to please his mistress; all his study, endeavour, is to approve himself to his mistress, to win his mistress favour, to compass his desire, to be counted her servant.* When Peter Abelhardus, that great scholler of his age, ([i] *Cui soli patuit scibile quicquid erat,*) was now in love with Heloissa, he had no mind to visit, or frequent schools and schollers any more. *Tædiosum mihi valde fuit* (as [j] he confesseth) *ad scholas procedere, vel in iis morari,* all his minde was on his new mistress.

Now to this end and purpose, if there be any hope of obtaining his suit to prosecute his cause, he will spend himself, goods, fortunes, for her; and though he lose and alienate all his friends, be threatned, be cast off, and disinherited; for as the poet saith, [k] *Amori quis legem det?* though he be utterly undone by it, disgraced, go a begging, yet for her sweet sake, to enjoy her, he will willingly beg, hazzard all he hath, goods, lands, shame, scandall, fame, and life it self.

Non recedam neque quiescam, noctu et interdiu,
Prius profecto quam aut ipsam, aut mortem investigavero.
I'll never rest or cease my suit,
Till she or death do make me mute.

Parthenis in [l] Aristænetus, was fully resolved to do as much. *I may have better matches, I confess; but, farewell shame, farewell honour, farewell honesty, farewell friends and fortunes, &c. O Harpedona, keep my counsel; I will leave all for his sweet sake; I will have him, say no more,* contra gentes, *I am resolved, I will have him.* [m] Gobrias the captain, when he had espied Rhodanthe, the fair captive maid, fell upon his knees before Mystilus the generall, with tears, vows, and all the rhetorick he could; by the scars he had formerly received, the good service he had done, or what soever else was dear unto him, besought his governour he might have the captive virgin to be his wife, *virtutis suæ spolium,* as a reward of his worth and service; and moreover, he would forgive him the mony which was owing, and all reckonings besides due unto him; *I ask no more, no part of booty, no portion, but Rhodanthe to be my wife.* And when as he could not compass her by faire means, he fell to treachery, force and villany, and set his life at stake at last, to accomplish his desire. 'Tis a common humour this, a generall passion of all lovers to be so affected; and which Æmilia told Aretine a courtier, in Castilios discourse, [n] *surely Aretine, if thou werst not so indeed, thou didst not love: ingenuously*

[e] Mant. Eclog. 2. [d] Ov. Met. 13. de Polyphemo. Uritur oblitus pecorum, antrorumque suorum; jamque tibi formæ, &c. [e] Ter. Eunuch. [f] Qui, queso? Amo. [g] Ter. Eunuch. [h] Qui olim cogitabat quæ vellet, et pulcherrimis philosophiæ præcepti, operam insumpsit. qui universi circuitiones cœlique naturam, &c. Hanc unam intendit operam, de solâ cogitat, noctes et dies se componit ad hanc, et ad acerbam servitutem redactus animus, &c. [i] Pars Epitaphii ejus. [j] Epist. prima. [k] Boethius, lib. 3. Met. ult. [l] Epist. lib. 6. Valeat pudor, valeat honestas, valeat honor. [m] Theodor. prodromus. lib. 3. Amor. Mystili genibus obvolutus, ubertimque lachrymans, &c. Nihil ex totâ prædâ præter Rhodanthen virginem accipiam. [n] Lib. 2. Certe vix credam, et bonâ fide fateare, Aretine, te non amâsse adeo vehementer; si enim vere amâsses, nihil prius aut potius optâsses, quam amatæ mulieri placere. Ea enim amoris lex est idem velle et nolle.

confess; for if thou hadst been throughly enamored, thou wouldst have desired nothing more then to please thy mistress. For that is the law of love, to will and nill the same; [o] *Tantum velle et nolle, velit nolit quod amica.*

Undoubtedly this may be pronounced of them all; they are very slaves, drudges for the time, mad men, fools, dizards, [p] *atrabilarii*, beside themselves, and as blind as beetles. Their [q]dotage is most eminent; *Amare simul et sapere ipsi Jovi non datur*, as Seneca holds; Jupiter himself cannot love and be wise both together; the very best of them, if once they be overtaken with this passion, the most staid, discreet, grave, generous and wise, otherwise able to govern themselves, in this commit many absurdities, many indecorums, unbefitting their gravity and persons.

[r] Quisquis amat servit, sequitur captivus amantem,
Fert domitâ cervice jugum ——

Sampson, David, Solomon, Hercules, Socrates, &c. are justly taxed of indiscretion in this point; the middle sort are betwixt hawk and buzzard; and although they do perceive and acknowledge their own dotage, weakness, fury, yet they cannot withstand it; as well may witness those expostulations and confessions of Dido in Virgil.

[s] Incipit effari, mediâque in voce resistit. *Phædra in Senecâ.*
[t] Quod ratio poscit, vincit ac regnat furor,
Potensque totâ mente dominatur Deus. *Myrrha in* [u] *Ovid.*
Illa quidem sentit, fœdoque repugnat amori,
Et secum: Quo mente feror, quid mollior? inquit.
Dii, precor, et pietas, &c.

She sees and knows her fault, and doth resist,
Against her filthy lust she doth contend,
And whither go I, what am I about?
And God forbid; yet doth it in the end.

Again

——— Pervigil igne
Carpitur indomito, furiosaque vota retractat,
Et modo desperat, modo vult tentare, pudetque
Et cupit, et quid agat, non invenit, &c.

With raging lust she burns, and now recals
Her vow, and then despairs; and when 'tis past,
Her former thoughts she'l prosecute in haste;
And what to do she knows not at the last.

She will and will not, abhors; and yet as Medea did, doth it:

———Trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido,
Mens aliud suadet; video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor.———

Reason pulls one way, burning lust another;
She sees and knows what's good, but she doth neither.

[v] O fraus, amorque, et mentis emotæ furor,
Quo me abstulistis?

The major part of lovers are carried headlong like so many brute beasts; reason counsells one way; thy friends, fortunes, shame, disgrace, danger, and an ocean of cares that will certainly follow; yet this furious lust, præcipitates, counterpoiseth, weighs down on the other; though it be their utter undoing, perpetuall infamy, loss, yet they will do it, and become at last *insensati*, void of sense; degenerate into dogs, hogs, asses, brutes; as Jupiter into a bull, Apuleius an asse, Lycaon a wolf, Tereus a lap-wing, [w] Calisto a bear, Elpenor and Grillus into swine by Circe. For what else may we think those ingenious poets to have shadowed in their witty fictions and poems? but, that a man, once given over to his lust (as [x] Fulgentius interprets that of Apuleius, Alciat of Tereus) *is no better then a beast.*

[y] Rex fueram, sic crista docet, sed sordida vita
Immundam e tanto culmine fecit avem.

I was a king, my crown a witness is,
But by my filthiness am come to this.

Their blindness is all out as great, as manifest as their weakness and dotage; or rather an inseparable companion, an ordinary sign of it. [z] Love is blind, as the saying is, Cupids blind, and so are all his followers. *Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam.* Every lover admires his mistress, though she be very deformed of her self, ill-favored, wrinkled, pimpled, pale, red, yellow, tan'd, tallow-faced, have a swoln juglers platter face, or a thin, lean, chitty face, have clouds in her face, be crooked, dry, bald, goggle-

[o] Stroza sil. Epig. [p] Quippe hæc omnia ex atrâ bile et amore proveniunt. Jason Pratensis. [q] Immensus amor ipsa stultitia est. Cardan. lib. 1. de sapientiâ. [r] Mantuan. [s] Virg. Æn. 4. [t] Seneca Hippol. [u] Met. 10. [v] Buchanan. [w] An immodest woman is like a bear. [x] Feram indnit dum rosas comedat, idem ad se redeat. [y] Alciatus de upupâ Embl. Animal immundum upupa stercora amans; ave hac nihil fœdius, nihil libidinosius. Sabin. in Ovid. Met. [z] Love is like a false glasse, which represents every thing fairer then it is.

ey'd, blear-ey'd or with staring eys, she looks like a squis'd cat, hold her head still awry, heavy, dull, hollow-ey'd, black or yellow about the eys, or squint-ey'd, sparrow-mouthed, Persean hook-nosed, have a sharp fox nose, a red nose, China flat, great nose, *nare simo patuloque*, a nose like a promontory, gubber-tushed, rotten teeth, black, uneven, brown teeth, beetle browed, a witches beard, her breath stink all over the room, her nose drop winter and summer, with a Bavarian poke under her chin, a sharp chin, lave eared, with a long cranes neck, which stands awry too, *pendulis mammis, her dugs like two double jugs*, or else no dugs in the other extream, bloody-faln-fingers, she have filthy long unpaired nailes, scabbed hands or wrists, a tan'd skin, a rotten carcass, crooked back, she stoops, is lame, splea-footed, *as slender in the middle as a cow in the wast*, gowty legs, her ankles hang over her shooes, her feet stink, she breed lice, a meer changeling, a very monster, an aufe imperfect, her whole complexion savours, an harsh voyce, incondite gesture, vile gate, a vast virago, or an ugly tit, a slug, a fat fustilugs, a trusse, a long lean rawbone, a skeleton, a sneaker (*si qua latent meliora putu*), and to thy judgement looks like a mard in a lanthorn, whom thou couldst not fancy for a world, but hatest, loathest, and wouldst have spit in her face, or blow thy nose in her bosome, *remedium amoris* to another man, a dowdy, a slut, a scold, a nasty, rank, rammy, filthy, beastly quean, dishonest peradventure, obscene, base, beggerly, rude, foolish, untaught, peevish, Irus daughter, Thersites sister, Grobians scholler; if he love her once, he admires her for all this, he takes no notice of any such errours, or imperfections of body or mind. [a] *Ipsa hæc delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Agnæ ;* he had rather have her than any woman in the world. If he were a king, she alone should be his queen, his empress. O that he had but the wealth and treasure of both the Indies to endow her with; a carrack of diamonds, a chain of pearl, a cascanet of jewels (a pair of calf skin gloves of four pence a pair were fitter), or some such toye, to send her for a token; she should have it with all his heart; he would spend myriades of crowns for her sake. Venus herself, Panthea, Cleopatra, Tarquins Tanaquil, Herods Mariamne, or [b] Mary of Burgundy if she were alive, would not match her.

[c] Vincet vultus hæc Tyndarios,
Qui moverunt horrida bella.

Let Paris himself be judge; renowned Helena comes short; that Rodopheian Phillis, Larissean Coronis, Babylonian Thysbe, Polixena, Laura, Lesbia, &c. your counterfeit ladies were never so fair as she is.

[d] Quicquid erit placidi, lepidi, grati, atque faceti, | What e're is pretty, pleasant, facete, well,
Vivida cunctorum retines Pandora Deorum. | What e're Pandora had, she doth excell.

[e] Dicebam Triviæ formam nihil esse Dianæ.

Diana was not to be compar'd to her, nor Juno, nor Minerva, nor any goddess. Thetis feet were as bright as silver; the ancles of Hêbe clearer then chrystall; the arms of Aurora as ruddy as the rose; Junos breasts as white as snow; Minerva wise; Venus fair; but what of this? Dainty, come thou to me. She is all in all:

——— [f] Cælia ridens
Est Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens. | [g] Fairest of fair, that fairnesse doth excell.

Ephemerus in Aristænetus, so far admireth his mistress good parts, that he makes proclamation of them, and challengeth all comers in her behalf. [h] *Who ever saw the beauties of the East, or of the West? let them come from all quarters, all, and tell truth, if ever they saw such an excellent feature as this is.* A good fellow in Petronius cryes out, no tongue can [i] tell his ladies fine feature, or expresse it. *Quicquid dixeris minus erit, &c.*

[a] Hor. sat. lib. 1. sat. 3. [b] The daughter and heir of Carolus Pugnax. [c] Seneca in Octaviâ. [d] Lœchæus. [e] Mantuan. Ecl. 1. [f] Angerianus. [g] Faery Queen Cant. iii. 4. [h] Epist. 12. Quis unquam formas vidit orientis, quis occidentis, veniant undique omnes, et dicant veraces, an tam insignem viderint formam. [i] Nulla vox formam ejus possit comprehendere.

No tongue can her perfections tell,
In whose each part all tongues may dwell.

Most of your lovers are of his humour and opinion. She is *nulli secunda*, a rare creature, a phœnix, the sole commandress of his thoughts, queen of his desires, his only delight: as [j]Triton now feelingly sings, that love-sick sea-god.

Candida Leucothöe placet, et placet atra Melæne,
Sed Galatea placet longe magis omnibus una.

Fair Leucothe, black Melæne please me well,
But Galatea doth by ods the rest excell.

All the gracious elogies, metaphors, hyperbolical comparisons of the best things in the world, the most glorious names; whatsoever, I say, is pleasant, amiable, sweet, grateful, and delicious, are too little for her.

Phœbo pulchrior et sorore Phœbi.

His Phœbe is so fair, she is so bright,
She dims the suns lustre, and the moons light.

Stars, suns, moones, mettals, sweet smelling flowers, odours, perfumes, colours, gold, silver, ivory, pearls, pretious stones, snow, painted birds, doves, hony, suger, spice, cannot expresse her; [k]so soft, so tender, so radiant, sweet, so fair is she.

——— Mollior cuniculi capillo, &c.

[l]Lydia bella, puella candida,
Quæ bene superas lac, et lilium,
Albamque simul rosam et rubicundum,
Et expolitum ebur Indicum.

Fine Lydia my mistress white and fair,
The milk, the lilly do not thee come neer;
The rose so white, the rose so red to see,
And Indian ivory, comes short of thee:

Such a description our English Homer makes of a fair lady.

[m]That Emilia that was fairer to be seen,
Then is lilly upon the stalk green:
And fresher then May with flowers new,

For with the rose colour strove her hew,
I not which was the fairer of the two.

In this very phrase [n]Polyphemus courts Galatea.

Candidior folio nivei Galatea ligustri,
Floridior prato, longâ procerior alno,
Splendidior vitro, tenero lascivior hædo, &c.
Mollior et cygni plumis, et lacte coacto.

Whiter Galet then the white withie-wind,
Fresher then a field, higher then a tree.
Brighter then glass, more wanton then a kid,
Softer then swans down, or ought that may be.

So she admires him again, in that conceited dialogue of Lucian, which John Secundus, an elegant Dutch modern poet, hath translated into verse. When Doris and those other sea nymphs, upbraided her with her ugly mishapen lover Polyphemus, she replyes; they speak out of envy and malice:

Et plane invidia hæc mera vos stimulare videtur,
Quod non vos itidem ut me Polyphemus amet;

Say what they could, he was a proper man. And as Heloissa writ to her sweetheart Peter Abelhardus, *Si me Augustus orbis imperator uxorem expeteret, mallem tua esse meretrix quam orbis imperatrix*; she had rather be his vassal or quean, then the worlds empress or queen. —— *non si me Jupiter ipse forte velit*, —— she would not change her love for Jupiter himself.

To thy thinking she is a most loathsome creature; and as when a countrey fellow discommended once that exquisite picture of Helena, made by Zeuxis, [o]for he saw no such beauty in it; Nicomachus, a love-sick spectator, replyed, *Sume tibi meos oculos et Deam existimabis*; take mine eys, and thou wilt think she is a goddess; dote on her forthwith; count all her vices, vertues; her imperfections, infirmities, absolute and perfect: If she be flat-nosed, she is lovely; if hook-nosed, kingly; if dwarfish and little, pretty; if tall, proper and man-like, our brave Brittish Bunduica; if crooked, wise; if monstrous, comely; her defects are no defects at all; she hath no deformities. *Immo nec ipsum amicæ stercus fœtet*; Though she be nasty, fulsome as Sostratus bitch, or Parmenos sow: thou hadst as lieve have a snake in thy bosome, a toad in thy dish, and callest her witch, divel, hag, with all the filthy names thou canst invent; he admires her on the other side; she is his idoll, lady, mistress, [p]Venerilla, queen, the quintessence of beauty, an angel, a star, a goddess.

[q]Thou art my Vesta, thou my Goddess art,
Thy hallowed temple onely is my heart.

[j]Calcagnini dial. Galat. [k]Catullus. [l]Petronii Catalect. [m]Chaucer in the knight's tale. [n]Ovid. Met. 13. [o]Plutarch. Sibi dixit tam pulchram non videri, &c. [p]Quanto quam Lucifer, aurea Phœbe, tanto virginibus conspectior omnibus Herce. Ovid. [q]Mich. Drayton, Son. 30.

The fragrancy of a thousand curtesans is in her face; *Nec pulchra effigies hæc Cypridis aut Stratonices;* 'Tis not Venus picture that, nor the Spanish Infantas, as you suppose, (good Sir) no princess, or kings daughter; no, no, but his divine mistress forsooth, his dainty Dulcinea, his dear Antiphila, to whose service he is wholly consecrate, whom he alone adores.

[r] Cui comparatus indecens erit pavo,
Inamabilis sciurus, et frequens phœnix.

To whom confer'd, a peacocks undecent,
A squirrels harsh, a phœnix too frequent.

All the graces, veneries, elegances, pleasures attend her. He prefers her before a myriade of court ladies.

[s] He that commends Phillis or Nerea,
Or Amarillis, or Galatea,

Tityrus or Melibœa, by your leave,
Let him be mute, his love the praises have.

Nay, before all the gods and goddesses themselves. So [t]Quintus Catullus admired his squint-ey'd friend Roscius.

Pace mihi liceat (Cœlestes) dicere vestrâ,
Mortalis visus pulchrior esse Deo.

By your leave gentle Gods, this I'll say true,
There's none of you that have so fair an hew.

All the bumbast epithetes, patheticall adjuncts, incomparably fair, curiously neat, divine, sweet, dainty, delitious, &c. pretty diminutives, *corculum suaviolum, &c.* pleasant names may be invented, bird, mouse, lamb, puss, pigeon, pigsney, kid, hony, love, dove, chicken, &c. he puts on her.

[u] Meum mel, mea suavitas, meum cor,
Meum suaviolum, mei lepores.

My life, my light, my jewell, my glory. [v]*Margareta speciosa, cujus respectu omnia mundi pretiosa sordent;* my sweet Margaret, my sole delight and darling. And as [w]Rhodomant courted Isabella;

By all kind words, and gestures that he might,
He calls her his dear heart, his sole belov'd,
His joyfull comfort, and his sweet delight.

His mistress, and his goddess, and such names
As loving knights apply to lovely dames.

Every cloth she wears, every fashion pleaseth him above measure; her hand, *O quales digitos, quas habet illa manus!* pretty foot, pretty coronets, her sweet carriage, sweet voyce, tone, O that pretty tone, her divine and lovely looks, her every thing, lovely, sweet, amiable, and pretty, pretty, pretty. Her very name (let it be what it will) is a most pretty pleasing name: I beleeve now there is some secret power and vertue in names, every action, sight, habit, gesture; he admires, whether she play, sing, or dance, in what tyres soever she goeth, how excellent it was, how well it became her, never the like seen or heard. [x]*Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.* Let her wear what she will, do what she will, say what she will; [y]*Quicquid enim dicit, seu facit, omne decet.* He applauds and admires every thing she wears, saith or doth;

[z] Illam quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia vertit,
Composuit furtim subsequiturque decor;
Seu solvit crines, fusis decet esse capillis,
Seu compsit, comptis est reverenda comis.

What ere she doth, or whither ere she go,
A sweet and pleasing grace attends, forsooth;
Or loose, or bind her hair, or comb it up,
She's to be honoured in what she doth.

[a] *Vestem induitur, formosa est; exuitur, tota forma est;* let her be dressed or undressed, all is one; she is excellent still; beautiful, fair, and lovely to behold. Women do as much by men; nay more, far fonder, weaker, and that by many parasanges. *Come to me, my dear Lycias* (saith Musarium in [b]Aristænetus) *come quickly, sweet-heart; all other men are satyres, meer clowns, block-heads to thee, no body to thee:* Thy looks, words, gestures, actions, &c. *are incomparably beyond all others.* Venus was never so much besotted on her Adonis; Phædra so delighted in Hippolitus; Ariadne in Theseus; Thysbe in her Pyramus, as she is enamored on her Mopsus.

Be thou the marygold, and I will be the sun;
Be thou the frier, and I will be the nun.

I could repeat centuries of such. Now tell me what greater dotage, or blind-

[r] Martial. l. 5. epig. 38. [s] Ariosto. [t] Tully lib. 1. de nat. Deor. Pulchrior Deo. et tamen erat oculis perversissimis. [u] Marullus ad Neeram epig. 1. lib. [v] Barthius. [w] Ariosto, lib. 29. hist. 8. [x] Tibullus. [y] Marul. lib. 2. [z] Tibullus l. 4. de Sulpitiâ. [a] Aristænetus, Epist. 1. [b] Epist. 24. Veni cito charissime Lycia, cito veni; præ te satyri omnes videntur, non homines, &c.

If I could but let my purse fall by chance as he [illegible] *ready to stoop and take it up, and kiss it; and with a low congee, offer it unto me: If I would wear another suit ready to sustain me by arm, a third to provide fruits, pears, plums, cherries, or whatsoever I did eat or drink.* [illegible] and much more he doth in her presence; and when he comes home, as Ovid in his Ovessid. 'tis all his meditation to recount to himself his actions, words, gestures; what entertainment he had, how coldly she used him in such a place, how she smiled, how she graced him, and how infinitely pleased him; then he breaks out, O sweet Areusa! O my dear-Antiphila! O most divine looks! O lovely graces! and thereupon instantly makes an epigram, or a sonnet to five or seven tunes, in her commendation; else he ruminates how she rejected his service, denied him a kiss, disgraced him, &c. and that as effectually torments him. And these are his exercises with comb and glass, madrigals, elegies, &c. these his cogitations till he hear again. But all this is easie and gentle, and the least part of his labour of bondage; no hunter will take such pains for his game, fowler for his bird, or souldier to suck a city, as he will for his mistress favour.

Ipsa comes veniam, neque me salebrosa movebunt
Saxa, nec obliquo dente timendus aper.

Phædra to Hippolitus. No danger shall affright. For if that be true poets him, Love is the son of Mars and Venus; as he hath delights,

[illegible] de nullo. Alterius affectui se totum componit, totus placere studet, et ipsius animam amatæ pequam facit. [illegible] Cyropæd. l. 6 Amori servitus, et qui amant optant eo liberari non secus ac alio quomodo, neque liberari tamen possunt, sed validiore necessitate ligati sunt quam si in ferrea vincula [illegible] In paradoxis An ille mihi liber videtur cui mulier imperat? cui leges imponit, præcipit, jubet, vetat quod videtur? Qui nihil imperanti negat, nihil audet, &c. poscit? dandum; vocat? eodum, minatur? cedimus eodum. Illane parva est servitus amatorum singulis fere horis pectine ilium, calamistrisque barbam componere, facicm aquis redolentibus diluere? &c. Si quando in pectum im antius quid mihi ex dilexit, elevate inde quam promptissime, nec nisi osculo compacto mihi manare. &c

pleasures, elegancies from his mother, so hath he hardness, valour, and boldness from his father. And 'tis true that Bernard hath; *Amore nihil mollius nihil violentius*, nothing so boisterous, nothing so tender as love. If once therefore enamored, he will go, run, ride many a mile to meet her, day and night, in a very dark night, endure scorching heat, cold, wait in frost and snow, rain, tempests, till his teeth chatter in his head; those northern winds and showrs cannot cool, or quench, his flames of love. *Intempestâ nocte non deterretur*, he will, take my word, he will sustain hunger, thirst, *Penetrabit omnia, perrumpet omnia, love will find out a way*, through thick and thin he will to her; *Expeditissimi montes videntur amnes tranabiles*, he will swim through an ocean, ride post over the Alpes, Apenine or Pirenean hills,

[h] Ignem marisque fluctus, atque turbines
Venti paratus est transire,———

though it rain daggers with their points downward, light or dark, all is one: *Roscida per tenebras Faunus ad antra venit;* for her sweet sake he will undertake Hercules twelve labours; endure, hazard, &c. he feels it not. [i] *What shall I say* (saith Hædus) *of their great dangers they undergo, single combats they undertake, how they will venture their lives, creep in at windows, gutters, climb over walls to come to their sweet-hearts*, (anointing the doors and hinges with oyl, because they should not creak, tread soft, swim, wade, watch, &c.) *and if they be surprised, leap out at windows, cast themselves headlong down, bruising or breaking their legs or arms, and sometimes loosing life it self*, as Calisto did for his lovely Melibœa. Hear some of their own confessions, protestations, complaints, proffers, expostulations, wishes, brutish attempts, labours in this kind. Hercules served Omphale, put on an aprone, took a distaffe and spun; Thraso the souldier was so submisse to Thais that he was resolved to do whatsoever she enjoyned. [j] *Ego me Thaidi dedam, et faciam quod jubet*, I am at her service. Philostratus in an epistle to his mistress; [k] *I am ready to dye, sweet-heart, if it be thy will; allay his thirst whom thy star hath scorched and undone; the fountains and rivers deny no man drink that comes; the fountain doth not say thou shalt not drink, nor the apple thou shalt not eat, nor the fair meadow walk not in me, but thou alone wilt not let me come near thee, or see thee; contemned and despised, I dye for grief.* Polienus, when his mistress Circe did but frown upon him, in Petronius, drew his sword, and bad her [l] kill, stab, or whip him to death; he would strip himself naked, and not resist. Another will take a journey to Japan, *longæ navigationis molestias non curans:* A third (if she say it) will not speak a word for a twelve months space; her command shall be most inviolably kept: A fourth will take Hercules club from him, and with that centurion in the Spanish [m] Cælestina, will kill ten men for his mistress Areusa, for a word of her mouth, he will cut bucklers in two, like pippins, and flap down men like flies; *Elige quo mortis genere illum occidi cupis?* [n] Galeatus of Mantua did a little more: for when he was almost mad for love of a fair maid in the city, she, to try him (belike) what he would do for her sake, bad him, in jest, leap into the river Po, if he loved her; he forthwith did leap headlong off the bridge, and was drowned. Another at Ficinum, in like passion, when his mistress by chance (thinking no harm I dare sware) bad him go hang; the next night, at her doors hanged himself. [o] *Mony* (saith Xenophon) *is a very acceptable*

[h] Plutarchus amat. dial. [i] Lib. 1. De contem. amor. Quid referam eorum pericula et clades, qui in amicarum ædes per fenestras ingressi, stillicidiaque egressi, indeque deturbati, sed aut præcipites, membra frangunt, collidunt, aut animam amittunt. [j] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 5. Scen. 8. [k] Paratus sum ad obeundam mortem, si tu jubeas; hanc sitim æstuantis sedà, quem tuum sidus perdidit: aquæ et fontes non negant, &c. [l] Si occidere placet, ferrum meum vides; si verberibus contenta es, curro nudus ad pœnam. [m] Act. 15. 18. Impera mihi; occidam decem viros, &c. [n] Gasper Ens. Puellam misere deperiens, per jocum, ab eâ in Padum desilire jussus, statim e ponte se præcipitavit. Alius, Ficino, insano amore ardens, ab amicâ jussus se suspendere, illico fecit. [o] Intelligo pecuniam rem esse jucundissimam, meam tamen libentius darem Clinie, quam ab aliis acciperem; libentius huic servirem, quam aliis impera-

and welcome guest, yet I had rather give it my dear Clinia, then take it of others; I had rather serve him, then command others; I had rather be his drudge, then take my ease, undergo any danger for his sake, then live in security. For I had rather see Clinia then all the world besides; and had rather want the sight of all other things, then him alone; I am angry with the night and sleep, that I may not see him; and thank the light and sun, because they shew me my Clinia. I will run into the fire for his sake; and if you did but see him, I know that you likewise would run with me. So Philostratus to his mistress, [p] *Command me what you will, I will do it; bid me go to sea, I am gone in an instant; take so many stripes, I am ready; run through the fire, and lay down my life and soule at thy feet, 'tis done.* So did Æolus to Juno:

—— Tuus, ô regina, quod optas Explorare labor, mihi jussa capessere fas est.	O queen, it is thy pains to enjoyn me still, And I am bound to execute thy will.

And Phædra to Hippolitus:

Me vel sororem, Hippolite, aut famulam voca Famulamque potius, omne servitium feram.	O call me sister, call me servant, chuse, Or rather servant, I am thine to use.
[q] Non me per altas ire si jubeas nives, Pigeat gelatis ingredi Pindi jugis Non si per ignes ire, aut infesta agmina, Cuncter, paratus, [r] ensibus pectus dare. Te tunc jubere, me decet jussa exequi.	It shall not grieve me to the snowy hills, Or frozen Pindus tops forthwith to clime, Or run through fire, or through an army, Say but the word, for I am alwaies thine.

Callicratides, in [s] Lucian, breaks out into this passionate speech; *O god of heaven, grant me this life for ever, to sit over against my mistress, and to hear her sweet voyce; to go in and out with her, to have every other business common with her; I would labour when she labours, saile when she sailes; he that hates her should hate me; and if a tyrant kill her, he should kill me; if she should dye, I would not live, and one grave should hold us both.* [t] *Finiet illa meos moriens morientis amores.* Abrocomus, in [u] Aristænetus, makes the like petition for his Delphia; [v] *Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.* 'Tis the same strain which Theagines used to his Chariclea, *So that I may but enjoye thy love, let me dye presently:* Leander to his Hero when he besought the sea waves to let him go quietly to his love, and kill him coming back. [w] *Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo.* 'Tis the common humour of them all, to contemn death, to wish for death, to confront death in this case; *Quippe queis nec fera, nec ignis, neque præcipitium, nec fretum, nec ensis, neque laqueus gravia videntur; 'Tis their desire* (saith Tyrius) *to dye.*

Haud timet mortem, cupit ire in ipsos
—— obvius enses.

Though a thousand dragons or divels keep the gates, Cerberus himself, Scyron and Procrustes lay in wait, and the way as dangerous, as inaccessible as hell, through fiery flames and over burning coulters, he will adventure for all this. And as [x] Peter Abelhardus lost his testicles for his Heloisa, he will (I say) not venture an incision, but life it self. For how many gallants offered to lose their lives for a nights lodging with Cleopatra in those dayes! and in the hour and moment of death, 'tis their sole comfort to remember their dear mistress, as [y] Zerbino slain in France, and Brandimart in Barbary; as Arcite did his Emely.

[z] when he felt death, Dusked both his eys, and faded is his breath, But on his lady yet casteth he his eye,	His last word was, mercy Emely, His spirit chang'd, and out went there, Whither I cannot tell, ne where.

rem, &c. Noctem et somnum accuso, quod illum non videam; luci autem et soli gratiam habeo, quod mihi Cliniam ostendant. Ego etiam cum Cliniâ in ignem currerem; et scio vos quoque mecum ingressuros, si videretis. [p] Impera quidvis: navigare jube navem conscendo: plagas accipere, plector; animam profundere, in ignem currere non recuso; lubens facio. [q] Seneca in Hipp. act. 2. [r] Hujus ero vivus, mortuus hujus ero. Propert. lib. 2. Vivam si vivat; si cadat illa, cadam. Id. [s] Dial. Amorum. Mihi ô Dii cœlestes, ultra sit vita hæc perpetua, ex adverso amicæ sedere, et suave loquentem audire, &c. si moriatur, vivere non sustinebo, et idem erit sepulcrum utrisque. [t] Buchanan. [u] Epist. 21. Sit hoc votum a Diis, amare Delphidem, ab eâ amari, alloqui pulchram et loquentem audire. [v] Hor. [w] Mart. [x] Lege Calamitates Pet. Abelhardi Epist. prima. [y] Ariosto. [z] Chaucer in the Knights tale.

[a]When captain Gobrias, by an unlucky accident, had received his deaths wound, *heu me miserum exclamat*, miserable man that I am, (instead of other devotions) he cries out, shall I dye before I see Rhodanthe my sweet heart? *Sic amor mortem* (saith mine author) *aut quicquid humanitus accidit, aspernatur*, so love triumphs, contemns, insults, over death itself. Thirteen proper yong men lost their lives for that fair Hippodamias sake, the daughter of Onomaus, king of Elis; when that hard condition was proposed of death or victory, they made no account of it; but couragiously for love died, till Pelops at last won her by a slight. [b]As many gallants desperately adventured their dearest blood, for Atalanta the daughter of Schenius, in hope of marriage, all vanquished and overcome, till Hippomenes, by a few golden apples, happily obtained his suit. Perseus of old, fought with a sea monster, for Andromedas sake; and our St. George freed the kings daughter of Sabea (the golden legend is mine author) that was exposed to a dragon, by a terrible combat. Our knights errant, and the Sir Lancelots of these dayes, I hope will adventure as much for ladies favours, as the Squire of Dames, Knight of the Sun, Sir Bevis of Southampton, or that renowned peere

[c]Orlando, who long time had loved dear
Angelica the fair, and for her sake
About the world in nations far and near,
Did high attempts perform and undertake;

he is a very dastard, a coward, a block and a beast, that will not do as much, but they will, sure they will; for it is an ordinary thing, for these enamoratos of our times, to say and do more; to stab their arms, carouse in blood: [d]or, as that Thessalian Thero, that bit off his own thumb, *provocans rivalem ad hoc æmulandum;* to make his corrival do as much. 'Tis frequent with them, to challenge the field, for their lady and mistress sake, to run a tilt;

[e]That either bears (so furiously they meet)
The other down under the horses feet,

and then up, and to it again:

And with their axes both so sorely pour,
That neither plate nor maile sustain'd the stour,
But riveld wreak like rotten wood asunder,
And fire did flash, like lightning after thunder;

and in her quarrel, to fight so long [f]*till their head piece, bucklers, be all broken, and swords hackt like so many saws;* for they must not see her abused in any sort; 'tis blasphemy to speak against her; a dishonour, without all good respect, to name her. 'Tis common with these creatures, to drink [g]healths upon their bare knees, though it were a mile to the bottome (no matter of what mixture) off it comes. If she bid them they will go barefoot to Jerusalem; to the great Chams court; [h]to the East Indies, to fetch her a bird in her hat: and, with Drake and Candish, sail round about the world for her sweet sake, *adversis ventis;* serve twice seaven years, as Jacob did for Rachel; do as much as [i]Gesmunda, the daughter of Tancredus prince of Salerna, did for Guisardus her true love, eat his heart when he died; or, as Artemesia drank her husbands bones beaten to powder, and so bury him in herself; and endure more torments then Theseus or Paris. *Et his colitur Venus magis quam thure, et victimis*, with such sacrifices as these (as [j]Aristænetus holds) Venus is well pleased. Generally, they undertake any pain, any labour, any toyl, for their mistress sake; love and admire a servant, not to her alone, but to all her friends and followers; they hug and embrace them for her sake; her dog, picture, and every thing she wears, they adore it as a relique. If any man come from her, they feast him, reward him, will not be out of his company, do him all offices, still remembring, still talking of her:

[k]Nam si absest quod ames, præsto simulacra tamen sunt
Illius, et nomen dulce obversatur ad aures.

[a]Theodorus prodromus Amorum, lib. 6. interpret. Gaulmino. [b]Ovid. 10. Met. Hyginus c. 185. [c]Ariost. lib. 1. cant. i. staff. 5. [d]Plut. dial. amor. [e]Faery Queen, cant. 1. lib. 4. & cant. 3. lib. 4. [f]Dum cassis pertusa, ensis instar serræ excisus, scutum, &c. Barthius Cælestina. [g]Lesbia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur. [h]As Xanthus for the love of Euripe; Omnem Europam peragravit. Parthenius Erot. cap. 8. [i]Beroaldus e Bocacio. [j]Epist. 17. 1. 2. [k]Lucretius.

The very carrier, that comes from him to her, is a most welcome guest: and if he bring a letter, she will read it twenty times over: and as [l] Lucretia did by Eurialus, *kiss the letter a thousand times together, and then read it:* And [m] Chelidonia by Philonius, after many sweet kisses put the letter in her bosome;

And kiss again, and often look thereon,
And stay the messenger, that would be gone:

And ask many pretty questions, over and over again; as how he looked, what he did, and what he said? In a word,

[n] Vult placere sese amicæ, vult mihi, vult pedissequæ,
Vult famulis, vult etiam ancillis, et catulo meo.

He strives to please his mistress, and her maid,
Her servants, and her dog, and 's well spaid.

If he get any remnant of hers, a busk-point, a feather of her fan, a shooe-tye, a lace, a ring, a bracelet of hair,

[o] Pignusque direptum lacertis,
Aut digito male pertinaci,

he wears it for a favour on his arm, in his hat, finger, or next his heart. Her picture he adores twice a day, and, for two houres together will not look off it: As Laodamia did by Protesilaus, when he went to war; [p] *Sit at home with his picture before her:* a garter or a bracelet of hers is more pretious then any saints relique; he lays it up in his casket, (O blessed relique) and every day will kiss it: if in her presence, his eye is never off her; and drink he will where she drank, if it be possible, in that very place, &c. If absent he will walk in the walk; sit under that tree where she did use to sit; in that bowr, in that very seat;——*et foribus miser oscula figit* many years after sometimes; though she be far distant, and dwell many miles off, he loves yet to walk that way still, to have his chamber-window look that way: to walk by that rivers side (which though far away) runs by the house where she dwels; he loves the wind blowes to that coast.

[q] O quoties dixi Zephyris properantibus illuc,
Felices pulchram visuri Amaryllida venti.

O happy western winds that blow that way,
For you shall see my loves fair face to day;

he will send a message to her by the winde;

[r] Vos auræ Alpinæ, placidis de montibus auræ,
Hæc illi portate.——

[s] he desires to confer with some of her acquaintance, for his heart is still with her; [t] to talk of her, admiring and commending her, lamenting, moaning, wishing himself any thing for her sake, to have opportunity to see her. O that he might but enjoye her presence! So did Philostratus to his mistress; [u] *O happy ground on which she treads, and happy were I if she would tread upon me. I think her countenance would make the rivers stand; and when she comes abroad, birds will sing, and come about her.*

Ridebunt valles, ridebunt obvia Tempe,
In florem viridis protinus ibit humus.

The fields will laugh, the pleasant vallies burn,
And all the grass will into flowres turn.

Omnis ambrosiam spirabit aura.

[v] *When she is in the meadow, she is fairer then any flowre, for that lasts but for a day; the river is pleasing, but it vanisheth on a sudden, but thy flowre doth not fade, thy stream is greater then the sea. If I looke upon the heaven, me thinks I see the sun faln down to shine below, and thee to shine in his place, whom I desire. If I look upon the night, me thinks I see two more glorious stars, Hesperus and thy self.* A little after he thus courts his mistress; [w] *If thou goest forth of the city, the protecting Gods that keep the town, will*

[l] Æneas Silvius. Lucretia quum accepit Eurialì litteras hilaris statim millieseque papirum basiavit. [m] Mediis inseruit papillis litteram ejus, mille prius pangens suavia. Arist. 2. epist. 13. [n] Plautus Asinar. [o] Hor. [p] Illa domi sedens, imaginem ejus fixis oculis assidue conspicata. [q] Buchanan Sylva. [r] Fracastorius Naugerio. [s] Happy servants that serve her, happy men that are in her company. [t] Non ipsos solum sed ipsorum memoriam amant. Lucian. [u] Epist. O ter felix solum! beatus ego, si me calcaveris; vultus tuus amnes sistere potest, &c. [v] Idem epist. In prato cum sit flores superat; illi pulchri, sed unius tantum diei; fluvius gratus, sed evanescit; at tuus fluvius mar major. Si cœlum aspicio, solem existimo cecidisse, et in terrâ ambulare, &c. [w] Si civitatis *egrederis, sequentur te* Dii custodes, spectaculo commoti; si naviges, sequentur; quis fluvius salum tuum *non riguret?*

after to gaze upon thee: If thou saile upon the seas, as so many small ts, they will follow thee: what river would not run into the sea? An- er, he sighs and sobs, swears he hath *cor scissum*, an heart bruised to rder, dissolved and melted within him, or quite gone from him, to his mistress ome, belike; he is in an oven, a salamander in the fire, so scorched with loves t; He wisheth himself a saddle for her to sit on; a posie for her to smell to; l it would not grieve him to be hanged, if he might be strangled in her garters: would willingly die to morrow, so that she might kill him with her own nds. [x]Ovid would be a flea, a gnat, a ring: Catullus a sparrow;

O si tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem
Et tristes animi levare curas.

acreon a glass, a gown, a chain, any thing:

[y] Sed speculum ego ipse fiam
Ut me tuum usque cernas;
Et vestis ipse fiam,
Ut me tuum usque gestes.
Mutari et opto in undam,
Lavem tuos ut artus;
Nardus, Puella, fiam,
Ut ego teipsum inungam;
Sim fascia in papillis,
Tuo et monile collo.
Fiamque calceus, me
Saltem ut pede usque calces.

[z] But I a looking-glass would be,
Still to be lookt upon by thee;
Or I, my love, would be thy gown,
By thee to be worn up and down;
Or, a pure well full to the brims,
That I might wash thy purer limbs:
Or, I'de be pretious balm to 'noint,
With choicest care each choicest joint;
Or, if I might, I would be fain
About thy neck thy happy chain,
Or would it were my blessed hap,
To be the lawn o'er thy fair pap.
Or would I were thy shooe, to be
Daily trod upon by thee.

thrice happy man that shall enjoye her: as they that saw Hero in Musæus: l [a]Salmacis to Hermaphroditus,

——— [b]Felices mammæ, &c. felix nutrix.———
Sed longe cunctis, longeque beatior ille,
Quem fructu sponsi et socii dignabere lecti.

e same passion made her break out in the comœdy, [c]*Næ illæ fortunatæ t quæ cum illo cubant;* happy are his bed-fellows; and as she said Cyrus, [d]*Beata quæ illi uxor futura esset*, blessed is that woman that ll be his wife; nay, thrice happy she that shall enjoye him but a night; *na nox Jovis sceptro æquiparanda:* Such a nights lodging is worth Jupiters pter.

[f] Qualis nox erit illa, Dii, Deæque,
[e] Quam mollis thorus!

what a blissful night would it be, how soft, how sweet a bed! She will ad- ture all her estate for such a night; for a nectarean, a balsome kiss alone.

Qui te videt beatus est
Beatior qui te audiet,
Qui te potitur est Deus.

e Sultan of Sanas wife, in Arabia, when she had seen Vertomannus, that nely traveller, lamented to her self in this manner; [g]*O God, thou hast de this man whiter than the sun, but me, mine husband, and all my ldren black; I would to God he were my husband, or that I had such a ;* she fell a weeping, and so impatient for love at last, *that (as Potiphars fe did by Joseph) she would have had him gone in with her; she sent away zella, Tegeia, Galzerana, her waiting maids; loaded him with fair mises and gifts*, and wooed him with all the rhetorick she could; ——*ex- mum hoc miseræ da munus amanti.* But when he gave not consent, she uld have gone with him, and left all, to be his page, his servant, or his key; *Certa sequi charum corpus ut umbra solet*, so that she might enjoye n; threatning moreover, to kill her self, &c. Men will do as much and re for women, spend goods, lands, lives, fortunes; kings will leave their wns, as king John for Matilda the nun at Dunmow.

El. 2b. 2. [y] Carm. 30. [z] Englished by M. B. Holliday in his Technog. Act. I. sum. 7. [a] lib. 4. [b] Xenophon Cyropæd. lib. 5. [c] Plautus de milite. [d] Lucian. [e] E. Græco [f] O- trouius. [g] Lod. Vertomannus navig. lib 2. c. 5. O Deus, hunc creasti [illegible] et conjugem meum et natos meos omnes nigricantes. Utinam hic, &c. [illegible]; e di- vomitalo oneravit, et donis, &c.

[k] But kings in this yet privileg'd may l
I'll be a monke, so I may live with th

The very Gods will endure any shame (*atque ali*
inquit, &c.) be a spectacle, as Mars and Venus,
Lucians Mercury wish, and peradventure so dost
their lives with alacrity.——— [l]*pro quâ non met*
pro quâ non metuam bis mori, I will dye twice, na
she dye, there's no remedy; they must die with h
lover in Calcagninus, wrote this on his darlings to

Quincia obiit, sed non Quincia sola obiit;	Quincia my de
Quincia obiit, sed cum Quinciâ et ipse obii:	For I am dead,
Risus obit, obit gratia, lusus obit,	Sweet smiles,
Nec mea nunc anima in pectore, at in tumulo est.	And my soule

How many doting lovers upon the like occasion
these are toyes in respect, they will hazard their
sake.

Atque aliquis inter juvenes miratus est, et ve
Non ego in cœlo cuperem Deus esse,
Nostram uxorem habens domi Hero.

One said, to heaven would I not desire at all to go,	If tha suc

Venus forsook heaven for Adonis sake,———
Old Janiverè, in Chaucer, thought, when he ha
never go to heaven, he should live so merrily h
mistress, he protests,

[k] Cœlum Diis ego non suum inviderem, Sed sortem mihi Dii meam invidèrent.	I would n The gods

Another as earnestly desires to behold his sweet-h
leave all this, and more then this, to see her alone.

[l] Omnia quæ patior mala si pensare velit fors, Unâ aliquâ nobis prosperitate, Dii, Hoc precor, ut faciant, faciant me cernere coram, Cor mihi captivum quæ tenet hocce, Deam.	If all my mis And God wo I would my Which doth

But who can reckon up the dotage, madness, se
foolish phantasms and vanities of lovers, their
tempts?

Yet for all this, amongst so many irksome, absur
inconveniences, phantastical fits and passions, w
such persons, there be some good and graceful
this affection causeth. As it makes wise men fo
fools become wise: [m]*it makes base fellows*
couragious, as Cardan notes out of Plutarch; c
nificent; clowns, civil; cruel, gentle; wicked p
religious; slovens, neat; churls, merciful; and
lazie drones, quick and nimble; feras mentes
cruel and rude Cyclops, Polyphemus, sighed, an
Galateas sake. No passion causeth greater alt
of joye or discontent. Plutarch, *Sympos. lib. 5.*
soule of a man in love is full of perfumes and sw
of pleasing tones and tunes; insomuch that it is
whether love do mortal men more harm then
makes them otherwise soft and silly, generous
faciebat amor. Ariadnes love made Theseus s
beauty Jason so victorious; *expectorat amor tim*
that the love of Venus made Mars so valorous.

[k] Mi. Drayton. [l] Hor. Ode 9. lib. 3. [m] Ov. Met. 10. [k] Buchan
dan lib. 2. de sap. Ex vilibus generosos efficere solet, ex timidis audac
civiles, ex crudelibus mansuetos, ex impiis religiosos, ex sordidis
cordes, ex mutis eloquentes. [n] Anima hominis amore capti tota
resonat, &c. [o] Ovid. [p] In convivio. Amor Veneris Martem
maxime erubescere cernimus, quum amatrix eum turpe quid commit

bashed to commit any foul offence, that shall come to the hearing or sight f his mistress. As [q]he that desired of his enemy, now dying, to lay him with is face upward, *ne amasius videret eum a tergo vulneratum*, least his sweetheart should say he was a coward. *And if it were* [r]*possible to have a city or n army consist of lovers, such as love, or are beloved, they would be extraordinary valiant and wise in their government; modesty would detain them rom doing amiss, emulation incite them to do that which is good and honest, nd a few of them would overcome a great company of others.* There is no man so pusillanimous, so very a dastard, whom love would not incense, make of a divine temper, and an heroicall spirit. As he said in like case, [s] *Tota ruat cæli moles, non terreor, &c.* Nothing can terrifie, nothing can dismay them: But, as Sir Blandimor and Paridel, those two brave faery knights, fought for the love of fair Florimel in presence—

[t]And drawing both their swords with rage anew,
Like two mad mastives each other slew,
And shields did share, and mailes did rash, and helms did hew:
So furiously each other did assail,
As if their souls, at once, they would have rent
Out of their brests, that streams of blood did trail
Adown, as if their springs of life were spent;
That all the ground with purple blood was sprent,
And all their armour stain'd with bloody gore,
Yet scarcely once to breath would they relent.
So mortal was their malice, and so sore,
That both resolv'd (then yield) to dye before.

Every base swain, in love, will dare to do as much for his dear mistress sake. He will fight and fetch, [u] *Argivum clypeum*, that famous buckler of Argos, to do her service; adventure at all, undertake any enterprise. And as Serranus the Spaniard, then governour of Sluys, made answer to Marquess Spinola, if the enemy brought 50000 divels against him he would keep it. The nine worthies, Oliver and Rowland, and forty dozen of peers are all in him; he is all mettle, armor of proof, more then a man; and in this case, improved beyond himself. For as [v] Agatho contends, a true lover is wise, just, temperate and valiant. [w] *I doubt not therefore, but if a man had such an army of lovers* (as Castilio supposeth) *he might soon conquer all the world, except by chance he met with such another army of inamoratos to oppose it.* [x] For so perhaps they might fight, as that fatal dog and fatal hare, in the heavens, course one another round, and never make an end. Castilio thinks Ferdinand King of Spain would never have conquered Granado, had not Queen Isabell and her ladies been present at the siege: [y] *It cannot be expressed, what courage the Spanish knights took, when the ladies were present; a few Spaniards overcame a multitude of Moors.* They will undergo any danger whatsoever, as Sir Walter Manny in Edward the thirds time, stuck full of ladies favours, fought like a dragon. For *soli amantes*, as [z] Plato holds, *pro amicis mori appetunt;* only lovers will dye for their friends, and in their mistress quarrel. And for that cause, he would have women follow the camp, to be spectators and encouragers of noble actions: upon such an occasion, the [a] Squire of Dames himself, Sir Lancelot or Sir Tristram, Cæsar, or Alexander shall not be more resolute or go beyond them.

Not courage only doth love add, but as I said, subtilty, wit and many pretty devises; [b] *Namque dolos inspirat amor, fraudesque ministrat:* [c] Jupiter in love with Leda, and not knowing how to compass his desire, turn'd himself into a swan, and got Venus to pursue him in the likeness of an eagle; which she doing, for shelter he fled to Ledas lap, *et in ejus gremio se collocavit;* Leda embraced him, and so fell fast asleep; *sed dormientem Jupiter compressit*, by which means Jupiter had his will. Infinite such tricks can love devise; such fine feats in abundance, with wisdome and wariness;——

[q] Plutarch. Amator. dial. [r] Si quo pacto fieri civitas aut exercitus posset partim ex his qui amant, partim ex his, &c. [s] Angerianus. [t] Faery Qu. lib. 4. cant. 2. [u] Zened. proverb. cont. 6. [v] Plat. Conviv. [w] Lib. 3. de Aulico. Non dubito quin is qui talem exercitum haberet, totius orbis statim victor esset, nisi forte cum aliquo exercitu confligendum esset in quo omnes amatores essent. [x] Hyginus de Cane et Lepore cœlesti, et Decimator. [y] Vix dici potest quantam inde audaciam assumerent Hispani, inde pauce infestas Maurorum copias superarunt. [z] Lib. 8. de legibus. [a] Spencers Faery Queen, 3. book, cant. 8. [b] Hyginus. 1. 2. [c] Aratus in phænom.

[d] *quis fallere possit amantem?* all manner of civ
and good behaviour, *plus salis et leporis*, polite
Bocace hath a pleasant tale to this purpose, wl
Greeks, and which Beroaldus hath turned into La
Cymon and Iphigenia. This Cymon was a fool, s
the governour of Cyprus son, but a very ass; ins
ashamed of him, sent him to a farm-house he had i
up; where by chance, as his manner was, walkin
yong gentlewoman named Iphigenia, a burgomast
her maid, by a brook side, in a little thicket, fast
she had newly bathed her self: *When* [e] *Cymon sa*
his staffe, gaping on her immovable, and in a ma
love with the glorious object, that he began to ro
what he was; would needs follow her to the city, s
civil, to learn to sing and dance, to play on ins
gentleman-like qualities and complements, in a sh
were most glad of. In brief, he became from an
of the most compleat gentlemen in Cyprus; did
all for the love of Mistress Iphigenia. In a wor
them all, let them be never so clownish, rude and
if once they be in love, they will be most neat
rebus, et nitidis nitoribus antevenit amor; they
to trick up, and to have a good opinion of th
mater Venus; a ship is not so long a rigging,
trimming up her self, against her sweet-heart
flowry meadow, no so gratious an aspect in Na
maid, *nubilis puella*, a Novitsa or Venetian bride
or a yong man that is her suiter; composed look
gestures, actions, all composed; all the graces, el
her face. Their best robes, ribbins, chains, je
spangles, must come on, [g] *præter quam res patil*
are beyond all measure coy, nice, and too curious
study, all their business, how to wear their cloaths
and to set out themselves. No sooner doth a yo
coming, but he smugs up himself, puls up his
shoulders, ties his garters, points, sets his band, c
beard, &c. When Mercury was to come before h

——— [h] Chlamydemque ut pendeat apte | He puts his cl
Collocat, ut limbus totumque appareat aurum. | And hem, and

Salmacis would not be seen of Hermaphroditus,
self first.

[i] Nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire, | Nor did she c
Quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus, | Till she comp
Et finxit vultum, et merult formosa videri. | And set her l

Venus had so ordered the matter, that when her
before Queen Dido, he was

Os humerosque Deo similis (namque ipsa d
Cæsariem nato genitrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum et lætos oculis afflârat honores)

like a god; for she was the tire-woman her sel
natural and artificial impostures. As mother M
gabalus, new chosen Emperour, when he was to
When the hirsute Cyclopical Polyphemus courted

[k] Jamque tibi formæ, jamque est tibi cura placendi, | And then he d
Jam rigidos pectis rastris Polypheme capillos, | To pleate and
Jam libet hirsutam tibi falce recidere barbam, | And look his f
Et spectare feros in aquâ et componere vultus. | And to compo

[d] *Virg.* [e] Hanc ubi conspicatus est Cymon, baculo innixus,
[f] *Plautus* Casina act. 2. sc. 4. [g] Plautus. [h] Ovid. Met. 2.
[i] *Ovid. Met.* 13.

He was, upon a sudden now, spruce and keen, as a new ground hatchet. He now began to have a good opinion of his own feature, and good parts; now to be a gallant.

Iam Galatea veni, nec munera despice nostra.
Certe ego me novi, liquidâque in imagine vidi
Super aquæ, placuitque mihi mea forma videnti.

Come now, my Galatea, scorn me not,
Nor my poor presents; for, but yesterday,
I saw myself ith' water, and me thought
Full fair I was, then scorn me not I say.

[l] Non sum adeo informis, nuper me in littore vidi,
Cum placidum ventis staret mare ——

'Tis the common humor of all suiters to trick up themselves, to be prodigal in apparel, *pure lotus*, neat, comb'd and curl'd, with powdred hairs, *comptus et calamistratus;* with a long love-lock, a flowre in his ear, perfumed gloves, rings, scarfs, feathers, points, &c. as if he were a princes Ganymede, with every day new suits, as the fashion varies; going as if he trod upon egs, and as Heinsius writ to Primierus, [m] *If once he be besotted on a wenche, he must lye awake a nights, renounce his book, sigh, and lament, now and then weep for his hard hap, and mark above all things what hats, bands, doublets, breeches, are in fashion; how to cut his beard and wear his lock, to turn up his mushatos, and curl his head, prune his pickitivant, or if he wear it abroad, that the east side be correspondent to the west:* he may be scoffed at otherwise, as Julian that apostate emperour was, for wearing a long hirsute, goatish beard, fit to make ropes with, as in his Mysopogone, or that apologetical oration he made at Antioch, to excuse himself, he doth ironically confess, it hindred his kissing; *nam, non licuit, inde pura puris, eoque suavioribus labra labris adjungere;* but he did not much esteem it, as it seems by the sequel, *de accipiendis dandisve osculis non laboro;* yet (to follow mine author) it may much concern a yong lover; he must be more respectful in this behalf, *he must be in league with an excellent taylor, barber,*

[n] Tonsorem puerum, sed arte talem,
Qualis nec Thalamis fuit Neronis;

have neat shooe-ties, points, garters, speak in print, walk in print, eat and drink in print, and that which is all in all, he must be mad in print.

Amongst other good qualities, an amorous fellow is endowed with, he must learn to sing and dance, play upon some instrument or other; as without all doubt he will, if he be truly touched with this loadstone of love. For as [o] Erasmus hath it, *musicam docet amor et poësin*, love will make them musicians, and to compose ditties, madrigals, elegies, love-sonnets, and sing them to several pretty tunes, to get all good qualities may be had. [p] Jupiter perceived Mercury to be in love with Philologia, because he learned languages, polite speech, (for Suadela herself was Venus daughter, as some write) arts and sciences, *quo virgini placeret*, all to ingratiate himself, and please his mistress. 'Tis their chiefest study to sing, dance; and without question, so many gentlemen and gentlewomen would not be so well qualified in this kinde, if love did not incite them. [q] *Who*, saith Castilio, *would learn to play, or give his minde to musick, learn to dance, or make so many rimes, love-songs, as most do, but for womens sake? because, they hope by that means, to purchase their good wills, and win their favour?* We see this daily verified in our yong women and wives; they that being maids, took so much pains to sing, play, and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents, to get those graceful qualities, now being married, will scarse touch an instrument; they care not for it. Constantine *agricult. lib.* 11. *cap.* 18.

[l] Virgil. Ecl. 2. [m] Epist. An uxor literato sit ducenda. Noctes insomnes traducendæ, literis renunciandum, sæpe gemendum, nonnumquam et illachrymandum sorti et conditioni tuæ. Videndum quæ vestes, quis cultus te deceat, quis in usu sit, utrum latus barbæ, &c. Cum curâ loquendum, incedendum, bibendum, et cum curâ insaniendum. [n] Mart. Epig. 5. [o] Chil. 4. cent. 5. pro. 16. [p] Martianus Capella lib. 1. de nupt. philol. Jam illum sentio amore teneri, ejusque studio plures habere comparatas in famulitio disciplinas, &c. [q] Lib. 3. de aulico. Quis choreis insudaret, nisi fœminarum causâ? quis musicæ tantam navaret operam, nisi quod illius dulcedine permulcere speret? quis tot carmina componeret, nisi ut inde affectus suos in mulieres explicaret?

makes Cupid himself to be a great dancer, by t capering amongst the gods, [r] *he flung down a bow upon the white rose, ever since made it red:* and Dædalus about Cupids statue, [s] made many yong signifie, belike, that Cupid was much affected witl was. For at his and Psyches wedding, the gods feast, Ganymede filled nectar in abundance (as [t] A was the cook; the Howres made all fine with roses the harp; the Muses sang to it, *sed suavi musicæ s* but his mother Venus danced, to his and their swe in that pathetical love passage, or pleasant desc of Europa, and swimming from Phœnicia to Cre winds hush; Neptune and Amphitrite riding in waves before them; the Tritons dancing roundab the sea-nymphs half-naked, keeping time on d Hymeneus; Cupid nimbly tripping on the top o self coming after in a shell, strawing roses and flo tiles, in all his pictures of love, fains Cupid ever dancers; and in Saint Markes Garden in Rome (v of the most delicious pieces, is many [v] Satyres dan So that dancing still is, as it were, a necessary Yong lasses are never better pleased, then when evensong, they may meet their sweet-hearts, and in a town-green, under a shady elm. Nothing sc citizens wives and maids to dance a round in th want of better instruments, to make good mus dance after it. Yea, many times, this love will that have more toes than teeth, dance,——*John* mum; for Comus and Hymen love masks, and measure, will allow men to put on womens appa miscuously to dance, yong and old, rich and poc sorts. Paulus Jovius taxeth Augustine Niphus *being an old man, and a publique professor, a f was so mad for the love of a yong maid, that whi ashamed to see, an old gowty fellow, yet would* laughed him to scorn for it, but this omnipotent l

[y] Hyacinthino bacillo	Love, hast
Properans Amor, me adegit	Me follow,
Violenter ad sequendum.	

And 'tis no newes this, no *indecorum;* for why? of it. Cupid and Death met both in an inne, they did exchange some arrows from either qu dye; and oftentimes, old men dote.——[z] *Sic mori amat.* And who can then withstand it? If once though our teeth shake in our heads like virgin asunder like the arches of a bridge, there is n Trenchmore for a need, over tables, chairs, and prancum is a fine dance. Plutarch, *Sympos.* l. 9 excuse it; and telleth us moreover, in what sense, *prius fuerit rudis,* how love makes them that had

[r] Craterem nectaris evertit saltans apud Deos, qui in terram cade
[s] Puellas choreantes circa juvenilem Cupidinis statuam fecit. Philos tium amori aptissimum. [t] Lib. 6. Met. [u] Tom. 4. [v] Kornm puellæ dormienti insultantium, &c. [w] View of Fr. [z] Vita ejus, usque ad insaniam correptus, multis liberis susceptis: multi, non philosophum podagricum, non sine risu, saltantem ad tibiæ modos. *Bellius Epig.*

and dance; he concludes, 'tis only that power and prerogative love hath over us. [a] *Love* (as he holds) *will make a silent man speake; a modest man most officious; dull, quick; slow, nimble; and that which is most to be admired, an hard, base, untractable churl, as fire doth iron in a smiths forge, free, facile, gentle, and easie to be entreated.* Nay 'twill make him prodigal in the other extream, and give an [b] hundred sesterces for a nights lodging, as they did of old to Lais of Corinth; or [c] *ducenta drachmarum millia pro unicâ nocte*, as Mundus to Paulina; spend all his fortunes (as too many do in like case) to obtain his suit. For which cause, many compare love to wine, which makes men jovial and merry, frolick and sad, whine, sing, dance, and what not.

But above all the other symptomes of lovers, this is not lightly to be over passed, that of what condition soever, if once they be in love, they turn (to their ability) rimers, ballet-makers, and poets. For as Plutarch saith, [d] *They will be witnesses and trumpeters of their paramours good parts, bedecking them with verses and commendatory songs, as we do statues with gold, that they may be remembred and admired of all.* Ancient men will dote in this kinde, sometimes, as well as the rest; the heat of love will thaw their frozen affections, dissolve the ice of age, and so far inable them, though they be 60 years of age above the girdle, to be scarce 30 beneath. Jovianus Pontanus makes an old fool rime, and turn poetaster to please his mistress:

[e] Ne ringas, Mariana; meos ne dispice canos;	Sweet Marian do not mine age disdain,
De sene nam juvenem, Dia, referre potes, &c.	For thou canst make an old man yong again.

They will be still singing amorous songs and ditties (if yong especially) and cannot abstain, though it be when they go to, or should be, at church. We have a pretty story to this purpose in [f] Westmonasteriensis, an old writer of ours (if you will believe it) an. Dom. 1012. at Colewiz in Saxony; on Christmass eve, a company of yong men and maids, whilst the priest was at mass in the church, were singing catches and love songs in the church-yard, he sent to them to make less noise, but they sung on still; and if you will, you shall have the very song it self.

Equitabat homo per sylvam frondosam,	A fellow rid by the green wood side,
Ducebatque secum Meswinden formosam.	And fair Meswinde was his bride,
Quid stamus, cur non imus?	Why stand we so, and do not go?

This they sung; he chaft; till at length, impatient as he was, he prayed to St. Magnus, patron of the church, that they might all three sing and dance, 'till that time twelve month; and so [g] they did, without meat and drink, wearisomness or giving over, till at yeares end they ceased singing, and were absolved by Herebertus, archbishop of Colen. They will in all places be doing thus, yong folks especially; reading love stories, talking of this or that yong man, such a fair maid, singing, telling or hearing lascivious tales, scurril tunes, such objects are their sole delight, their continual meditation, and as Guastavinius adds, *Com. in 4. sec. 27. prob. Arist. ob seminis abundantiam crebræ cogitationes, veneris frequens recordatio et pruriens voluptas, &c.* an earnest longing comes hence; *pruriens corpus, pruriens anima*, amorous conceits, tickling thoughts, sweete and pleasant hopes; hence it is, they can think, discourse willingly, or speak, almost of no other subject. 'Tis their only desire, if it may be done by art, to see their husbands picture in a glass; they'l give any thing to know when they shall be married; how many husbands they shall have, by Cromnyomantia, a kind of divination, with [h] onions laid on the altar on Christmass eve; or by fasting on St. Annes eve

[a] De taciturno loquacem facit, et de verecundo officiosum reddit, de negligente industrium, de socorde impigrum. [b] Josephus antiq. Jud. lib. 18. cap. 4. [c] Gellius l. 1. cap. 8. Pretium noctis centum sestertia. [d] Ipsi enim volunt suarum amasiarum pulchritudinis praecones ac testes esse, eas sandibus, et cantilenis et versibus exornare, ut auro statuas, ut memorentur, et ab omnibus admirentur. Tom. 2. Ant. Dialogo. [f] Flores hist. fol. 298. [g] Per totum annum cantárunt, pluvia super illos non cecidit; non frigus, non calor, non sitis, nec lassitudo illos affecit, &c. [h] His eorum nomina inscribuntur de quibus quærunt.

or night, to know who shall be their first husband; or by Amphitomantia, by beans in a cake, &c. to burn the same. This love is the cause of all good conceits, [i] neatness, exornations, playes, elegancies, delights, pleasant expressions, sweet motions and gestures, joyes, comforts, exultancies, and all the sweetness of our life; [j] *qualis jam vita foret, aut quid jucundi sine aurea Venere?* [k] *Emoriar cum istâ non amplius mihi cura fuerit*, let me live no longer then I may love, saith a mad merry fellow in Mimnermus. This love is that salt, that seasoneth our harsh and dull labours, and gives a pleasant rellish to our other unsavory proceedings; [l] *Absit amor, surgunt tenebræ, torpedo, veternum, pestis, &c.* All our feasts almost, masques, mummings, banquets, merry meetings, weddings, pleasing songs, fine tunes, poems, love-stories, playes, comœdies, attelans, jigs, fescenines, elegies, odes, &c. proceed hence. [m] Danaus, the son of Belus, at his daughters wedding at Argos, instituted the first playes (some say) that ever were heard of. Symbols, emblems, impresses, devises, if we shall believe Jovius, Contiles, Paradine, Camillus de Camillis, may be ascribed to it. Most of our arts and sciences, painting amongst the rest, was first invented, saith [n] Patritius, *ex amoris beneficio*, for loves sake. For when the daughter of [o] Deburiades the Sycionian was to take leave of her sweetheart, now going to wars, *ut desiderio ejus minus tabesceret*, to comfort her self in his absence, she took his picture with cole upon a wall, as the candle gave the shadow; which her father admiring, perfected afterwards, and it was the first picture by report that ever was made. And long after, [p] Sycion for painting, carving, statuary, musick, and philosophy was preferred before all the cities in Greece. Apollo was the first inventer of physick, divination, oracles; Minerva found out weaving; Vulcan curious iron-work; Mercury letters; but who prompted all this into their heads? Love. *Nunquam talia invenissent, nisi talia adamâssent*; they loved such things, or some party, for whose sake they were undertaken at first. 'Tis true, Vulcan made a most admirable bruch or neck-lace, which long after Axion and Temenus, Phegius sons, for the singular worth of it, consecrated to Apollo at Delphos; but, Pharyllus the tyrant stole it away, and presented it to Aristons wife, on whom he miserably doted. (Parthenius tels the story out of Phylarchus); but why did Vulcan make this excellent ouche? to give Hermione, Cadmus wife, whom he dearly loved. All our tilts and turnaments, orders of the garter, golden fleece, &c. *Nobilitas sub amore jacet* ——— owe their beginnings to love; and many of our histories. By this means, saith Jovius, they would express their loving mindes to their mistress, and to the beholders. 'Tis the sole subject, almost, of poetry; all our invention tends to it, all our songs, and therefore, Hesiod makes the Muses and Graces still follow Cupid; and as Plutarch holds, Menander and the rest of the poets were Loves priests. Whatever those old Anacreons, all our Greek and Latin epigrammatists, love-writers, Antony Diogenes the most ancient, whose epitome we find in Phocius Bibliotheca, Longus Sophista, Eustathius, Achilles Tatius, Aristænetus, Heliodorus, Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, Parthenius, Theodorus, Prodromus, Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, &c. Our new Ariostoes, Boyards, authors, of Arcadia, Urania, Faerie Queen, &c. Marullus, Leotichius, Angerianus, Stroza, Secundus, Capellanus, &c. with the rest of those facete modern poets, have written in this kinde, are but a so many symptomes of love. Their whole books are a synopsis or breviary of love, the portus of love, legends of lovers lives and deaths, and of their memorable adventures. Nay more, *quod leguntur, quod laudantur, amori*

[i] Huic munditias, ornatum, leporem, delicias, ludos, elegantiam, omnem denique vitæ suavitatem debemus. [j] Hyginus cap. 272. [k] E. Græco. [l] Angerianus. [m] Lib. 4. Tit. 11. de prin. instit. [n] Plin. *lib. 35. cap. 12* [o] Gerbellius l. 6. descript. Gr. [p] Fransus l. 3. de Symbolis. Qui primus symbolum *excogitavit, voluit nimirum, hac actione implicatum animum evolvere, cumque vel dominam vel alias intuentibus ostendere.*

debent, as [q]Nevisanus, the lawyer, holds; *there never was any excellent poet, that invented good fables, or made laudable verses, which was not in love himself;* had he not taken a quil from Cupids wings, he could never have written so amorously as he did.

[r]Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti,
Ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris habet.
Fama est arguti Nemesis formosa Tibulli,
Lesbia dictavit, docte Catulle, tibi.
Non me Pelignus, nec spernet Mantua vatem,
Si qua Corinna mihi, si quis Alexis erit.

Wanton Propertius, and wittyGallus,
Subtile Tibullus, and learned Catullus,
It was Cynthia, Lesbia, Lycoris,
That made you poets all; and if Alexis
Or Corinna chance my paramour to be,
Virgil and Ovid shall not despise me.

[s]Non me carminibus vincet, nec Thraceus Orpheus,
Nec Linus.

Petrarchs Laura made him so famous; Astrophels Stella and Jovianus Pontanus mistress was the cause of his *Roses, Violets, Lillies, Nequitiæ, blanditiæ, joci, decor, Nardus, Ver, Corolla, Thus, Mars, Pallas, Venus, Charis, Crocum, Laurus, Unguentum, Costum, Lachrymæ, Myrrha, Musæ, &c.* and the rest of his poems. Why are Italians at this day generally so good poets and painters? because every man of any fashion amongst them, hath his mistress. The very rusticks and hog-rubbers, Menalcas and Coridon, *qui fœtant de stercore equino*, those fulsome knaves, if once they tast of this love-liquor, are inspired in an instant. Instead of those accurate emblems, curious impresses, gaudy masques, tilts, turnaments, &c. they have their wakes, whitson-ales, shepheards feasts, meetings on holy days, country dances, roundelays, writing their names on [t]trees, true lovers knots, pretty gifts.

With tokens, hearts divided, and half rings,
Shepheards, in their loves, are as coy as kings.

Choosing lords, ladies, kings, queens, and valentines, &c. they go by couples;

Coridons Phillis, Nysa and Mopsus,
With daynty Dousibel and Sir Tophus.

Instead of odes, epigrams and elegies, &c. they have their ballads, country tunes, *O the broom, the bonny bonny broom*, ditties and songs, *Bess a Bell, she doth excel*,—they must write likewise and indite all in rime.

[u]Thou bony-suckle of the hathorne hedge,
Vouchsafe in Cupids cup my heart to pledge;
My hearts dear bloud, sweet Cis is thy carouse,
Worth all the ale in gammer Gubbins house.

I say no more, affairs call me away;
My fathers horse for provender doth stay.
Be thou the lady Cressetlight to me,
Sir Trolly Lolly will I prove to thee.

Written in hast, farewel my cowslip sweet.
Pray let's a Sunday at the ale-house meet.

Your most grim stoicks and severe philosophers will melt away with this passion; and if [v]Athenæus bely them not, Aristippus, Apollodorus, Antiphanes, &c. have made love songs and commentaries of their mistress praises, [w]orators write epistles, princes give titles, honours, what not? [x]Xerxes gave to Themistocles, Lampsacus to find him wine, Magnesia for bread, and Myunte for the rest of his diet. The [y]Persian kings allotted whole cities to like use; *hæc civitas mulieri redimiculum præbeat, hæc in collum, hæc in crines*, one whole city served to dress her hair, another her neck, a third her hood. Assuerus would have [z]given Esther half his empire, and [a]Herod bid *Herodias daughter ask what she would, she should have it.* Caligula gave 100000 sesterces to his curtisan, at first word, to buy her pins; and yet when he was sollicited by the senate, to bestow something to repair the decayed walls of Rome, for the common-wealths good, he would give but 6000 sesterces at most. [b]Dionysius, that Sicilian tyrant, rejected all his privy counsellors, and was so besotted on Mirrha, his favourite and mistress, that he would bestow no office, or in the most weightiest business of the kingdome, do ought, without her especial

[q] Lib. 4. num. 102. sylvæ nuptialis. Poëtæ non inveniunt fabulas, aut versus laudatos faciunt, nisi qui ab amore fuerint excitati. [r] Martial. Ep. 73. lib. 9. [s] Virg. Ecl. 4. [t] Teneris arboribus amicarum nomina inscribentes, ut simul crescant. Hæd. [u] S. R. 1600. [v] Lib. 13. cap. Dipnosophist. [w] See Putean. epist. 33. de suâ Margareta, Beroaldus, &c. [x] Hen. Steph. apol. pro Herod. [y] Tully orat. 5. Ver. [z] Esth. 5. [a] Mat. 14. 7. [b] Gravissimis regni negotiis, nihil sine amasiæ suæ consensu fecit, omnesque actiones suas scortillo communicavit, &c. Nich. Bellus discurs. 26. de amat.

advice; prefer, depose, send, entertain no man, though worthy and well deserving, but by her consent: and he again, whom she commended, howsoever unfit, unworthy, was as highly approved. Kings and emperours, in stead of poems, build cities; Adrian built Antinoa in Ægypt, besides constellations, temples, altars, statues, images, &c. in the honour of his Antinous. Alexander bestowed infinite sums, to set out his Hephæstion to all eternity. [c]Socrates professeth himself *loves servant;* ignorant in all arts and sciences, a doctor alone in love matters; *et quum alienarum rerum omnium scientiam diffiteretur*, saith [d]Maximus Tyrius his sectator, *hujus negotii professor, &c.* and this he spake openly, at home and abroad, at publique feasts, in the academy, *in Pyræo, Lycæo, sub Platano, &c.* the very bloud-hound of beauty, as he is stiled by others. But I conclude there is no end of loves symptomes; 'tis a bottomless pit. Love is subject to no dimensions; not to be survayed by any art or engin: and besides I am of [e]Hædus minde, *no man can discourse of love matters, or judge of them aright, that hath not made tryal in his own person;* or as Æneas Silvius [f]adds, *hath not a little doted, been mad or lovesick himself.* I confess I am but a novice, a contemplator only, *Nescio quid sit amor, nec amo* —— I have a tincture; for why should I lye, dissemble or excuse it, yet *homo sum, &c.* not altogether inexpert in this subject, *non sum præceptor amandi;* and what I say, is meerly reading; *ex aliorum forsan ineptiis*, by mine own observation, and others relation.

MEMB. V.

Subsect. I.—*Prognosticks of Love-Melancholy.*

What fires, torments, cares, jealousies, suspitions, fears, griefs, anxieties, accompany such as are in love, I have sufficiently said: the next question is, what will be the event of such miseries; what they foretell. Some are of opinion that this love cannot be cured, *Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis*, it accompanies them to the [g]last. *Idem amor exitio est pecori pecorisque magistro;* and is so continuate, that by no perswasion almost, it may be relieved. *Bid me not love*, said [h]Eurialus, *bid the mountains come down into the plains, bid the rivers run back to their fountains; I can as soon leave to love, as the sun leave his course;*

[i] Et prius æquoribus pisces, et montibus umbræ,
Et volucres deerunt sylvis, et murmura ventis,
Quam mihi discedent formosæ Amaryllidis ignes,

First seas shall want their fish, the mountains shade,
Woods singing birds, the winds murmur shall fade,
Then my fair Amaryllis love allaid.

Bid me not love, bid a deaf man hear, a blind man see, a dumb speak, lame run; counsel can do no good; a sick man cannot relish; no physick can ease me. *Non prosunt domino quæ prosunt omnibus artes*, as Apollo confessed; and Jupiter himself could not be cured.

[j] Omnes humanos curat medicina dolores,
Solus amor morbi non habet artificem.

Physick can soon cure every disease
[k] Excepting love, that can it not appease.

But whether love may be cured or no, and by what means, shall be explained in his place; in the mean time, if it take his course, and be not otherwise eased or amended, it breaks out into outragious (often) and prodigious events *Amor et Liber violenti Dii sunt*, as [l]Tatius observes, *et eousque animum incendunt, ut pudoris oblivisci cogant;* Love and Bacchus are so violent Gods so furiously rage in our mindes, that they make us forget all honesty, shame and common civility. For such men, ordinarily, are as throughly possessed with this humor, become *insensati et insani*, for it is [m]*amor insanus*, as th

[a] Amoris famulus omnem scientiam diffitetur, amandi tamen se scientissimum doctorem agnosc
[d] Serm. 8. [e] Quis horum scribere molestias potest, nisi qui et is aliquantum insanit. [f] Lib. 1.
contemnendis amoribus. Opinor hac de re neminem aut disceptare recte posse aut judicare qui non in
versatur, aut magnum fecerit periculum. [g] Semper moritur, nunquam mortuus est qui amat. Æn. Si
[h] Eurial. ep ad Lucretiam, apud Æneam Silvium. Rogas ut amare deficiam? roga montes ut in planum d
veniant? ut fontes flumina repetant; tam possum te non amare, ac suum Phœbus relinquere cursu
[i] Buchanan Syl. [j] Propert lib 2. Eleg. 1 [k] Est orcus illa via, est immedicabilis, est rabies insan
Lib. 2. [m] Virg. Ecl. 3.

poet calls it; beside themselves, and as I have proved, no better then beasts, irrational, stupid, head-strong, void of fear of God or men, they frequently forswear themselves, spend, steal, commit incests, rapes, adulteries, murders, depopulate towns, cities, countries, to satisfie their lust.

[n] A divel 'tis, and mischief such doth work
As never yet did Pagan, Jew, or Turke.

The wars of Troy may be a sufficient witness; and as Appian *lib. 5. hist.* saith of Anthony and Cleopatra, [o] *Their love brought themselves, and all Egypt into extream and miserable calamities*, the end of her is as bitter as worm-wood, and as sharp as a two-edged sword. *Prov. 5. 4. 5. Her feet go down to death, her steps lead on to hell. She is more bitter then death* (Eccles. 7. 26.) *and the sinner shall be taken by her.* [p] *Qui in amore præcipitavit, pejus perit quam qui saxo salit.* [q] He that runs headlong from the top of a rock, is not in so bad a case, as he that falls into this gulf of love. For hence, saith [r] Platina, *comes repentance, desperation; they loose themselves, their wits, and make shipwrack of their fortunes altogether:* Madness to make away themselves and others; violent death. *Prognosticatio est talis*, saith Gordonius, [s] *si non succurratur iis, aut in maniam cadunt, aut moriuntur;* the prognostication is, they will either run mad, or dye. For if this passion continue, saith [t] Ælian Montaltus, *it makes the bloud hot, thick, and black; and if the inflammation get into the brain, with continual meditation and waking, it so dries it up, that madness followes, or else they make away themselves.* [u] *O Coridon, Coridon, quæ te dementia cepit?* Now, as Arnoldus adds, it will speedily work these effects, if it be not presently helped; [v] *They will pine away, run mad, and dye upon a sudden; facile incidunt in maniam*, saith Valescus, quickly mad, *nisi succurratur*, if good order be not taken;

[w] Eheu, triste jugum quisquis amoris habet, | Oh heavy yoke of love, which who so bears,
Is prius ac nôrit se periisse perit. | Is quite undone, and that at unawares.

So she confessed of herself in the poet.

[x] ——— Insaniam priusquam quis sentiat, | I shall be mad before it be perceived,
Vix pili intervallo a furore absum. | An hair breadth off scarse am I, now distracted.

As mad as Orlando for his Angelica, or Hercules for his Hylas;

At ille ruebat quo pedes ducebant, furibundus, | He went he car'd not whither, mad he was,
Nam illi sævus Deus intus jecur laniabat. | The cruel God so tortur'd him, alas!

[y] At the sight of Hero, I cannot tell how many ran mad,

[z] Alius vulnus celans insanit pulchritudine puellæ.
And whilst he doth conceal his grief,
Madness comes on him like a thief.

Go to Bedlam for examples. It is so well known in every village, how many have either dyed for love, or voluntarily made away themselves, that I need not much labour to prove it; [a] *Nec modus aut requies nisi mors reperitur amoris:* Death is the common catastrophe to such persons.

[b] Mori mihi contingat; non enim alia | Would I were dead, for nought, God knows,
Liberatio ab ærumnis fuerit ullo pacto istis. | But death, can rid me of these woes.

As soon as Eurialus departed from Senes, Lucretia his paramour [c] *never looked up, no jests could exhilarate her sad minde, no joyes comfort her wounded and distressed soule, but a little after she fell sick and died.* But this is a gentle end, a natural death, such persons commonly make away themselves.

——— proprioque in sanguine lætus,
Indignantem animam vacuas effudit in auras;

so did Dido; *Sed moriamur, ait, sic sic juvat ire per umbras.* Piramus and

[n] R. T. [o] Qui quidem amor utrosque et totam Ægyptum extremis calamitatibus involvit. [p] Plautus [q] Ut corpus pondere, sic animus amore præcipitatur. Austin. l. 2. de civ. Dei, c. 28. [r] Dial. Hinc oritur pœnitentia, desperatio, et non vident ingenium se cum re simul amisisse. [s] Idem Savanarola et plures alii, &c. Rabidum facturus orexin. Juven. [t] Cap. de Heroico Amore. Hæc passio durans sanguinem torridum et atrabilarium reddit; hic vero ad cerebrum delatus, insaniam parat, vigilias et crebro desiderio exsiccans. [u] Virg. Ecl. 2. [v] Insani fiunt, aut sibi ipsis desperantes mortem afferunt. Languentes cito mortem aut maniam patiuntur. [w] Calcagninus. [x] Theocritus Edyl. 14. [y] Lucian Imag. So for Luciane mistress, all that saw her, and could not enjoye her, ran mad, or hanged themselves. [z] Musæus. [a] Ovid met. 10. [b] Anacreon. [c] Æneas Silvius. Ad ejus decessum numquam visa Lucretia ridere, nullis facetiis, jocis, nullo gaudio potuit ad lætitiam renovari, mox in ægritudinem incidit, et sic brevi contabuit.

Thysbe, Medea, [d] Coresus and Callyrhoë, Theagines, [e] the philosopher, and many myriades besides, and so will ever do;

——— [f]et mihi fortis
Est manus, est et amor, dabit hic in vulnera vires;

Who ever heard a story of more woe,
Then that of Juliet and her Romeo?

Read Parthenium in Eroticis; and Plutarchs *amatorias narrationes*, or loves stories; all tending almost, to this purpose. Valleriola *lib.* 2. *observ.* 7. hath a lamentable narration of a merchant, his patient, [g] *that raving through impatience of love, had he not been watched, would every while have offered violence to himself.* Amatus Lucitanus, *cent.* 3. *car.* 56. hath such [h] another story; and Fælix Plater, *med. observ. lib.* 1, a third, of a yong [i] gentleman that studied physick, and for the love of a doctors daughter, having no hope to compass his desire, poysoned himself, [j] Anno 1615. A barber in Francfort, because his wenche was betrothed to another, cut his own throat. [k] At Neoburge, the same yeer, a yong man, because he could not get her parents consent, killed his sweet-heart, and afterward himself, desiring this of the magistrate, as he gave up the ghost, that they might be buried in one grave; *Quodque roÿis superest unâ requiescat in urnâ:* which [l] Gesmunda besought of Tancredus her father, that she might be, in like sort, buried with Guiscardus her lover; that so their bodies might lye together in the grave, as their soules wander about [m] *campos lugentes* in the Elysian fields, —— *quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit*, in a myrtle grove,

——— et myrtea circum
Sylva tegit: curæ non ipsâ in morte relinquunt.

You have not yet heard the worst: they do not offer violence to themselves, in this rage of lust, but unto others, their nearest and dearest friends. [n] Catiline killed his only son, *misitque ad orci pallida, lethi obnubila, obsita tenebris loca*, for the love of Aurelia Orestilla, *quod ejus nuptias, vivo filio, recusaret.* [o] Laodice, the sister of Mithridates, poysoned her husband, to give content to a base fellow, whom she loved. [p] Alexander, to please Thais, a concubine of his, set Persepolis on fire. [q] Nereus wife, a widdow and lady of Athens, for the love of a Venetian gentleman, betrayed the city; and he for her sake, murthered his wife, the daughter of a noble man in Venice. [r] Constantine Despota, made away Catharine his wife, turned his son Michael and his other children, out of doors, for the love of a base scriveners daughter in Thessalonica, with whose beauty he was enamored. [s] Leucophria betrayed the city where she dwelt, for her sweet-hearts sake, that was in the enemies camp. [t] Pithidice the governours daughter of Methinia, for the love of Achilles, betrayed the whole iland to him, her fathers enemy. [u] Diognetus did as much, in the city where he dwelt, for the love of Policrita; Medea for the love of Jason; she taught him how to tame the fire-breathing brass-feeted bulls, and kill the mighty dragon that kept the golden fleece; and tore her little brother Absyrtus in pieces, that her father Æthes might have something to detain him, while she ran away with her beloved Jason, &c. Such acts and scenes hath this trage-comœdy of love.

MEMB. VI.

SUBSECT. I.—*Cure of Love-Melancholy, by Labour, Dyet, Physick, Fasting, &c.*

ALTHOUGH it be controverted by some, whether Love-Melancholy may be cured, because it is so irresistible and violent a passion; for as you know,

[d] Pausanias Achaïc. l. 7. [e] Megarensis amore flagrans. Lucian. Tom. 4. [f] Ovid. 3. met. [g] Furibundus putavit se videre imaginem puellæ, et coram loqui blandiens illi, &c. [h] Juven. Hebræus. [i] Juvenis medicinæ operam dans doctoris filiam deperibat, &c. [j] Gotardus Arthus Gallo-belgicus, mund. vernal. 1615. Collum novaculâ aperuit, et inde expiravit. [k] Cum renuente parente utroque, et ipsâ virgine frui non posset, ipsum et ipsam interfecit hoc a magistratu petens, ut in eodem sepulchro sepeliri possent. [l] Bocace. [m] Sedes eorum qui pro amoris impatientiâ pereunt. Virg. 6. Æneid. [n] Sal. Val. [o] Sabel. lib. 3. En. 6. [p] Curtius lib. 5. [q] Chalcocondilas de reb. Turcicis *lib. 9.* Nerei uxor Athenarum domina, &c. [r] Nicephorus, Greg. hist. lib. 8. Uxorem occidit, *liberos, et Michaelem* filium videre abhorruit; Thessalonicæ amore captus, pronotarii filiæ, &c. [s] Parthenius *Erot. lib.* cap. 5. [t] Idem ca. 21. Gubernatoris filia Achillis amore capta civitatem prodidit. [u] *Idem cap. 9.*

——— [t] facilis descensus Averni; Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras; Hic labor, hoc opus est.———	It is an easie passage down to hell, But to come back, once there, you cannot well.

Yet without question, if it be taken in time, it may be helped, and by many good remedies amended. Avicenna *lib.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *cap.* 23. *et* 24. sets down seven compendious ways, how this malady may be eased, altered and expelled. Savanarola, 9 principal observations; Jason Pratensis prescribes eight rules besides physic, how this passion may be tamed; Laurentius 2 main precepts; Arnoldus, Valleriola, Montaltus, Hildesheim, Langius, and others enform us otherwaies, and yet all tending to the same purpose. The sum of which I will briefly epitomize, (for I light my candle from their torches,) and enlarge again upon occasion, as shall seem best to me, and that after mine own method. The first rule to be observed, in subduing this stubborn and unbridled passion, is exercise and dyet. It is an old and well-known sentence, *Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus*; As an [w] idle sedentary life, liberall feeding, are great causes of it, so the opposite——labour, slender and sparing dyet, with continual business, are the best and most ordinary means to prevent it.

Otia si tollas, periêre Cupidinis artes, Contemptæque jacent, et sine luce faces.	Take idleness away, and put to flight Are Cupids arts, his torches give no light.

Minerva, Diana, Vesta, and the nine Muses, were not enamored at all, because they never were idle.

[x] Frustra blanditiæ appulistis ad has, Frustra nequitiæ venistis ad has, Frustra delicie obsidebitis has, Frustra has illecebræ, et procacitates, Et suspiria, et oscula, et susurri, Et quisquis male sana corda amantum Blandis ebria fascinat venenis.	In vain are all your flatteries, In vain are all your knaveries, Delights, deceipts, procacities, Sighs, kisses, and conspiracies, And what e're is done by art, To bewitch a lovers heart.

Tis in vain to set upon those that are busie. 'Tis Savanarolas third rule, *Occupari in multis et magnis negotiis;* And Avicennas precept, *cap.* 24. [y] *Cedit amor rebus; res age, tutus eris.* To be busie still, and as [z] Guianerius injoyns, about matters of great moment, if it may be. [a] Magninus adds, *Never to be idle, but at the hours of sleep.*

——— [b] et ni Poscas ante diem librum cum lumine, si non Intendas animum studiis, et rebus honestis, Invidiâ vel amore miser torquebere.———	For if thou do'st not ply thy book, By candle-light to study bent, Imploy'd about some honest thing, Envy or love shall thee torment.

No better physick then to be alwaies occupied, seriously intent.

[c] Cur in penates rarius tenues subit, Hæc delicatus eligens pestis domus, Mediumque sanos vulgus affectus tenet? &c.	Why dost thou ask, poor folks are often free, And dayuty places still molested be?

Because poor people fare coursly, work hard, go wollward and bare. *Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem:* [d] Guianerius, therefore, prescribes his patient *to go with hair-cloth next his skin, to go bare-footed, and bare-legged in cold weather, to whip himself now and then, as monkes do, but above all, to fast.* Not with sweet wine, mutton and pottage, as many of those tenterbellies do, howsoever they put on Lenten faces, and whatsoever they pretend, but, from all manner of meat. Fasting is an all-sufficient remedy of it self; for as Jason Pratensis holds, the bodies of such persons that feed liberally, and live at ease, [e] *are full of bad spirits and divels, divelish thoughts; no better physick for such parties, then to fast. Hildesheim spicil.* 2. to this of hunger adds, [f] *often baths, much exercise and sweat,* but hunger, and fasting, he prescribes before the rest. And 'tis indeed, our

[t] Virg. Æn. 6. [w] Otium naufragium castitatis. Austin. [x] Buchanan. Hendecasyl. [y] Ovid. lib. 1. remed. [z] Cap 16. circa res arduas exerceri. [a] Part. 2. c. 23. reg. San. His, præter horam somni, nulla per otium transeat. [b] Hor. lib. 1. epist. 2. [c] Seneca. [d] Tract. 16. cap. 18. Sæpe nudâ carne cilicium portent tempore frigido sine caligis: et nudis pedibus incedant, in pane et aquâ jejunent, sæpius se verberibus cædant, &c. [e] Dæmonibus referta sunt corpora nostra, illorum præcipue qui delicatis vescuntur edulibus, advolitant, et corporibus inhærent; hanc ob rem, jejunium impendio probatur ad pudicitiam. [f] Victus sit attenuatus, balnei frequens usus et sudationes, cold baths, not hot, saith Magninus part. 3. ca. 23. *to dive over head and ears in a cold river,* &c.

Saviours Oracle, *This kinde of divel is not cast out but by fasting and prayer*, which makes the fathers so immoderate in commendation of fasting. As *hunger*, saith [g] Ambrose, *is a friend of virginity, so is it an enemy to lasciviousness; but fulness overthrowes chastity, and fostereth all manner of provocations.* If thine horse be too lusty, Hierome adviseth thee, to take away some of his provender; by this meanes, those Pauls, Hillaries, Antonies, and famous anchorites, subdued the lusts of the flesh; by this means, Hilarion *made his asse, as he called his own body, leave kicking*, (so [h] Hierome relates of him in his life) when the divel tempted him to any such foule offence. By this means, those [i] Indian Brachmanni kept themselves continent; they lay upon the ground covered with skins, as the Redshanks do on hadder, and dyeted themselves sparingly on one dish, which Guianerius would have all yong men put in practice; and if that will not serve, [j] Gordonius *would have them soundly whipped, or to cool their courage, kept in prison*, and there fed with bread and water, till they acknowledge their errour, and become of another minde. If imprisonment and hunger will not take them down, according to the directions of that [k] Theban Crates, *time must wear it out; if time will not, the last refuge is an halter.* But this you will say, is comically spoken. Howsoever, fasting, by all meanes, must be still used; and as they must refrain from such meats formerly mentioned, which cause venery, or provoke lust, so they must use an opposite dyet. [l] Wine must be altogether avoided of the yonger sort. So [m] Plato prescribes; and would have the magistrates themselves abstain from it, for examples sake, highly commending the Carthaginians for their temperance in this kinde. And 'twas a good edict, a commendable thing, so that it were not done for some sinister respect, as those old Ægyptians abstained from wine, because some fabulous poets had given out, wine sprang first from the bloud of the gyants; or, out of superstition, as our modern Turkes, but for temperance, it being *animæ virus et vitiorum fomes*, a plague it self if immoderately taken. Women of old for that cause, [n] in hot countries, were forbid the use of it; as severely punished for drinking of wine, as for adultery; and yong folks, as Leonicus hath recorded, Var. *hist. l.* 3. *cap.* 87, 88. out of Athenæus and others; and is still practised in Italy and some other countries of Europe and Asia; as Claudius Minos hath well illustrated in his comment on the 23 embleme of Alciat. So choyce is to be made of other dyet.

Nec minus erucas aptum est vitare salaces,	Eringoes are not good for to be taken,
Et quicquid Veneri corpora nostra parat.	And all lascivious meats must be forsaken.

Those opposite meats which ought to be used, are, cowcumbers, mellons, purselan, water lillies, rue, woodbine, ammi, lettice, which Lemnius so much commends, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 42. and Mizaldus *hort. med.* to this purpose; Vitex, or Agnus castus before the rest, which, saith [o] Magninus, hath a wonderful vertue in it. Those Athenian women, in their solemn feasts called Thesmopheries, were to abstain nine dayes from the company of men, during which time, saith Ælian, they laid a certain hearb named Hanea, in their beds, which asswaged those ardent flames of love, and freed them from the torments of that violent passion. See more in Porta, Matthiolus, Crescentius *lib.* 5. *&c.* and what every herbalist, almost, and physician hath written, *cap. de Satyriasi et Priapismo;* Rhasis amongst the rest. In some cases again, if they be much dejected and brought low in body, and now ready to despair through anguish, grief, and too sensible a feeling of their misery, a cup of wine and full dyet is not amiss; and as Valescus adviseth, *cum aliâ honestâ*

[g] Ser. de gulâ. Fames amica virginitati est, inimica lasciviæ: saturitas vero castitatem perdit, et nutrit illecebras. [h] Vita Hilarionis, lib. 3. epist. Cum tentâsset eum dæmon titillatione inter cætera, Ego, inquit, aselle, ad corpus suum, faciam, &c. [i] Strabo l. 15. Geog. Sub pellibus cubant, &c. [j] Cap. 2. part. 2. Si sit juvenis, et non vult obedire, flagelletur frequenter et fortiter, dum incipiat fœtere. [k] Laertius, lib. 6. cap. 5. Amori medetur fames; sin aliter, tempus; si non hoc, laqueus. [l] Vina parant animos Veneri, &c. [m] 3. de Legibus. [n] Non minus si vinum bibissent ac si adulterium admisissent. Gellius, lib. 10. c. 23. [o] Rer. Sam. part. 3. cap. 23. Mirabilem vim habet.

venerem sæpe exercendo, which Langius *Epist. med. lib.* 1. *epist.* 24. approves out of Rhasis (*ad assiduationem coitûs invitat*) and Guianerius seconds it, *cap.* 16, *tract.* 16. as a [p]very profitable remedie:

> ——[q] tument tibi quum inguina, num si
> Ancilla, aut verna præsto est, tentigine rumpi
> Malis? non ego; namque, &c.——

[r]Jason Pratensis subscribes to this counsel of the poet, *Excretio enim aut tollit prorsus, aut lenit ægritudinem.* As it did the raging lust of Assuerus, [s]*qui ad impatientiam amoris leniendam, per singulas fere noctes novas puellas devirginavit.* And to be drunk too, by fits; but this is mad physick, if it be at all to be permitted. If not, yet some pleasure is to be allowed, as that which Vives speaks of, *lib.* 3. *de animâ.* [t]*A lover, that hath, as it were, lost himself through impotency, impatience, must be called home as a traveller by musick, feasting, good wine, if need be, to drunkenness it self; which many so much commend for the easing of the minde; all kinde of sports and merriments; to see fair pictures, hangings, buildings, pleasant fields, orchards, gardens, groves, ponds, pooles, rivers, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, to hear merry tales, and pleasant discourse, reading, to use exercise till he sweat, that new spirits may succeed; or, by some vehement affection or contrary passion, to be diverted, till he be fully weaned from anger, suspition, cares, feares, &c. and habituated into another course. Semper tecum sit,* (as [u]Sempronius adviseth Calisto his love-sick master) *qui sermones joculares moveat, conciones ridiculas, dicteria falsa, suaves historias, fabulas venustas recenseat, coram ludat, &c.* still have a pleasant companion to sing and tell merry tales, songs and facete histories, sweet discourse, &c. And as the melody of musick, merriment, singing, dancing, doth augment the passion of some lovers, as [v]Avicenna notes, so it expelleth it in others, and doth very much good. These things must be warily applied, as the parties symptomes vary, and as they shall stand variously affected.

If there be any need of physick, that the humours be altered, or any new matter aggregated, they must be cured as melancholy men. Carolus a Lorme amongst other questions, discussed for his degree, at Montpelier in France, hath this, *An amantes et amentes iisdem remediis curentur?* Whether lovers and mad men be cured by the same remedies? he affirms it; for love extended is meer madness. Such physick then, as is prescribed, is either inward or outward, as hath been formerly handled in the precedent partition in the cure of melancholy. Consult with Valleriola *observat. lib.* 2. *observ.* 7. Lod. Mercatus *lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. *de mulier. affect.* Daniel Sennertus *lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 10. [w]Jacobus Ferrandus, the Frenchman, in his tract *de amore Erotique*, Forestus *lib.* 10. *observ.* 29. *et* 30. Jason Pratensis and others, for peculiar receipts. [x]Amatus Lucitanus cured a yong Jew that was almost mad for love, with the syrupe of hellebor, and such other evacuations and purges, which are usually prescribed to black choler: [y]Avicenna confirms as much, if need require, and [z]*bloud-letting above the rest*, which makes *amantes ne sint amentes*, lovers to come to themselves, and keep in their right mindes. 'Tis the same which Schola Salernitana, Jason Pratensis, Hildesheim, &c. prescribe bloud-letting to be used as a principal remedy. Those old Scythians had a trick, to cure all appetite of burning lust, by [a]letting themselves bloud under the ears, and to make both men and women

[p] Cum muliere aliquâ gratiosâ sæpe coire erit utilissimum. Idem Laurentius, cap. 11. [q] Hor. [r] Cap. 29. de morb. cereb. [s] Beroaldus orat. de amore. [t] Amatori, cujus est pro impotentiâ mens amota, opus est, ut paulatim animus velut a peregrinatione domum revocetur, per musicam, convivia, &c. Per aucupium, fabulas, et festivas narrationes, laborem usque ad sudorem, &c. [u] Celestinæ Act. 2. Barthio interpret. [v] Cap. de Ilishi. Multos hoc affectu sanat cantilena, lætitia, musica; et quidam sunt quos hæc augent. [w] This author came to my hands since the third edition of this book. [x] Cent. 3. curat. 86. Syrupo helleborato et aliis quæ ad atram bilem pertinent. [y] Purgetur, si ejus dispositio venerit ad admist. humoris et phlebotomizetur. [z] Amantium morbus ut pruritus solvitur, venæ sectione et cucurbitulis. [a] Cura a venæ sectione per aures, unde semper steriles.

barren, as Sabellicus, in his Enneades relates of them. Which Salmuth. *Tit.* 10. *de Herol. comment. in Pancirol. de nov. report.* Mercurialis *var. lec. lib.* 3. *cap.* 7. out of Hippocrates and Benzo, say still is in use amongst the Indians, a reason of which Langius gives, *lib.* 1. *epist.* 10.

Huc faciunt medicamenta Venerem sopientia, *ut camphora pudendis alligata, et in brachiâ gestata (quidem ait) membrum flaccidum reddit. Laboravit hoc morbo virgo nobilis, cui inter cætera præscripsit medicus, ut laminam plumbeam multis foraminibus pertusam, ad dies viginti portaret in dorso; ad exsiccandum vero sperma jussit eam quam parcissime cibari, et manducare frequenter coriandrum præparatum, et semen lactucæ et acetosæ, et sic eam a morbo liberavit.* Porro impediunt et remittunt coitum folia salicis trita et epota, et si frequentius usurpentur ipsa in totum auferunt. Idem præstat topazius annulo gestatus, dexterum lupi testiculum attritum, et oleo vel aquâ rosatâ exhibitum Veneris tædium inducere scribit Alexander Benedictus: lac butyri commixtum et semen cannabis, et camphora exhibita idem præstant Verbena herba gestata libidinem exstinguit, pulvisque ranæ decollatæ et exsiccatæ. Ad exstinguendum coitum, ungantur membra genitalia, et renes et pecten aquâ in quâ opium Thebaicum sit dissolutum; libidini maxime contraria camphora est, et coriandrum siccum frangit coitum, et erectionem virgæ impedit; idem efficit sinapium ebibitum. *Da verbenam in potu, et non erigetur virga sex diebus: utere menthâ siccâ cum aceto, genitalia illinita succo hyoscyami aut cicutæ, coitûs appetitum sedant, &c.* ℞ *seminis lactu portuc. lac. coriandri an* ʒj. *menthæ siccæ* ʒ *ss. sacchari albiss.* ʒ iiij. *pulveriscentur omnia subtiliter, et post ea simul misce aquâ Neunpharis, f. confec. solida in morsulis. Ex his sumat mane unum quum surgat.* Innumera fere his similia petas ab Hildesheimo loco prædicto, Mizaldo, Portâ, cæterisque.

SUBSECT. II.—*Withstand the beginnings; avoid occasions; change his place: fair and fowl meanes; contrary passions, with witty inventions: to bring in another, and discommend the former.*

OTHER good rules and precepts are enjoyned by our physicians, which if not alone, yet certainly conjoyned, may do much; The first of which is *obstare principiis*, to withstand the beginning; [b] *Quisquis in primo obstitit, pepulitque amorem, tutus ac victor fuit*, he that will but resist at first, may easily be a conqueror at last. Baltazar Castilio l. 4. urgeth this prescript above the rest, [c] *when he shall chance*, (saith he) *to light upon a woman, that hath good behaviour joyned with her excellent person, and shall perceive his eys, with a kind of greediness, to pull unto them this image of beauty, and carry it to the heart: shall observe himself to be somewhat incensed with this influence, which moveth within: when he shall discern those subtle spirits sparkling in her eys, to administer more fuel to the fire, he must wisely withstand the beginnings; rowze up reason stupified almost; fortify his heart by all means, and shut up all those passages, by which it may have entrance.* 'Tis a precept which all concur upon.

[d] Opprime dum nova sunt subiti mala semina morbi,
Dum licet, in primo limine siste pedem.

Thy quick disease whilst it is fresh to-day,
By all means crush, thy feet at first step stay.

Which cannot speedier be done, then if he confess his grief and passion to some judicious friend [e] (*qui tacitus ardet magis uritur*, the more he conceals, the greater is his pain) that by his good advice, may happily ease him on a sudden; and withal to avoid occasions, or any circumstance that may aggravate his disease; to remove the object by all means; for who can stand by a fire and not burn?

[b] Seneca. [c] Cum in mulierem inciderit, quæ cum formâ morum suavitatem conjunctam habet, et jam *oculos persenserit*, formæ ad se imaginem cum aviditate quâdam rapere, cum eadem, &c. [d] Ovid. de rem. *lib. 1.* [e] Æneas Silvius.

[f] Sussilite obsecro et mittite istanc foras,
Quæ misero mihi amanti ebibit sanguinem.

'Tis good therefore, to keep quite out of her company; which Hierome so much labours to Paula, and his Nepotian; Chrysostome so much inculcates *in ser. in contubern.* Cyprian, and many other fathers of the church; Siracides in his ninth chapter; Jason Pratensis, Savanarola, Arnoldus, Valleriola, &c. and every physician that treats of this subject. Not only to avoid, as [g] Gregory Tholosanus exhorts, *kissing, dalliance, all speeches, tokens, love-letters and the like;* or, as Castilio, *lib.* 4. to converse with them, hear them speak, or sing, (*tolerabilius est audire basiliscum sibilantem*, thou hast better hear, saith [h] Cyprian, a serpent hiss) [i] *those amiable smiles, admirable graces, and sweet gestures*, which their presence affords.

[j] Neu capita liment solitis morsiunculis,
Et his papillarum oppressiunculis
Abstineant:———

but all talk, name, mention, or cogitation of them, and of any other women, persons, circumstance, amorous book, or tale, that may administer any occasion of remembrance. [k] Prosper adviseth yong men not to read the Canticles, and some parts of Genesis, at other times; but for such as are enamored, they forbid, as before, the name mentioned, &c. especially all sight; they must not so much as come neer, or look upon them.

[l] Et fugitare decet simulacra et pabula amoris,
Abstinere sibi atque alio convertere mentem.

Gaze not on a maid, saith Siracides, *turn away thine eys from a beautiful woman, c. 9. v. 5. 7. 8. averte oculos*, saith David, or if thou dost see them, as Ficinus adviseth, let not thine eye be *intentus ad libidinem*, do not intend her more then the rest: for as [m] Propertius holds, *Ipse alimenta sibi maxima præbet amor*, love as a snow-ball inlargeth it self by sight: but as Hierome to Nepotian, *aut æqualiter ama, aut æqualiter ignora*, either see all alike, or let all alone; make a league with thine eys, as [n] Job did; and that is the safest course; let all alone, see none of them. Nothing sooner revives, [o] *or waxeth sore again*, as Petrarch holds, *then love doth by sight. As pompe renews ambition; the sight of gold, covetousness; a beauteous object sets on fire this burning lust. Et multum saliens incitat unda sitim.* The sight of drink makes one dry, and the sight of meat increaseth appetite. 'Tis dangerous therefore to see. A [p] yong gentleman, in merriment, would needs put on his mistress cloaths, and walk abroad alone, which some of her suiters espying, stole him away for her that he represented. So much can sight enforce. Especially, if he have been formerly enamored, the sight of his mistress strikes him into a new fit, and makes him rave many dayes after.

[q] Infirmis causa pusilla nocet,
Ut perne extinctum cinerem si sulphure tangas,
Vivet, et ex minimo maximus ignis erit:
Sic nisi vitabis quicquid renovabit amorem,
Flamma recrudescet, quæ modo nulla fuit.

A sickly man a little thing offends;
As brimstone doth a fire decay'd renewe,
And make it burn afresh, doth loves dead flames,
If that the former object it review.

Or, as the poet compares it to embers in ashes, which the winde blows, [r] *ut solet a ventis, &c.* a scald head (as the saying is) is soon broken; dry wood quickly kindles; and when they have been formerly wounded by sight, how can they by seeing but be inflamed? Ismenias acknowledgeth as much of himself, when he had been long absent, and almost forgotten his

[f] Flautus gurcu. [g] Tom. 2. lib. 4. cap. 10. Syntag. med. art. mirab. Vitentur oscula, tactus, sermo, et scripta impudica, literæ, &c. [h] Lib. de singul. cler. [i] Tam admirabilem splendorem declinet. gratiam, scintillas, amabiles risus, gestus suavissimos, &c. [j] Lipsius hort. leg. lib. 3. antiq. lec. [k] Lib. 3. de vit. cœlitus compar. cap. 6. [l] Lucretius. [m] Lib. 3. Eleg. 10. [n] Job. 31. Pepigi fœdus cum oculis meis ne cogitarem de virgine. [o] Dial. 3. de contemptu mundi. Nihil facilius recrudescit quam amor; ut pompa visa renovat ambitionem, auri species avaritiam, spectata corporis forma incendit luxuriam. [p] Seneca cont. lib. 2. cont. 9. [q] Ovid. [r] Met. 7. Ut solet a ventis alimenta resumere, quæque parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla crescere; et in veteres agitata resurgere flammas.

mistress; [a] *at the first sight of her, as straw in a fi more then ever I did before.* [b] Chariclea was as m her dear Theagenes, after he had been a great stra tænetus, swore she would never love Pamphilus ag passion so long as he was absent; but, the next tim could not contain, *effuse amplexa attrectari se sin* and did profusely embrace him. Hermotinus, a yong is all out as unstaid; he had forgot his mistress qu well weaned from her love; but seeing her by chanc *flammæ*, he raved amain; *Illa tamen emergens elucere, &c.* she did appear as a blazing star, or an it is the common passion of all lovers to be overco cause, belike, Alexander discerning this inconvenie by seeing, [c] *when he heard Darius wife so much c would scarce admit her to come in his sight*, fo Plutarch, *formosam videre periculosissimum*, how a proper woman; and though he was intemperate *superbe se gessit*, he carryed himself bravely. An Xenophon, had so much magnified that divine face *how much she was fairer then ordinary, by so muc ling to see her.* Scipio, a yong man of 23 yeers of a of the Romans, equal in person to that Græcian Ch at the siege of a city in Spain, when as a noble and a m was brought unto him, [d] *and he had heard she was warded her, and sent her back to her sweet-heart.* ports of him, *ne cum sorore quidem suâ putavit hab* the house with his own sister. [e] Xenocrates lay with and would not touch her. Socrates, though all the c to dote upon fair Alcibiades, yet when he had an opp lye in the chamber with, and was wooed by him bes publiquely confessed, [f] *formam sprevit et superbe* rejected him. Petrarch, that had so magnified his when by the Popes means she was offered unto him, [g] *It is a good happiness to be free from this passio erction it argues, in such a man that can so contain h once in love, to moderate thy self* (as he saith) *is a*

[a] Nam vitare plagas in amoris ne jaciamur
Non ita difficile est, quam captum retibus ipsis
Exire, et validos Veneris perrumpere nodos.

To avoid such
But ta'en, to

But for as much, as few men are free, so discree tain themselves, and moderate their passions, to cu see them, not to look lasciviously, not to confer wit of this head-strong passion of raging lust, and their *a naturâ insitus*, [a] as he terms it, such a furious des such unspeakable delight,

Sic Divæ Veneris furor
Insanis adeo mentibus incubat,

which neither reason, counsel, poverty, pain, *dolor, &c.* can deter them from; we must use some

[a] Eustathii l. 8. Aspectus amorem incendit, ut marcescentem in paleâ jore concepto incendio. [b] Heliodorus l. 4. Inflammat mentem novus admotus. Chariclea, &c. [c] Epist. 15. l. 2. [d] Epist. 4. lib. 2. laudatam audivisset, tantum cupiditati suæ frænum injecit, ut illam vix Panthew formam evevisset Araspes, tanto magis, inquit Cyrus, abstin [e] Livius. Cum eam regulo cuidam desponsatam audivisset, muneribus cu lib. 7. [f] Et ea loqui posset quæ soli amatores liqui solent. [g] Plato Expertem esse amoris beatitudo est; at quum captus sis, ad moderation vulgaris. [d] Lucretius l. 4. [a] Hæduo lib. 1 de amor. contem.

nd prevent that, and all other inconveniences, which come by conference, nd the like. The best, readiest, surest way, and which all approve, is *loci utatio*, to send them several wayes; that they may neither hear of, see, nor ave opportunity to send to one another again, or live together *soli cum solâ*, s so many Gilbertines. *Elongatio a patriâ*, 'tis Savanarolas fourth rule, and Gordonius precept, *distrahatur ad longinquas regiones*, send him to travel. Tis that which most run upon, as so many hounds with full cry; poets, divines, philosophers, physicians, all; *mutet patriam, Valesius*; [f] as a sick man he must be cured with change of ayr; Tully 4. *Tuscul.* The best remedy is to get thee gone, Jason Pratensis: change ayr and soyl, Laurentius.

Fuge littus amatum.
Virg. Utile finitimis abstinuisse locis.

[g] *Ovid.* I procul, et longas carpere perge vias.
—— sed fuge, tutus eris.

Travelling is an antidote of love:

[h] Magnum iter ad doctas proficisci cogor Athenas,
Ut me longa gravi solvat amore via.

For this purpose, saith [i] Propertius, my parents sent me to Athens; time and absence wear away pain and grief, as fire goes out for want of fewel. *Quantum oculis, animo tam procul ibit amor.* But so as they tarry out long enough; a whole yeer [j] Xenophon prescribes Critobulus; *vix enim intra hoc tempus ab amore sanari poteris;* some will hardly be weaned under. All this [k] Heinsius merrily inculcates, in an Epistle to his friend Primierus: First, fast; then, tarry; thirdly, change thy place; fourthly, think of an halter. If change of place, continuance of time, absence, will not wear it out with those precedent remedies, it will hardly be removed; but these commonly are of force. Felix Plater *observ. lib.* 1. had a baker to his patient, almost mad for the love of his maid, and desperate; by removing her from him, he was in a short space cured. Isæus, a philosopher of Assyria, was a most dissolute liver in his youth; *palam lasciviens*, in love with all he met; but after he betook himself by his friends advice to his study, and left womens companie, he was so changed, that he cared no more for plays, nor feasts, nor masks, nor songs, nor verses, fine cloaths, nor no such love toyes: he became a new man upon a sudden; *tanquam si priores oculos amisisset*, (saith mine [l] author) as if he had lost his former eys. Peter Godefridus, in the last chapter of his third book, hath a story out of S[t]. Ambrose, of a yong man, that meeting his old love after long absence, on whom he had extreamly doted, would scarsely take notice of her: she wondred at it, that he should so lightly esteem her, called him again, *lenibat dictis animum*, and told him who she was, *Ego sum, inquit: At ego non sum ego;* But he replied, he was not the same man: *proripuit sese tandem*, (as Dido fled from [m] Æneas;) not vouchsafing her any farther parly, loathing his folly, and ashamed of that which formerly he had done. [n] *Non sum stultus ut ante jam, Neæra*, O Neæra, put your tricks, and practise hereafter upon some body else; you shall befool me no longer. Petrarch hath such another tale, of a yong gallant that loved a wench with one eye, and for that cause, by his parents, was sent to travel into far countries: *after some yeers, he returned; and meeting the maid for whose sake he was sent abroad, asked her how, and by what chance she lost her eye? no, said she, I have lost none, but you have found yours:* signifying thereby that all lovers were blind, as Fabius saith. *Amantes de formâ judicare non possunt*, lovers cannot judge of beauty, nor scarse of any thing else; as they will easily confess, after they return unto themselves, by some discontinuance or better advice; wonder at their own folly, madness, stupidity, blindness; be much abashed, *and laugh at love*,

[f] Loci mutatione tanquam non convalescens curandus est. cap. 11, [g] Amorum l. 2. [h] Quisquis amat, mea nota nocent; dies ægritudinem adimit, absentia delet. Ire licet procul hinc patriæque relinquere fines. Ovid. [i] Lib. 3. eleg. 20. [j] Lib. 1. Socrat. memor. Tibi, O Critobule, consulo ut integrum annum absis, hic. [k] Proximum est ut esurias. 2. Ut moram temporis opponas. 3. Et locum mutes. 4. Et de laqueo cogites. [l] Philostratus de vitis Sophistarum. [m] Virg. 6. Æn. [n] Buchanan.

and call't an idle thing, condemn themselves th besotted or misled; and be heartily glad they have

If so be (which is seldome) that change of place w then other remedies are to be annexed, fair and fo promise, threaten, terrifie, or to divert by some tales, newes, or some witty invention, to alter his a *sorrow to drive out the less*, saith Gordonius, as t best friends dead, his mony stoln: [p] *that he is ma or hath some honour, office, some inheritance is* knight, a baron, or by some false accusation, as t hickhop, to make them forget it. Saint Hierome, *lib.* monke, hath an instance of a [q]yong man of Greece, Ægypt, *that by no labour, no continence, no perswa at last by this trick he was delivered. The abbo quarrel with him, and with some scandalous reproa before company, and then to come and complain fir wise suborned for the plaintiffe. The yong man against him, the abbot cunningly took his part, le with immoderate grief: but what need many wor was cured, and alienated from his pristine love-th* ders, contempts, disgraces,——*spretæque injuria* means to withdraw mens affections; *contumeliâ aff nunt*, as [r]Lucian saith; lovers reviled or neglected, c love to hate; [s] *redeam? Non si me obsecret. I'll ne illam, quæ illum, quæ me, quæ non?* So Zephyrus he scorned him, and preferred his corrival Apollo (will not come again, though he be intreated. Tell h at behind his back, ('tis the counsel of Avicenna) tha tains another, rejects him, cares not for him, or that a slut, a vixen, a scold, a divel, or which Italians c hath some loathsome filthy disease, gout, stone, st and that they are hereditary, not to be avoided; he is hath the pox, that he hath three or four incurable tett her breath stinks, she is mad by inheritance, and so brain, with many other secret infirmities (which I will longing to women. That he is a hermaphrodite, an tent, a spend-thrift, a gamester, a fool, a gull, a beg debt, and not able to maintain her, a common drunka his father hang'd, that he hath a wolfe in his bosom hath some incurable disease, that he will surely be water, that he cries out or walks in the night, will his secrets in his sleep, and that no body dare lye with with spirits, with such fearfull and tragicall things, a man or woman living. Gordonius *cap.* 20. *part.* 2. *Paretur aliqua vetula turpissima aspectu, cum tu tet subtus gremium pannum menstrualem, et dicat, sa, et quod mingat in lecto; et quod est epileptica corpore suo sunt excrescentiæ enormes, cum fœtor mitates, quibus vetulæ sunt edoctæ: si nolit his pa pannum menstrualem, coram facie portando, exc*

[p] Annuncientur valde tristia, ut major tristitia possit minorem obfus callus, aut habeat honorem magnum. [q] Adolescens Græcus erat in magnitudine, nulla persuasione flammam poterat sedare: monasterii cuidam e sociis, &c. Flebat ille omnes adversabantur; solus pater calli absorberetur. Quid multa? hoc invento curatus est, et cogitationibu [r] Ter. [s] Hypathia Alexandrina quendam se adamantem prolatis mu amoris insaniâ liberavit. Suidas et Eunapius.

tu; et si ex his non demiserit, non est homo, sed diabolus incarnatus. Idem fre Avicenna cap. 24. de curâ Ilishi, lib. 3. Fen. 1. Tract. 4. *Narrent res immundas vetulæ, ex quibus abominationem incurrat, et res* [u]*sordidas, et hoc assiduent. Idem Arculanus cap.* 16. *in* 9. *Rhasis, &c.*

Withall, as they do discommend the old, for the better effecting a more speedy alteration, they must commend another paramour, *alteram inducere;* set him or her to be wooed, or wooe some other that shall be fairer, of better note, better fortune, birth, parentage, much to be preferred: [v]*Invenies alium si te hic fastidit Alexis;* by this means, which Jason Pratensis wisheth, to turn the streame of affection another way, *Successore novo truditur omnis amor;* or as Valesius adviseth, by [w]subdividing to diminish it; as a great river cut into many channels, runs low at last. [x]*Hortor et ut pariter binas habeatis amicas, &c.* If you suspect to be taken, be sure, saith the poet, to have two mistresses at once, or go from one to another: as he that goes from a good fire in cold weather is loth to depart from it, though in the next room there be a better, which will refresh him as much; there's as much difference of *hæc* as *hic ignis;* or bring him to some publique shews, plays, meetings, where he may see variety, and he shall likely loath his first choice; carry him but to the next town, yea peradventure, to the next house; and as Paris lost Oenones love by seeing Helena, and Cressida forsook Troilus by conversing with Diomede, he will dislike his former mistress, and leave her quite behind him, as [y]Theseus left Ariadne fast asleep in the Iland of Dia, to seek her fortune, that was er'st his loving mistress. [z]*Nunc primum Dorida retus amator contempsi*, as he said, Doris is but a doudy to this. As he that looks himself in a glass forgets his physiognomie forthwith, this flattering glass of love will be diminished by remove; after a little absence, it will be remitted; the next faire object will likely alter it. A yong man, in [a]Lucian, was pittifully in love, he came to the theater by chance, and by seeing other faire objects there, *mentis sanitatem recepit*, was fully recovered, [b]*and went merrily home, as if he had taken a dram of oblivion.* [c]A mouse (saith an apologer) was brought up in a chest, there fed with fragments of bread and cheese, thought there could be no better meat, till coming forth at last, and feeding liberally of other variety of viands, loathed his former life: moralize this fable by thy self. Plato, in his seventh book *De Legibus*, hath a pretty fiction of a city under ground, [d]to which by little holes, some small store of light came; the inhabitants thought there could not be a better place, and at their first coming abroad, they might not endure the light, *ægerrime solem intueri;* but after they were accustomed a little to it, [e]*they deplored their fellows misery that lived under ground.* A silly lover is in like state; none so fair as his mistress at first; he cares for none but her; yet after awhile, when he hath compared her with others, he abhors her name, sight, and memory. 'Tis generally true; for as he observes, [f]*Priorem flammam novus ignis extrudit; et ea multorum natura, ut præsentes maxime ament*, one fire drives out another: and such is womens weakness, that they love, commonly, him that is present. And so do many men (as he confessed) he loved Amye till he saw Floriat, and when he saw Cynthia, forgat them both: but faire Phillis was incomparably beyond them all; Cloris surpassed her; and yet when he espied Amarillis, she was his sole mistress; O divine Amarillis; *quam procera, cupressi ad instar, quam elegans, quam decens! &c.* how lovely, how tall, how comely she was, (saith Polemius) till he saw another, and then she was the sole subject of his thoughts. In conclu-

[u] Savanarola reg. 3. [v] Vir. Ecl. 2. [w] Distributio amoris fiat in plures, ad plures amicas animum applicet. [x] Ovid. [y] Hyginus fab. 43. [z] Petronius. [a] Lib. de salt. [b] E theatro egressus hilaris, ac si pharmacum oblivionis bibisset. [c] Mus in cistâ natus, &c. [d] In quem e specu subterraneo modicum lucis illabitur. [e] *Deplorabant eorum miseriam*, qui subterraneis illis locis vitam degunt. [f] Tatius lib. 6.

sion, he loves her best he saw last. [g]Triton the thöe, till he came in presence of Milæne, she wa heart, till he saw Galatea; but (as [h]she complains) another, and another. 'Tis a thing which by H usually practised. [i]*Heathen philosophers drive as they do a peg, or pin with a pin. Which th did to Assuerus, that they might requite the de the love of others.* Pausanias, in Eliacis, saith, th painted to contend with another, and to take the one love drives out another: [j]*Alterius vires subtr* 3. *nat. Deor.* disputing with C. Cotta, makes ment all differing in office. Felix Plater in the first boo how he cured a widower in Basil, a patient of his, b doted upon a poor servant his maid, when friend could serve to alienate his mind: they motioned h daughter in the town, whom he loved, and lived the very name and sight of the first. After the de *would admit of no comfort, till the Emperour Si noble lady of his court, and so in short space he w*

SUBSECT. III.—*By counsel and persuasion: fou womens faults; miseries of marriage; e*

As there be divers causes of this burning lust, or many good remedies to ease and help; amongst wh swasion, (which I should have handled in the first p and not to be omitted. Many are of opinion, tha passion, counsel can do no good.

[l]Quæ enim res in se neque consilium neque modum Habet, ullo eam consilio regere non potes. | Which thing ha How should ad

——— [m]Quis enim modus adsit am

But without question, good counsel and advice mu especially if it shall proceed from a wise, fatherly, r man of authority, whom the parties do respect, a judicious friend, of it self alone, it is able to divert the physician, attributes so much to it, that he wo used in the first place. *Amoveatur ab illâ, consil dendo pericula sæculi, judicium inferni, gaudia F* some discreet men to disswade them, after the fury or by absence allayed; for it is as intempestive at to comfort parents when their children are that purpose to prescribe narcoticks, cordials, nect nepenthes, or Helenas boul, &c. *Non cessabit* lament and howl for a season: let passion have his, he may proceed, by fore-shewing the miserable e will surely happen, the pains of hell, joyes of para by their preposterous courses, they shall forfeit method, a very good means: for what [n]Seneca sa *Sine magistro discitur, vix sine magistro deseritur* [o]hardly left without a tutor. 'Tis not amiss then

[g]Aristænetus epist. 4. [h]Calcagnin. Dial. Galat. Mox aliam præti occasio arriserit. [i]Epist. lib. 2. 16. Philosophi sæculi veterem amo lere, quod et Assuero regi septem principes Persarum fecêre, ut Vast sarent. [j]Ovid. [k]Lugubri veste indutus, consolationes non adm formosam virginem matrimonio conjunxit. Æneas Silvius hist. de Eur Ecl. 2. [n]Lib. de beat. vit. cap. 14. [o]Longu usu discimus, longâ desu *epist. lib. 5. 8.*

overseer, to expostulate and shew them such absurdities, inconveniences, imperfections, discontents, as usually follow; which their blindness, fury, madness, cannot apply unto themselves, or will not apprehend through weakness; and good for them to disclose themselves, to give ear to friendly admonitions. Tell me, sweet heart, (saith Tryphena to love-sick Charmides in [p] Lucian) what it is that troubles thee; *peradventure, I can ease thy minde, and further thee in thy suit;* and so without question she might, and so maist thou, if the patient be capable of good counsel, and will hear at least, what may be said.

If he love at all, she is either an honest woman or a whore. If dishonest, let him read or inculcate to him that 5. of Solomons Prov. Ecclus. 26. Ambros. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. in his book of Abel and Cain; Philo Judæus *de mercede mer.* Platinas *dial. in Amores;* Espencæus, and those three books of Pet. Hœdus *de contem. amoribus;* Æneas Silvius tart epistle, which he wrote to his friend Nicholas of Wartburge, which he calls *medelam illiciti amoris, &c.* [q] *For what's an whore,* as he saith, *but a poller of youth,* [r] *ruine of men, a destruction, a devourer of patrimonies, a downfal of honour, fodder for the divel, the gate of death, and supplement of hell?* [s] *Talis amor est laqueus animæ, &c.* a bitter hony, sweet poyson, delicate destruction, a voluntary mischief, *commixtum cœnum, sterquilinium.* And as [t] Pet. Aretines Lucretia, a notable quean, confesseth; *Gluttony, anger, envy, pride, sacrilege, theft, slaughter, were all born that day that a whore began her profession: for,* as she follows it, *her pride is greater then a rich churls, she is more envious then the pox, as malitious as melancholy, as covetous as hell. If from the beginning of the world any were* mala, pejor, pessima, *bad in the superlative degree, 'tis a whore; how many have I undone, caused to be wounded, slain! O Antonia, thou seest* [u] *what I am without, but within, God knows, a puddle of iniquity, a sink of sin, a pocky quean.* Let him now that so dotes, meditate on this; let him see the event and success of others, Sampson, Hercules, Holofernes, &c. those infinite mischiefs attend it; if she be another mans wife he loves, 'tis abominable in the sight of God and men; adultery is expressly forbidden in Gods commandment, a mortal sin, able to endanger his soule: if he be such a one that fears God, or have any religion, he will eschew it, and abhor the loathsomness of his own fact. If he love an honest maid, 'tis to abuse, or marry her; if to abuse, 'tis fornication, a fowl fact, (though some make light of it) and almost equal to adultery itself. If to marry, let him seriously consider what he takes in hand; look before he leap, (as the proverb is), or settle his affections, and examine, first, the party and condition of his estate and hers, whether it be a fit match, for fortunes, yeers, parentage, and such other circumstances, *an sit suæ Veneris.* Whether it be likely to proceed: if not, let him wisely stave himself off at the first; curb in his inordinate passion, and moderate his desire, by thinking of some other subject, divert his cogitations. Or if it be not for his good, as Æneas forewarned by Mercury in a dream, left Didos love, and in all hast got him to sea:

> [v] Mnesthea, Sergestumque vocat, fortemque Cloanthum,
> Classem aptent taciti jubet———

and although she did oppose with vowes, tears, prayers, and imprecation,

> ——— nullis ille movetur
> Fletibus, aut ullas voces tractabilis audit;

Let thy Mercury-reason rule thee against all allurements, seeming delights,

[p] Tom. 4. dial. meret. Fortasse etiam ipsa ad amorem istum nonnihil contulero. [q] Quid enim meretrix, nisi juventutis expilatrix, virorum rapina seu mors; patrimonii devoratrix, honoris pernicies, pabulum diaboli, janua mortis, inferni supplementum? [r] Sanguinem hominum sorbent. [s] Contemplatione Idiotæ c. 34. Discrimen vitæ, mors blanda, mel felleum, dulce venenum, pernicies delicata, malum spontaneum, &c. [t] Pornodidasc. dial. Ital. Gula, ira invidia, superbia, sacrilegia, latrocinia, cædes, eo die nata sunt, quo primum meretrix professionem fecit. Superbia major quam opulenti rustici, invidia quam hujus venereæ; inimicitia nocentior melancholiæ, avaritia in immensum profunda. [u] Qualis extra sum vides, qualis intra novit Deus. [v] Virg.

pleasing inward or outward provocations. Thou m
pater non deperit filium, nec frater sororem, a fatl
daughter, a brother on a sister; and why? because
unfit. If he be sickly, soft, deformed, let him think
infirmities: if in debt, let him ruminate how to pay
danger, let him seek to avoid it: if he have any law-
may do well to let his love matters alone and follow
what ever it is. But if he cannot so ease himself, y
ditate of both their estates; if they be unequal in y
what an unfit match it must needs be, an uneve
undecent a thing it is! as Lycinus, in [w] Lucian, told
crook-nosed knave, to marry a yong wench; how
an old leacher! what should a bald fellow do witl
with a pipe, a blind man with a looking-glass, an
How absurd is it, for a yong man to marry an old
But put case, she be equal in yeers, birth, fortunes,
pondent, he doth desire to be coupled in marriage
estate, but for what respects? Her beauty, belike,
that is commonly the main object; she is a most a
least; *Cui formam Paphia, et Charites tribuére de*
affirm as much? Or is it an errour in his judgemer

[x] Fallunt nos oculi vagique sensus,
Oppressâ ratione mentiuntur.

our eys and other senses will commonly deceive us
self, upon a more serious examination, or after a litt
faire as she seems. *Quædam videntur et non sunt*
standing by, 'tis a touch-stone to try; confer hand to
to face, eye to eye, nose to nose, neck to neck, &
itself, then altogether, in all postures, several site
likest her. It may be, not she that is so faire, but l
in her cloaths, and she will seem all out as faire; as
separate her from her cloaths: suppose thou saw h
or else dressed in some old hirsute attires out of fas
raiment, besmeared with soot, colly, perfumed wit
assa fœtida, or some such filthy gums; dirty, abou
other: or, in such a case as [z] Brassivola, the physi
patient, after a potion of hellebor, which he had
terram depositis, et ano versus cœlum elevato (*ac s*
Aristophanes, qui geometricas figuras in terram scr
debatur) *atram bilem in album parietem injiciebat,*
et se deturpabat, ut, &c. all to bewrayed, or worse
wouldst thou affect her as thou dost? Suppose thou
morning, in cold weather, in some passion or pertu
chafing, &c. rivel'd and ill favoured to behold. She,
posed look seems so amiable and delitious, *tam sci*
laugh or smile, makes an ugly sparrow-mouthed
uneven, loathsom, rotten, foul teeth: She hath a
deformed, crooked carkass under a fine coat. It may
she is bald; and though she seem so faire by dark, by
such a distance, as Callicratides observed in [b] Luci
her neer, or in a morning, she would appear more u
genter consideres, quid per os et nares et cæteros

[w] Tom. 2. in votis. Calvus cum sis, nasum habeas simum, &c. Catarticis, lib. 2. [x] Si ferveat deformis, ecce formosa est; si frigeat fœ *Epigram.* [b] Amorum dial. Tom 4. Si quis ad Auroram contempl *surgentes, turpiores putabit esse bestiis.* [z] Hugo de claustro animæ,

vilius sterquilinium nunquam vidisti. Follow my counsell; see her undrest; see her, if it be possible, out of her attires; *furtivis nudatam coloribus;* it may be she is like Æsops jay, or [d] Plinies cantharides; she will be loathsom, ridiculous, thou wilt not endure her sight: or suppose thou saw'st her sick, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or now dead, *Cujus erat gratissimus amplexus*, as Bernard saith, *erit horribilis aspectus; Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.* As a posie, she smels sweet, is most fresh and faire one day, but dried up, withered, and stinks another. Beautifull Nireus, by that Homer so much admired, once dead, is more deformed then Thersites; and Solomon deceased, as ugly as Marcolphus: thy lovely mistress, that was erst [e] *Charis charior ocellis*, dearer to thee then thine eys, once sick or departed, is *Vili vilior æstimata cœno*, worse then any dirt or dunghill. Her embraces were not so acceptable, as now her looks be terrible: thou hadst better behold a Gorgons head then Helenas carkass.

Some are of opinion, that to see a woman naked, is able of itself to alter his affection; and it is worthy of consideration, saith [f] Montaigne, the Frenchman, in his Essaies, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliance, appoint for a remedy of venereous passions, a full survey of the body: which the poet insinuates.

[g] Ille quod obscœnas in aperto corpore partes
Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hæsit amor.

The love stood still, that ran in full careire,
When once it saw those parts should not appear.

It is reported of Seleucus, king of Syria, that seeing his wife Stratonices bald pate, as she was undressing her by chance, he could never affect her after. Raymundus Lullius, the physician, spying an ulcer or canker in his mistress breast, whom he so dearly loved, from that day following abhorr'd the looks of her. Philip, the French king, as Neubrigensis *lib.* 4. *cap.* 24. relates it, married the king of Denmarks daughter; [h] *and after he had used her as a wife, one night, because her breath stunk, they say, or for some other secret fault, sent her back again to her father.* Peter Mattheus, in the life of Lewis the eleaventh, findes fault with our English [i] Chronicles, for writing how Margaret the king of Scots daughter, and wife to Lewis the 11. French king, was *ob graveolentiam oris*, rejected by her husband. Many such matches are made for by-respects, or some seemly comeliness, which after hony-moon is past, turn to bitterness: for burning lust is but a flash, a gunpowder passion; and hatred oft follows in the highest degree, dislike and contempt.

——[j] Cum se cutis arida laxat,
Fluntobscuri dentes.——

when they waxe old, and ilfavoured, they may, commonly, no longer abide them.——*Jam gravis es nobis*, be gone, they grow stale, fulsome, loathsom, odious, thou art a beastly filthy quean; [k] *Faciem, Phœbe, cacantis habes.* thou art *Saturni podex*, withered and dry; *insipida et vetula,*——[l] *Te quia rugæ turpant, et capitis nives*, (I say) *be gone;* [m] *portæ patent, proficiscere.*

Yea, but you will infer, your mistress is compleat; of a most absolute form in all mens opinions; no exceptions can be taken at her; nothing may be added to her person, nothing detracted; she is the mirror of women for her beauty, comelines and pleasant grace; unimitable, *meræ deliciæ, meri lepores*, she is *Myrothetium Veneris, Gratiarum pyxis*, a mere magazine of naturall perfections; she hath all the Veneres, and Graces, —— *mille faces et mille figuras*, in each part absolute and compleat. [n] *Læta genas, læta os roseum, vaga lumina læta:* to be admired for her person, a most incomparable unmatchable peece, *aurea proles, ad simulachrum alicujus numinis composita; a Phœnix,*

[d] Hist. nat. 11. cap. 35. A fly that hath golden wings but a poisoned body. [e] Buchanan, Hendecasyl.
[f] Apol. pro. Rem. Seb. [g] Ovid. 2. rem. [h] Post unam noctem, incertum unde offensam cepit, propter fœtentem ejus spiritum alii dicunt, vel latentem fœditatem, repudiavit; rem faciens plane illicitam, et regiæ personæ multum indecoram. [i] Hall and Grafton, bellike. [j] Juvenal. [k] Mart. [l] Tully in Cat.
[m] Hor. ode 13. lib. 4. [n] Lucharus.

vernantis ætatulæ Venerilla, a nymph, a faery, [o] li
was a maid; *nulli secunda*, a meer quintessence, *fl*
fœminæ prodigium: Put case she be, how long wil
decoris singuli carpunt dies: Every day detracts
beauty is *bonum fragile*, a meer flash, a Venice gl

[q] Anceps forma bonum mortalibus,
——exigui donum breve temporis

it will not last. As that fair flower [r] Adonis, which
isheth but one month, this gratious all-commanding
It is a jewel soon lost, the painters goddesse, *fals*
Favour is deceitfull, and beauty is vanity, Prov.

[s] Vitrea gemmula, fluxaque bullula, candida forma est, | A brittle jem, b
Nix, rosa, ros, fumus, ventus et aura, nihil. | A rose, dew, sm

If she be faire, as the saying is, she is commonly a
sequiturque superbia formam; or dishonest, *rara*
pudicitiæ, can she be faire and honest too? [t] Aristo
ried a Spartan lass, the fairest lady in all Greece, r
conditions, the most abominable and beastly creatu
I would wish thee to respect, with Seneca, [u] not
Will you say that's a good blade which hath a gui
with gold and jewels? No; but that which hath a
tempered mettle, able to resist. This beauty is of
is that, but as [v] Gregory Nazianzen telleth us, *a*
or as Boëthius, [w] *as mutable as a flowre, and 'tis*
most part, the infirmity of the beholder. For as
matter: *Dic mihi per gratias qualis tibi videtu*
thou likest my sweet-heart, (as she asked her sister
so much admire; me thinks he is the sweetest gen
that ever I saw: but I am in love, I confess, (ne
therefore well judge. But, be she faire indeed, gol
Bathillus, (to examine particulars) she have [y] *Fl*
lacteola; a pure sanguine complexion, little mou
soft and plump neck, body, hands, feet, all faire a
posed of all graces, elegances, an absolute peece;

[z] Lumina sint Melitæ Junonia, dextra Minervæ
Mamillæ Veneris, sura maris dominæ, &c.

Let [a] her head be from Prague, paps out of Austria
from Brabant, hands out of England, feet from Rhi
land, let her have the Spanish gate, the Venetian
and endowments;

[b] Candida siderilis ardescant lumina flammis, | Fulgeat, ac Ve
Sudent colla rosas, et cedat crinibus aurum, | Forma Dearu
Mellea purpureum depromant ora ruborem:

Let her be such a one throughout, as Lucian decip
Euphanor of old painted Venus; Aristœnetus descri
Chariclea, Leucippe, Lucretia, Pandora; let her h
pair her self still, such a one as Venus gave Phaon
the ford; let her use all helps art and nature can y
and whom thou wilt, or all these in one; a little sic
wound, scarre, loss of an eye, or limb, a violent p

[o] Qualis fuit Venus cum fuit virgo, balsamum spirans, &c. [p] Senec
emb. 66. cent. 1. Flos omnium pulcherrimus statim languescit, formæ
l. 4. [t] Pausanias Lacon. lib. 3. Uxorem duxit Spartæ mulierum om
at ob mores omnium turpissimam. [u] Epist. 76. Gladium bonum dic
nec cui vagina gemmis distinguitur, sed cui ad secandum subtilis acies
turus. [v] Pulchritudo corporis, temporis et morbi ludibrium. orat. 3.
nec sua natura formosas facit, sed spectantium infirmitas. [w] Epist.
pulcherrimus videtur; sed forsan amore percita de amore non recte ju
[x] *Bebelius adagiis Ger.* [y] Petron. Cat.

or cold, marres all in an instant, disfigures all: child-bearing, old age, grant time will turn Venus to Erynnis; raging time, care, rivels her a sudden; after she hath been married a small while and the black oxe trodden on her toe, she will be so much altered, and wax out of favour, will not know her. One growes too fat, another too lean, &c. modest Ida, pretty pleasing Peg, sweet singing Susan, mincing merry Moll, dancing Doll, neat Nancy, jolly Jone, nimble Nel, kissing Kate, ing Besse with black eys, fair Phillis with fine white hands, fidling k, tall Tib, slender Sib, &c. will quickly loose their grace, grow fulsome, ad, heavy, dull, sour and all at last, out of fashion. *Ubi jam vultûs a, suavis suavitatio, blandus risus, &c.* Those fair sparkling eys will ull, her soft corall lips will be pale, dry, cold, rough, and blew, her skin , that soft and tender *superficies* will be hard and harsh, her whole exion change in a moment, and as [c]Matilda writ to king John,

ot now as when thou saw'st me last,	That rosie blush lapt in a lilly vale,
wour soon is vanished and past;	Now is with morphew overgrown and pale.

in the rest; their beauty fades as a tree in winter, which Dejanira hath ly expressed in the poet;

me solis aspicis truncis nemus?	And as a tree that in the green wood growes,
stra longum forma percurrens iter,	With fruit and leaves, and in the summer blowes,
dit aliquid semper, et fulget minus;	In winter like a stock deformed showes:
ne minus est quicquid in nobis fuit,	Our beauty takes his race and journey goes,
petitum cecidit, et partu labat,	And doth decrease, and loose, and come to nought,
que multum rapuit ex illâ mihi,	Admir'd of old, to this by child-birth brought:
citato senior eripuit gradu.	And *mother* hath bereft me of my grace,
	And crooked old age coming on a pace.

nclude with Chrysostome, [e] *When thou seest a faire and beautifull* , a brave Bonaroba, *a bella Donna*, quæ salivam moveat, *lepidam m et quam tu facile ames, a comely woman, having bright eys, a mer- ntenance, a shining lustre in her look, a pleasant grace, wringing tle, and increasing thy concupiscence; bethink with thy self that it is rth thou lovest, a meer excrement which so vexeth thee, which thou so st, and thy raging soule will be at rest. Take her skin from her face, ou shalt see all loathsomeness under it; that beauty is a superficiall nd bones, nerves, sinewes: suppose her sick, now rivel'd, hoarie-headed, -checked, old; within she is full of filthy fleame, stinking, putride, ientall stuffe; snot and snevill in her nostrills, spettle in her mouth, water eys, what filth in her brains, &c.* Or take her at best, and look nar- upon her in the light, stand nearer her, nearer yet, thou shalt perceive as much, and love less, as [f]Cardan well writes, *minus amant qui acute* though Scaliger deride him for it: If he see her near, or look exactly at posture, whosoever he is, according to the true rules of symmetry and tion, those I mean of Albertus Durer, Lomatius and Tasnier, examine her. If he be *elegans formarum spectator*, he shall finde many faults siognomy, and ill colour; if form, one side of the face likely big- n the other; or crooked nose, bad eys, prominent veines, concavities the eys, wrinkles, pimples, redde streeks, frechons, hairs, warts, neves, lities, roughness, scabredity, paleness, yellowness, and as many co- s are in a turkicocks neck, many indecorums in their other parts; *est lesideres, est quod amputes*, one leers, another frownes, a third gapes, , &c. And 'tis true that he saith, [g] *Diligenter consideranti raro absoluta, et quæ vitio caret*, seldom shall you finde an absolute face t fault, as I have often observed; not in the face alone, is this defect

rayton. [d] Senec. act. 2. Herc. Oeteus. [e] Vides venustam mulierem, fulgidum habentem vultu hilari coruscantem, eximium quendam aspectum et decorem præ se ferentem, urentem tuam et concupiscentiam agentem; cogita terram esse id quod amas, et quod admiraris stercus, et rit, &c. cogita illam jam senescere, jam rugosam cavis genis, ægrotam; tantis sordibus intus plena tâ, stercore: reputa quid intra nares, oculos, cerebrum gestet, quas sordes, &c. [f] Subtil. 13. subtil. lib. 18.

or disproportion to be found; but in all the other parts of body and minde; she is faire indeed, but foolish; pretty, comely and decent, of a majesticall presence, but peradventure imperious, unhonest, *acerba, iniqua*, selfwil'd: she is rich, but deformed; hath a sweet face, but bad carriage; no bringing up; a rude and wanton flurt, a neat body she hath, but it is a nasty queen otherwise, a very slut, of a bad kinde. As flowres in a garden have colour some, but no smell, others have a fragrant smell, but are unseemly to the eye; one is unsavoury to the taste, as rue; as bitter as wormwood, and yet a most medicinall cordiall flowre, most acceptable to the stomack; so are men and women; one is well qualified, but of ill proportion, poor and base: a good eye she hath, but a bad hand and foot, *fœda pedes et fœda manus*, a fine leg, bad teeth, a vast body, &c. Examine all parts of body and minde, I advise thee to enquire of all. See her angry, merry, laugh, weep, hot, cold, sick, sullen, dressed, undressed, in all attires, sites, gestures, passions, eat her meales, &c. and in some of these you will surely dislike. Yea, not her onely, let him observe, but her parents, how they carry themselves: for what deformities, defects, incumbrances of body or minde, be in them at such an age, they will likely be subject to, be molested in like manner; they will *patrizare* or *matrizare*. And with all let him take notice of her companions, *in convictu* (as Quiverra prescribes) *et quibuscum conversetur*, whom she converseth with. *Noscitur ex comite, qui non cognoscitur ex se.* According to Thucydides, she is commonly the best, *de quo minimus foras habetur sermo*, that is least talked of abroad. For if she be a noted reveller, a gadder, a singer, a pranker or dancer, then take heed of her. For what saith Theocritus?

> At vos festivæ ne ne saltate puellæ,
> En, malus hircus adest in vos saltare paratus.
> Yong men will do it, when they come to it.

Fawnes and satyres will certainly play wreeks, when they come in such wanton Bacchos Elenoras presence. Now when they shall perceive any such obliquity, indecency, disproportion, deformity, bad conditions, &c. let them still ruminate on that, and as [h] Hædus adviseth out of Ovid, *earum mendas notent;* note their faults, vices, errours, and think of their imperfections; 'tis the next way to divert and mitigate loves furious head-strong passions; as a peacocks feet and filthy comb, they say, make him forget his fine feathers, and pride of his tail; she is lovely, faire, well favoured, well qualified, courteous and kinde;

> But if she be not so to me,
> What care I how kinde she be?

I say with [i] Philostratus, *formosa aliis, mihi superba;* she is a tyrant to me, and so let her go. Besides these outward neves, or open faults, errours, there be many inward infirmities, secret &c. some private, (which I will omit) and some more common to the sexe; sullen fits, evil qualities, filthy diseases, in this case fit to be considered. Consideratio fœditatis mulierum (menstruæ imprimis), quam immundæ sunt, quam Savanarola proponit regulâ septimâ, penitus observandam. Et Platina, dial. *Amoris, fuse perstringit.* Lodovicus Boncialus *mulieb. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. Pet. Hædus, Albertus, *et infiniti fere medici.* [j] A lover in Calcagninus apologies, wished with all his heart, he were his mistress ring, to hear, embrace, see, and do I know not what: O thou fool, quoth the ring, if thou wer'st in my room, thou shouldst hear, observe, and see *pudenda et pœnitenda;* that which would make thee loath and hate her; yea, peradventure, all women for her sake.

I will say nothing of the vices of their mindes, their pride, envy, inconstancy, weakness, malice, selfwill, lightness, insatiable lust, jealousie; *Ecclus.* 25. 13.

[h] Lib. de contem. amoribus. Earum mendas volvant animo, sæpe ante oculos constituant, sæpe damnent. [i] *In deliciis.* [j] Quum amator annulum se amicæ optaret, ut ejus amplexu frui posset, &c. O te miserum, *ait annulus, si meas vices obires, videres, audires,* &c. nihil non odio dignum observares.

lice to a womans; no bitterness like to hers. Eccles. 7. 26. and as the uthor urgeth, *Prov.* 31. 10. *Who shall finde a vertuous woman?* He a question of it. [k] *Neque jus neque bonum, neque æquum sciunt, pejus, prosit obsit, nihil vident, nisi quod libido suggerit. They know good nor bad, be it better or worse* (as the comicall poet hath it) *iall or hurtfull, they will do what they list.*

[l] Insidiæ humani generis, querimonia vitæ,
Exuviæ noctis, durissima cura diei,
Pœna virûm, nex et juvenum, &c.——

that purpose were they first made, as Jupiter insinuates in the [m] poet.

that bold Prometheus stole from me,
agues cal'd women shall revenged be;
On whose alluring and entising face,
Poor mortalls doting, shall their death embrace.

as Diogenes concludes in Nevisanus, *Nulla est fœmina quæ non ha-id:* they have all their faults.

each of them hath some vice,
be full of villany,
r hath a liquorish eye;
If one be full of wantonness,
Another is a Chideress.

Leander was drowned, the inhabitants of Sestos consecrated Heros e to Anteros; *Anteroti sacrum;* [o] and he that had good successe in :, should light the candle; but never any man was found to light it; can refer to nought, but the inconstancy and lightness of women.

thousand, good there is not one;
proud, unthankfull and unkinde,
nty hearts careless of others moane,
In their own lusts carried most headlong blinde.
But more herein to speak, I am forbidden;
Sometime, for speaking truth, one may be chidden.

ot willing, you see, to prosecute the cause against them, and therefore ed you mistake me not; [q] *matronam nullam ego tango*; I honour the ith all good men, and as I ought to do. Rather then displease them, oluntarily take the oath which Mercurius Britanicus took, *Virag. des-ib.* 2. *fol.* 95. *Me nihil unquam mali nobilissimo sexui, vel verbo, vel tachinaturum, &c.* Let Simonides, Mantuan, Plotina, Pet. Aretine, and omen-haters bare the blame, if ought be said amiss: I have not writ a f that which might be urged out of them and others; [r] *non possunt in-omnes, et satiræ in fœminas scriptæ, uno volumine comprehendi.* And hich I have said (to speak truth) no more concerns them then men; women be more frequently named in this Tract. (To apologize once I am neither partiall against them, or therefore bitter: what is said of :, *mutato nomine*, may most part, be understood of the other. My words Passus picture, in [s] Lucian; of whom, when a good fellow had bespoke e to be painted with his heels upwards, tumbling on his back, he made ssant: now, when the fellow came for his peece, he was very angry, d, it was quite opposite to his minde; but Passus instantly turned the pic-side down, shewed him the horse at that site which he requested, and him satisfaction. If any man take exception at my words, let him e name, read him for her, and 'tis all one in effect.

to my purpose: If women in generall be so bad, and men worse then hat a hazard is it to marry? where shall a man finde a good wife, or a a good husband? A woman, a man may eschue, but not a wife; wed undoing (some say), marrying, marring; wooing, woing; [t] a wife is a *hectick*, as Scaliger calls her, *and not to be cured but by death*, as out ander, Athenæus addes,

In pelagus te jam negotiorum——
Non Lybicum, non Ægæum, ubi, ex triginta non perveni
Tria navigia: ducenta naufragia perpessa omnia.

wadest into a sea it self of woes;
rycke and Ægæan, each man knowes,
Of thirty, not three ships are cast away
But on this rock not one escapes, I say.

lenut. act. 4. sc. 1. [l] Lucherus. [m] See our English Tasso, fol. 1. [n] I borrow in Numant. et Qui se facilem in amore prohibit, hanc succendit. At qui succendit, ad hunc diem respicit ingeniosus. [p] Aristæn. [q] Mer. [r] Christoph. Persona. [s] Encom. Stomachus. [t] Valerius or, et non nisi mortis curandus.

The worldly cares, miseries, discontents, that acc
you learn of them that have experience, for I
λόγους ἐγευσάμην, *libri mentis liberi.* For my pa

Este procul nymphæ, fallax genus este puellæ
Vita jugata meo non facit ingenio: Me juvat

many married men exclaime at the miseries of it,
right; I never tried, but as I hear some of them sa
mare acerrimum! An Irish sea is not so turbul
gious wife.

[w] Scylla et Charybdis, Sicula contorquens freta,
Minus est timenda; nulla non melior fera est.

Scylla and C
There is no

Which made the divel, belike, as most interpreters
away Jobs goods, *corporis et fortunæ bona*, health,
secute him the more, leave his wicked wife; as Pir
lian, Cyprian, Austin, Chrysostome, Prosper, Ga
calamitatis inde genus viro existeret, to vex and g
infernus, then all the fiends in hell; as knowing
woman. *Jupiter non tribuit homini pestilentius*
better dwell with a dragon or a lion, then keep h
Ecclus. 25. 18. *Better dwell in a wilderness.* Pro
like to her. Ecclus. 25. 23. *She makes a sorry hea*
a wounded minde, weak hands, and feeble knees.
death are two the bitterest things in the world: uxo
id mihi visus est dicere, abi domum et suspende te.
for all this, we batchelors desire to be married; wit
long for it, [x] *Felices nuptæ! moriar, nisi nubere du*
thing in the world; I would I had a wife, saith he,

For fain would I leave a single life,
If I could get me a good wife.

hai-ho for an husband, cries she, a bad husband, na
is better then none. O blissful marriage; O most
happy are they that are so coupled: we do earnest
well till we have effected it. But with what fate
[y] Embleme, that fed about a cage, so long as they
pleasure, liked well of it; but when they were taken
though they had the same meat, pined away for sull
So we commend marriage,

——— donec miselli liberi
Aspicimus dominam; sed postquam, heu! janua clau
Fel intus est quod mel fuit:

So long as we are wooers, may kiss and coll at ou
sweet; we are in heaven, as we think: but when w
lost our liberty, marriage is an hell; *give me my ye*
in a trap lives as merrily; we are in a purgatory,
self. *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, as the proverb is;
and marriage, sweet in contemplation, 'till it be tri
most dangerous, irksome, every minute at deaths
those wild Irish peers, saith [z] Stanihurst, were fea
second (at what time he kept his Christmas at Dub
princelike cheer, generous wines, dainty fare, had
silver, gold, inamel'd, beset with jewells, golden c
hangings, brave furniture, heard his trumpets sou
exquisite music in all kindes: when they had-

[w] Synesius. Libros ego liberos genui. Lipsius antiq. Lect. lib. [x] E
Hercul. [z] Senec. [y] Amator. Emblem. [z] De rebus Hibernicis, l
vasa, cælata candelabra, aurea, &c. Conchyleata aulæa, buccinarum cla
phoniæ suavitatem, majestatemque principis coronati cum vidissent solli

resence, as he sate in purple robes, crowned, with his scepter, &c. in his ryall seat, the poor men were so amazed, enamored, and taken with the bject, that they were *pertæsi domestici et pristini tyrotarichi*, weary and shamed of their own sordidity and manner of life. They would all be English rthwith; who but English! but when they had now submitted themselves, nd lost their former liberty, they began to rebell, some of them, others repent f what they had done, when it was too late. 'Tis so with us batchelors, when re see and behold those sweet faces, those gaudy shewes that women make, bserve their pleasant gestures and graces, give ear to their Siren tunes, see hem dance, &c. we think their conditions are as fine as their faces; we are aken with dumb signes, *in amplexum ruimus;* we rave, we burn, and would him be married. But when we feel the miseries, cares, woes, that accompany t, we make our moane, many of us, cry out at length and cannot be released. If this be true now, as some out of experience will inform us, farewell wiving for my part; and as the comicall poet merrily saith,

[b] Perdatur ille pessime qui feminam
Duxit secundus, nam nihil primo imprecor!
Ignarus ut puto mali primus fuit.

[a] Fowl fall him that brought the second match to passe;
The first I wish no harm, poor man, alas,
He knew not what he did, nor what it was.

What shall I say to him that marries again and again? [d] *Stulta maritali qui porrigit ora capistro.* I pity him not; for the first time he must do as he may, bear it out sometimes by the head and shoulders, and let his next neighbour ride, or else run away, or as that Syracusian, in a tempest, when all ponderous things were to be exonerated out of the ship, *quia maximum pondus erat*, fling his wife into the sea. But this I confesse is comically spoken, [e] and so I pray you take it. In sober sadness, [f] marriage is a bondage, a thraldom, a yoke, a hinderance to all good enterprises; *he hath married a wife, and cannot come;* a stop to all preferments; a rock on which many are saved, many impinge and are cast away: not that the thing is evil in it self, or troublesome, but full of all contentment and happiness; one of the three things which please God, [g] *when a man and his wife agree together;* an honorable and happy estate; who knows it not? If they be sober, wise, honest, as the poet infers;

[h] Si commodos nanciscantur amores,
Nullum iis abest voluptatis genus.

If fitly matcht be man and wife,
No pleasure's wanting to their life.

But to undiscreet sensuall persons, that as brutes are wholy led by sense, it is a ferall plague; many times an hell it self; and can give little or no content, being that they are often so irregular and prodigious in their lusts, so diverse in their affections. *Uxor nomen dignitatis, non voluptatis*, as [i] he said, a wife is a name of honour, not of pleasure: she is fit to bear the office, govern a family, to bring up children, sit at bords end and carve; as some carnal men think and say, they had rather go to the stews, or have now and then a snatch as they can come by it, borrow of their neighbours, then have wives of their own; except they may, as some princes and great men do, keep as many curtisans as they will themselves; fly out *impune*, [j] *Permolere uxores alienas*, Or that polygamy of Turkes; or Lex Julia, which Cæsar once inforced in Rome (though Levinus Torrentius and others suspect it) *uti uxores quot et quas vellent licerit*, that every great man might marry, and keep as many wives as he would; or Irish divorcement were in use: but as it is, 'tis hard, and gives not that satisfaction to these carnal men, beastly men as too many are. [k] What still the same? to be tied [l] to one, be she never so faire, never so vertuous, is a thing they may not en-

[b] Eubulus in Crisil. Athenæus dypnosophist. l. 13. c. 3. [a] Translated by my brother Ralfe Burton. [d] Juvenal. [e] Hæc in speciem dicta cave ut credas. [f] Batchelors alwayes are the bravest men. Bacon. Seek eternity in memory, not in posterity, like Epaminondas, that instead of children, left two great victories behind him, which he called his two daughters. [g] Eccius. 28. [h] Euripides Andromach. [i] Ælius Verus Imperator Spar. vit. ejus. [j] Hor. [k] Quod licet, ingratum est. [l] For better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, &c. tis durus sermo to a sensuall man.

dure, to love one long. Say thy pleasure, and c
[m] Parmeno told Thais; *Neque tu uno eris cont*
please thee; nor one woman many men: But as
Mercury, when he asked whether he was married,
enim sum, &c. No father, no, I am a lover still, a
one woman. Pythias, Eccho, Menades, and I kr
were his mistresses; he might not abide marriag
loathsome and tedious; what one still? which th
verified in most:

[n] *Unus Iberinâ vir sufficit? ocyus illud*
Extorquebis ut hæc oculo contenta sit uno.

'Tis not one
As soon shee

As capable of any impression as *materia prima* i
formes; like the sea, their affections ebbe and flov
some to hide their villany; once married, she m
the name of husband is a sanctuary to make all
Seneca) *ut nulla virum habeat, nisi ut irritet adul*
straight as true Trojans as mine hostess daught
[p] Ariosto; as good wives as Messalina. Many n
choyce, and as good husbands as Nero himself; th
of all they see; and are, in a word, far more fickle

For either they be full of jealousie,
Or masterfull, or loven novelty, &c.

Good men have often ill wives, as bad as Xantippe
to St. Lues, Isabella to our Edward the second
often matched to ill husbands; as Mariamne to H
Theodora to Theophilus, and Thyra to Gurmunde
of dissolute and bad husbands, of batchelors ar
qualities are a fitter subject for a just volume,
every village, town and city; they need no blazon
any matches, or dishearten loving maids, for thi
passe.

Being that men and women are so irreligiou
wandring in their affections, so brutish, so subje
observant of marriage rites, what shall I say? If
thou light on such a wife, what concord can thei
ment? 'tis not *conjugium* but *conjurgium*; as the
bleme, averse and opposite in nature: 'tis twenty
to thy contentment: but as in a lottery forty blank
one prize, out of a multitude you shall hardly choo
hence, then, little comfort.

[r] Nec integrum unquam transiges lætus
If he or she be such a one,
Thou hadst much better be alone.

If she be barren, she is not——&c. If she have [s]
not good, though thou be wary and circumspect,
——*fœcundâ domum tibi prole gravabit;* thou
them up; [t] *and what greater misery can there be*
whom thou canst leave no other inheritance but
fames dominatur, strident voces rogantium panem
what so grievous as to turn them up to the wid
selves? No plague like to want: and when th
art very carefull of their education, they will no

[m] Ter. act. 1. sc. 2. Eunuch. [n] Lucian. Tom. 4. Neque cum una
[o] Juvenal. [p] Lib. 28. [q] Camerar. 82. cent. 3. [r] Simonides.
bitter. Bacon. [s] Heinsius Epist. Primiero. Nihil miserius quam
reditate tuâ pervenire videas, præter famem et sitim. [t] Christoph.

hat old proverb, Ἡρώων τέκνα πήματα, *Heroum filii noxæ*, great mens sons eldome do well; *O utinam aut cælebs mansissem, aut prole carerem!* Augustus exclaims in Suetonius. Jacob had his Ruben, Simeon, and Levi: David an Amnon, an Absolon, Adoniah; wise mens sons are commonly fools, in-omuch that Spartian concludes, *Neminem prope magnorum virorum optimum et utilem reliquisse filium;* [v]They had been much better to have been childless. 'Tis too common in the middle sort; Thy sonnes a drunkard, a gamester, a spendthrift; thy daughter a fool, a whore; thy servants lazie drones and theeves; thy neighbours divels; they will make thee weary of thy life. [x]*If thy wife be froward, when she may not have her will, thou hadst better be buried alive; she will be so impatient, raving still, and roaring like Juno in the tragedy; there's nothing but tempests: all is in an uproar.* If she be soft and foolish, thou werst better have a block, she will shame thee and reveal thy secrets: if wise and learned, well qualified, there is as much danger on the other side, *mulierem doctam ducere periculosissimum*, saith [y]Nevisanus, she will be too insolent and peevish. [z]*Malo Venusinam quam te Cornelia mater.* Take heed; if she be a slut, thou wilt loath her; if proud, shee'l begger thee, [a]*shee'l spend thy patrimony in bawbles, all Arabia will not serve to perfume her haire*, saith Lucian: if fair and wanton, shee'l make thee a *cornuto;* if deformed, she will paint. *If her face be filthy by nature, she will mend it by art, alienis et adscititiis imposturis,* [b]*which, who can indure?* If she do not paint, she will look so filthy, thou canst not love her, and that, peradventure, will make thee unhonest. Cromerus *lib.* 12. *hist.* relates of Casimirus, [c]that he was unchast, because his wife Aleida, the daughter of Henry, the landsgrave of Hessia, was so deformed. If she be poor, she brings beggery with her (saith Nevisanus) misery and discontent. If you marry a maid, it is uncertain how she proves: *Hæc forsan veniet non satis apta tibi:* If yong, she is, likely, wanton and untaught; if lusty, too lascivious; and if she be not satisfied, you know where and when, *nil nisi furgia*, all is in an uprore, and there is little quietness to be had: if an old maid, 'tis an hazard she dies in childbed: if a rich widdow, [d]*induces te in laqueum*, thou dost halter thy self; she will make all away before hand, to her other children, &c.——[e]*dominam quis possit ferre tonantem?* she will hit thee still in the teeth with her first husband: if a yong widdow, she is often unsatiable and immodest. If she be rich, well descended, bring a great dowry, or be nobly allied, thy wives friends will eat thee out of house and home, *dives ruinam ædibus inducit;* she will be so proud, so high-minded, so imperious. For —— *nihil est magis intolerabile dite;* there's nothing so intolerable, thou shalt be as the tassell of a gosse-hauk, [f]*she will ride upon thee, domineer as she list*, wear the breeches in her oligarchicall government, and begger thee besides. *Uxores divites servitutem exigunt*, as Seneca hits them *declam. lib.* 2. *declam.* 6.) *Dotem accepi, imperium perdidi.* They will have soveraignty, *pro conjuge dominam arcessis;* they will have attendance, they will do what they list. [g]In taking a dowry thou loosest thy liberty, *dos intrat, libertas exit*, hazardest thine estate.

Hæ sunt atque aliæ multæ in magnis dotibus
Incommoditates, sumptusque intolerabiles, &c.

with many such inconveniences. Say the best, she is a commanding servant; thou hadst better have taken a good husewifely maid in her smock.

[u] Liberi sibi carcinomata, [v] Melius fuerat eos sine liberis discessisse. [x] Lemnius cap. 6. lib. 1. Si aerosa, si non in omnibus obsequaris, omnia impacata in ædibus, omnia sursum miscere videas, multæ empestates, &c. [y] Lib. 2. numer. 101. ait. nup. [z] Juvenal. [a] Tom. 4. Amores. Omnem mariti pulentiam profundet, totam Arabiam capillis redolens. [b] Idem. Et quis sanæ mentis sustinere queat, tc. [c] Subegit ancillas quod uxor ejus deformior esset. [d] Sil. nup. l. 2. num. 25. Dives inducit empestatem, pauper curam: ducens viduam se inducit in laqueum. [e] Sic quisque dicit, alteram ducit amen. [f] Si dotata erit, imperiosa, continuoque viro in equitare conabitur. Petrarch. [g] If a woman nourish her husband, she is angry and impudent, and full of reproach. Eccius. 26. 22. Scilicet uxori nubere nolo meæ.

Since then, there is such hazard, if thou be wise, keep thyself as thou art; 'tis good to match, much better to be free.

[h] ——procreare liberos lepidissimum,
Hercle vero liberum esse, id multo est lepidius.

Art thou yong? then match not yet; if old, match not at all.

[i] ——Vis juvenis nubere? nondum venit tempus.
Ingravescente ætate jam tempus præteriit.

And therefore, with that philosopher, still make answer to thy friends that importune thee to marry, *adhuc intempestivum*, 'tis yet unseasonable, and ever will be.

Consider withall how free, how happy, how secure, how heavenly, in respect, a single man is, [j] as he said in the comœdy, *Et isti quod fortunatum esse autumant, uxorem nunquam habui*, and that which all my neighbours admire and applaud me for, account so great an happiness, I never had a wife; consider how contentedly, quietly, neatly, plentifully, sweetly and how merrily he lives! he hath no man to care for but himself; none to please, no charge, none to controle him, is tied to no residence, no cure to serve, may go and come, when, whither, live where he will, his own master, and do what he list himself. Consider the excellency of virgins, [k] *Virgo cœlum meruit*, marriage replenishes the earth, but virginity Paradise; Elias, Eliseus, John Baptist were bachelors: Virginity is a pretious jewell, a fair garland, a never fading flowre; [l] for why was Daphne turned to a green bay tree, but to shew that virginity is immortall?

[m] Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
Quam mulcent auræ, firmat Sol educat imber, &c.

Sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum chara suis, sed
Cum castum amisit, &c.

Virginity is a fine picture, as [n] Bonaventure calls it; a blessed thing in it self, and if you will believe a papist, meritorious. And although there be some inconveniences, irksomeness, solitariness, &c. incident to such persons, want of those comforts, *quæ ægro assideat et curet ægrotum, fomentum, paret, roget medicum, &c.* embracing, dalliance, kissing, colling, &c. those furious motives and wanton pleasures a new married wife most part enjoyes; yet they are but toyes in respect, easily to be endured, if conferred to those frequent incumbrances of marriage; solitariness may be otherwise avoided with mirth, musick, good company, business, imployment; in a word, [o] *Gaudebit minus, et minus dolebit;* for their good nights, he shall have good dayes. And me thinks sometime or other, amongst so many rich bachelors, a benefactor should be found to build a monasticall college for old, decayed, deformed, or discontented maids to live together in, that have lost their first loves, or otherwise miscarried, or else are willing howsoever to lead a single life. The rest, I say, are toyes in respect, and sufficiently recompensed by those innumerable contents and incomparable priviledges of virginity. Think of these things, confer both lives, and consider last of all, these commodious prerogatives a bachelor hath, how well he is esteemed, how heartily welcome to all his friends, *quam mentitis obsequiis*, as Tertullian observes, with what counterfeit curtesies they will adore him, follow him, present him with gifts, *hamatis donis: it cannot be beleeved*, (saith [p] Ammianus) *with what humble service he shall be worshipped*, how loved and respected: *If he want children* (and have means) *he shall be often invited, attended on by princes, and have advocates to plead his cause for nothing*, as [q] Plutarch addes. Wilt thou then be reverenced and had in estimation?

[h] Plautus Mil. Glor. act. 3. sc. 1. [i] Stobæus ser. 66. Alex. ab Alexand. lib. 4. cap. 8. [j] They shall attend the Lamb in heaven, because they were not defiled with women. Apoc. 14. [k] Nuptiæ replent terram, virginitas Paradisum. Hier. [l] Daphne in laurem semper virentem, immortalem docet gloriam paratam virginibus pudicitiam servantibus. [m] Catul. Car. nuptiali. [n] Diet. Salut. c. 22. Pulcherrimum sertum infiniti pretii, gemma et pictura speciosa. [o] Mart. [p] Lib. 24. Quâ obsequiorum diversitate colantur homines sine liberis. [q] Hunc alii ad cœnam invitant, princeps huic famulatur, oratores gratis patrocinantur. Lib. de amore prolis.

——— dominus tamen et domini rex
Si tu vis fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aulâ
Luserit Æneas, nec filia dulcior illâ?
Jucundum et charum sterilis facit uxor amicum.

Live a single man, marry not, and thou shalt soon perceive how those Hæredipetæ (for so they were called of old) will seek after thee, bribe and flatter thee for thy favour, to be thine heire or executor: Aruntius and Aterius, those famous parasites in this kinde, as Tacitus and [s]Seneca have recorded, shall not go beyond them. Periplectomines that good personat old man, *delicium senis*, well understood this in Plautus; for when Pleusides exhorted him to marry, that he might have children of his own, he readily replied in this sort,

Quando habeo multos cognatos, quid opus mihi sit liberis?
Nunc bene vivo et fortunate, atque animo ut lubet.
Mea bona meâ morte cognatis dicam interpartiant.
Illi apud me edunt, me curant, visunt quid agam, ecquid velim,
Qui mihi mittunt munera, ad prandium, ad cœnam vocant.

Whilst I have kin, what need I brats to have?
Now I live well, and as I will, most brave.
And when I dye, my goods I'll give away
To them that do invite me every day,
That visite me, and send me pretty toyes,
And strive who shall do me most curtesies.

This respect thou shalt have in like in manner, living as he did, a single man. But if thou marry once, [t]*cogitato in omni vitâ te servum fore*, bethink thy self what a slavery it is; what an heavy burthen thou shalt undertake; how hard a task thou art tied to, (for as Hierome hath it, *qui uxorem habet, debitor est, et uxoris servus alligatus*,) and how continuate, what squalor attends it, what irksomeness, what charges; for wife and children are a perpetual bill of charges; besides a myriade of cares, miseries and troubles; for as that comical Plautus merrily and truly said, He that wants trouble, must get to be master of a ship, or marry a wife; and as another seconds him, wife and children have undone me; so many, and such infinite incumbrances accompany this kinde of life. Furthermore, *uxor intumuit*, &c. or as he said in the comœdy: [u]*Duxi uxorem; quam ibi miseriam vidi! nati filii, alia cura.* All gifts and invitations cease, no friend will esteem thee, and thou shalt be compelled to lament thy misery, and make thy moane with [v]Bartholomæus Scherœus that famous poet laureat, and professor of Hebrew in Witenberge: I had finished this work long since, but that *inter alia dura et tristia, quæ misero mihi pæne tergum fregerunt* (I use his own words) amongst many miseries which almost broke my back *ονζυγία ob Xantippismum;* a shrew to my wife, tormented my minde above measure, and beyond the rest. So shalt thou be compelled to complain, and to cry out at last, with [w]Phoroneus the lawyer, *How happy had I been, if I had wanted a wife!* If this which I have said will not suffice, see more in Lemnius *lib.* 4. *cap.* 13. *de occult. nat. mir. Espensæus de continentiâ. lib.* 6. *cap.* 8. *Kornman de virginitate; Platina in Amor. dial. Practica artis amandi; Barbarus de re uxoriâ. Arnisæus in polit. cap.* 3; and him that is *instar omnium Nevisanus*, the lawyer, *Sylva nuptial.* almost in every page.

Subsect. IV.—*Philters, Magicall and Poeticall Cures.*

Where perswasions and other remedies will not take place, many fly to unlawfull means; philters, amulets, magick spells, ligatures, characters, charmes, which as a wound with the spear of Achilles, if so made and caused, must so be cured. If forced by spells and philters, saith Paracelsus, it must be eased by characters, *Mag. lib.* 2. *cap.* 28. and by incantations. Fernelius *Path. lib.* 6. *cap.* 13. [x]Sckenkius *lib.* 4. *observ. Med.* hath some examples of such as have been so magically caused, and magically cured; and by witch-craft: so saith Baptista Codronchus, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 6. *de mor. ven.*

[s]Annal. 11. [t]60 de benefic. 38. [u]E Græco. [v]Ter. Adelph. [w]Itenarariâ in psalmos instructione ad lectorem. [x]Bruson. lib. 7. cap. 22. Si uxor deesset, nihil mihi ad summam felicitatem defuisset. [x]Exstinguitur virilitas ex incantamentorum maleficiis; neque enim fabula est, nonnulli reperti sunt, qui ex veneficiis amore privati sunt, ut ex multis historiis patet.

Malleus *malef. cap.* 6. 'Tis not permitted to be done, I confess; yet often attempted: see more in Wierus *lib.* 3. *cap.* 18. *de præstig. de remediis per Philtra.* Delrio *tom.* 2. *lib.* 2. *quæst.* 3. *sect.* 3. *disquisit. magic.* Cardan *lib.* 16. *cap.* 90. reckons up many magnetical medicines, as to piss through a ring, &c. Mizaldus *cent.* 3. 30. Baptista Porta, Jason Pratensis, Lobelius *pag.* 87. Matthiolus, &c. prescribe many absurd remedies. *Radix mandragoræ ebibitæ; annuli ex ungulis asini; stercus amatæ sub cervical positum, illâ nesciente, &c. quum odorem fœditatis sentit, amor solvitur. Noctuæ ovum abstemios facit comestum, ex consilio Iarthæ Indorum gymnosophistæ apud Philostratum lib.* 3. *Sanguis amasiæ ebibitus omnem amoris sensum tollit: Faustinam Marci Aurelii uxorem, gladiatoris amore captam, ita penitus consilio Chaldæorum liberatum, refert* Julius Capitolinus. Some of our astrologers will effect as much by characteristical images, *ex Sigillis Hermetis, Salomonis, Chaelis, &c. mulieris imago habentis crines sparsos, &c.* Our old poets and phantastical writers have many fabulous remedies for such as are love-sick: as that of Protesilaus tombe in Philostratus, in his dialogue betwixt Phœnix and Vinitor. Vinitor, upon occasion, discoursing of the rare virtues of that shrine, telleth him that Protesilaus altar and tombe [y] *cures almost all manner of diseases, consumptions, dropsies, quartan agues, sore eys; and, amongst the rest, such as are love-sick, shall there be helped.* But the most famous is [z] Leucata Petra, that renowned rock in Greece, of which Strabo writes, *Geog. lib.* 10. not far from Saint Maures, saith Sands *lib.* 1. From which rock, if any lover flung himself down headlong, he was instantly cured. Venus after the death of Adonis, when she could take no rest for love, [a] *cum vesana suas torreret flamma medullas,* came to the temple of Apollo to know what she should do to bee eased of her pain: Apollo sent her to Leucata Petra, where she præcipitated her self, and was forthwith freed; and when she would needs know of him a reason of it, he told her again, that he had often observed [b] Jupiter, when he was enamored on Juno, thither go to ease and wash himself, and after him diverse others. Cephalus for the love of Protela, Degonetus daughter, leapt down here; that Lesbian Sappho for Phaon, on whom she miserably doted, [c] *Cupidinis æstro percita e summo præceps ruit,* hoping thus to ease her self, and to be freed of her love pangs.

[d] Hic se Deucalion, Pyrrhæ succensus amore,
Mersit, et illæso corpore pressit aquas.
Nec mora, fuget amor, &c.———

Hither Deucalion came, when Pyrrhas love
Tormented him, and leapt down to the sea,
And had no harm at all; but by and by,
His love was gone and chased quite away.

This medicine Jos. Scaliger speaks of, *Ausoniarum lectionum lib.* 18. *Salmutz in Pancirol. de* 7 *mundi mirac.* and other writers. Pliny reports, that amongst the Cyzeni, there is a well consecrated to Cupid, of which if any lover tast, his passion is mitigated: And Anthony Verdurius *Imag. Deorum de Cupid.* saith, that amongst the ancients there was [e] *Amor Lethes, he took burning torches, and extinguished them in the river; his statua was to be seen in the Temple of Venus Eleusina,* of which Ovid makes mention, and saith, *that all lovers of old went thither on pilgrimage, that would be rid of their love pangs.* Pausanias in [f] Phocicis, writes of a temple dedicated, *Veneri in speluncâ,* to Venus in the vault, at Naupactus in Achaia (now Lepanto) in which your widdowes, that would have second husbands, made their supplications to the goddesse: all manner of suits concerning lovers were commenced, and their grievances helped. The same author, in Achaïcis, tells as much of the river [g] Senelus in Greece; if any lover washed himself

[y] Curat omnes morbos, phthises, hydropes, et oculorum morbos, et febre quartanâ laborantes, et amore captos, miris artibus eos demulcet. [z] The moral is vehement fear expells love. [a] Catullus. [b] Quum Junonem deperiret Jupiter impotenter, ibi solitus lavare, &c. [c] Menander. [d] Ovid. ep. 21. [e] Apud antiquos Amor Lethes olim fuit; is ardentes faces in profluentem inclinabat; hujus statua Veneris Eleusinæ templo visebatur, quo amantes confluebant, qui amicæ memoriam deponere volebant. [f] Lib. 10. *Vota ei* nuncupant amatores, multis de causis; sed imprimis viduæ mulieres ut sibi alteras a Deâ nuptias exposcant. [g] Rodiginus ant. lect. lib. 16. cap. 25, calls it Selenus. Omni amore liberat.

in it, by a secret vertue of that water, (by reason of the extream coldness belike) he was healed of loves torments; [h] *amoris vulnus idem qui sanat facit.* which if it be so, that water, as he holds, is *omni auro pretiosior*, better then any gold. Where none of all these remedies will take place, I know no other, but that all lovers must make an head, and rebell, as they did in [i] Ausonius, and crucifie Cupid till he grant their request, or satisfie their desires.

SUBSECT. V.—*The last and best Cure of Love-Melancholy, is, to let them have their Desire.*

THE last refuge and surest remedy, to be put in practice in the utmost place, when no other means will take effect, is, to let them go together, and enjoye one another; *potissima cura est ut heros amasiâ suâ potiatur*, saith Guianerius, *cap.* 15. *tract.* 15. Æsculapius himself, to this malady, cannot invent a better remedy, *quam ut amanti cedat amatum*, [j] (Jason Pratensis) then that a lover have his desire.

Et pariter torulo bini jungantur in uno,	And let them both be joyned in a bed,
Et pulchro detur Æneæ Lavinia conjux.	And let Æneas fair Lavinia wed.

'Tis the special cure, to let them bleed *in venâ Hymenæâ*, for love is a plurisie, and if it be possible, so let it be: ——— *optataque gaudia carpant.* [k] Arculanus holds it the speediest and the best cure; 'tis Savanarolas [l] last precept; a principal infallible remedy; the last, sole, and safest refuge.

[m] Julia sola potes nostras exstinguere flammas,	Julia alone can quench my desire,
Non nive, non glacie, sed potes igne pari.	With neither ice nor snow, but with like fire.

When you have all done, saith [n] Avicenna, *there is no speedier or safer course, then to joyn the parties together according to their desires and wishes, the custome and forme of law; and so we have seen him quickly restored to his former health, that was languished away to skin and bones; after his desire was satisfied, his discontent ceased, and we thought it strange; our opinion is, therefore, that in such cases, nature is to be obeyed.* Arateus, an old author, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. hath an instance of a yong man, [o] when no other means could prevail, was so speedily relieved. What remaines then but to joyn them in marriage?

[p] Tunc et basia morsiunculasque
Surreptim dare, mutuos fovere
Amplexus licet, et licet jocari.

they may then kiss and coll, lye and look babies in one anothers eys, as their syres before them did: they may then satiate themselves with loves pleasures, which they have so long wished and expected.

Atque uno simul in toro quiescant,
Conjuncto simul ore suavientur,
Et somnos agitent quiete in unâ.

Yea, but *hic labor, hoc opus*, this cannot conveniently be done, by reason of many and severall impediments. Sometimes both parties themselves are not agreed: parents, tutors, masters, guardians, will not give consent; lawes customes, statutes hinder: poverty, superstition, fear and suspition: many men dote on one woman, *semel et simul:* she dotes as much on him, or them, and in modesty must not, cannot woo, as unwilling to confess, as willing to love: she dare not make it known, shew her affection, or speak her minde. And *hard is the choyce* (as it is in Euphues) *when one is compelled, either by silence to dye with grief, or by speaking to live with shame.* In this case almost, was the faire lady Elizabeth, Edward the fourth his daughter,

[h] Seneca. [i] Cupido crucifixus. Lepidum poëma. [j] Cap. 19. de morb. cerebri. [k] Patiens potiatur re amatâ, si fieri possit, optima cura. cap. 16. in 9 Rhasis. [l] Si nihil aliud, nuptiæ et copulatio cum eâ. [m] Petronius Catal. [n] Cap. de Ilishi. Non invenitur cura, nisi regimen connexionis inter eos, secundum modum promissionis, et legis; et sic vidimus ad carnem restitutum, qui jam venerat ad arefactionem; evanuit cura postquam sensit, &c. [o] Fama est melancholicum quendam ex amore insanabiliter se habentem, ubi puellæ se conjunxisset, restitutum, &c. [p] Jovian. Pontanus, Basi. lib. 1.

when she was enamored on Henry the seventh, that new saluted king, when she break forth into that pa *I were worthy of that comely prince! but my fa friends to motion such a matter! What shall I sa dare not open my minde to any. What, if I acqu bashfulness forbids. What, if some of the lords? I might but confer with him, perhaps in discourse word that might discover mine intention!* How this concern. I am a poor servant, what shall I do? and want means; I am blith and buxome, yong an a suiter; *expectant stolidi ut ego illos rogatum* company of silly fellows, look, belike, that I should fain they would and cannot woo; —— [s] *quæ primu* meerly passive, they may not make sute, with ma veniences, which I know not; what shall we do in s *my Foe?*——

Some are so curious in this behalf, as those old Rom Dutch and French, that if two parties dearly love, ignoble, they may not by their lawes match, though fortunes, education, and all good affection. In G prove gentility by three descents, they scorn to ma man must marry a noble woman: a baron, a baro knights; a gentleman, a gentlemans: as slatters s degrees and families. If she be never so rich, faire they will make him forsake her. The Spaniards Turks repute them old women, if past five and t severe lawes, and strict customes, *dandum aliquid* of Adam; 'tis opposite to Nature, it ought not to b most impotently, she loves not him, and so *e contra.* Satyrus, Satyrus Lyda.

> Quantum ipsorum aliqui amantem oder Tantum ipsius amans odiosus erat.

They love and loath of all sorts; he loves her, she of him, on whom she dotes. Cupid hath two darts gold, and that sharp, —— [u] *Quod facit auratum* lead, and that to hinder;——*fugat hoc, facit illu* too often verified in our common experience. [v] C virgin Callyrrhoë, but the more he loved her, the mo loved Paris, but he rejected her; they are stiffe of therefore created to undo, or be undone. I giv observance, I pray and intreat, [w] *Alma, precor, m* pitty me, I spend my self, my time, friends and fo (as he complains in the [x] Eglogue,) I lament, s moane to her, but she is hard as flint; ——*cautibu* as faire and hard as a diamond, she will not respect hear me.

> ——fugit illa vocantem,
> Nil lachrymas miserata meas, nil flexa querelis

What shall I do?

> I wooed her as a yong man should do,
> But Sir, she said, I love not you.

[y] Durior at scopulis mea Cœlia, marmore, ferro, Robore, rupe, antro, cornu, adamante, gelu. | Rock, marble, Frost, flint or

[s] Speede's hist. e. MS. Ber. Andreæ. [t] Lucretia in Cœlestinâ, act. Æn. [u] E Græco Moschi. [v] Ovid. Met. 1. [w] Pausanias Ach rhoën virginem, et quanto erat Choresi amor vehementior, tanto erat pe [x] *Virg. 6. Æn.* [y] Erasmus Egl. Galatea. [z] Angerianus Erotop

I give, I bribe, I send presents, but they are refused. [a] ***Rusticus est Coridon, nec munera curat Alexis.*** I protest, I swear, I weep;

> ——— [a]odioque rependit amores,
> Irrisu lachrymas———

She neglects me for all this; she derides me, contemns me, she hates me: Phillida flouts me: *Caute feris, quercu durior Eurydice*, stiffe, churlish, rocky still.

And 'tis most true, many gentlewomen are so nice, they scorn all suiters, crucifie their poor paramours; and think no body good enough for them, as dainty to please as Daphne her self.

> [b]Multi illam petiêre, illa aspernata potentes,
> Nec quid Hymen, quid amor, quid sint connubia, curat.
>
> Many did woe her, but she scorn'd them still,
> And said she would not marry by her will.

One while they will not marry, as they say at least, (when as they intend nothing less,) another while not yet, when 'tis their only desire; they rave upon it. She will marry at last, but not him: he is a proper man indeed, and well qualified, but he wants means: another of her suiters hath good means, but he wants wit; one is too old, another too yong, too deformed, she likes not his carriage: a third too loosely given, he is rich, but base born: she will be a gentlewoman, a lady, as her sister is, as her mother is: she is all out as faire, as well brought up, hath as good a portion, and she looks for as good a match, as Matilda or Dorinda: if not, she is resolved as yet to tarry: so apt are yong maids to boggle at every object, so soon won or lost with every toye, so quickly diverted, so hard to be pleased. In the mean time, *quot torsit amantes?* one suiter pines away, languisheth in love, *mori quot denique cogit!* another sighs and grieves, she cares not: and which [c] Stroza objected to Ariadne,

> Nec magis Euriali gemitu, lacrymisque moveris,
> Quam Proce turbati flectitur ora sali.
> Tu juvenem, quo non formosior alter in urbe,
> Spernis, et insano cogis amore mori.
>
> Is no more mov'd with those sad sighs and tears
> Of her sweet-heart, then raging sea with prayers
> Thou scorn'st the fairest youth in all our city,
> And mak'st him almost mad for love to dye.

They take a pride to prank up themselves, to make yong men enamored,— [d] ***captare viros et spernere captos***, to dote on them, and to run mad for their sakes,

> ——— [e]sed nullis illa movetur
> Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
>
> Whilst niggardly their favours they discover,
> They love to be belov'd, yet scorn the lover.

All suit and service is too little for them, presents too base: *Tormentis gaudet amantis——et spoliis.* As Atalanta they must be over-run, or not won. Many yong men are as obstinate, and as curious in their choyce, as tyrannically proud, insulting, deceitful, false-hearted, as irrefragable and peevish on the other side; Narcissus like.

> [f]Multi illum juvenes, multæ petiêre puellæ,
> Sed fuit in tenerâ tam dira superbia formâ,
> Nulli illum juvenes, nullæ petiêre puellæ.
>
> Yong men and maids did to him sue,
> But in his youth so proud, so coy was he,
> Yong men and maids bad him adiew.

Echo wept and wooed by all means above the rest; love me for pitty, or pitty me for love, but he was obstinate. *Ante ait emoriar quam sit tibi copia nostri*, he would rather dye then give consent. Psyche ran whining after Cupid,

> [g]Formosum tua te Psyche formosa requirit,
> Et poscit te Dia Deum, puerumque puella.
>
> Faire Cupid, thy faire Psyche to thee sues,
> A lovely lass a fine yong gallant wooes;

but he rejected her nevertheless. Thus many lovers do hold out so long, doting on themselves, stand in their own light, till in the end they come to be scorned and rejected, as Strozas Gargiliana was;

> Te juvenes, te odêre senes, desertaque langues,
> Quæ fueras procerum publica cura prius.
>
> Both yong and old do hate thee scorned now,
> That once was all their joye and comfort too

as Narcissus was himself,

> ——— Who despising many
> Died, ere he could enjoye the love of any.

[a] Virg. [b] Lœchæus. [c] Ovid. Met. 1. [d] Erot. Lib. 2. [e] T. H. [f] Virg. 4. Æn. [g] Metamor. 3. [c] Fracastorius Dial. de anim.

They begin to be contemned themselves of others, as he was of his shadow, and take up with a poor curat, or an old serving-man at last, that might have had their choyce of right good matches in their youth; like that generous mare, in [h]Plutarch, which would admit of none but great horses; but when her tail was cut off and mane shorn close, and she now saw her self so deformed in the water, when she came to drink, *ab asino conscendi se passa*, she was contented at last to be covered by an ass. Yet this is a common humor, will not be left, and cannot be helped.

[i]Hanc volo quæ non vult, illam quæ vult ego nolo:
Vincere vult animos, non satiare Venus.

I love a maid, she loves me not: full fain
She would have me, but I not her again;
So love to crucifie mens soules is bent,
But seldom doth it please or give content.

Their love danceth in a ring, and Cupid hunts them round about; he dotes, is doted on again. *Dumque petit petitur, pariterque accendit et ardet;* their affection cannot be reconciled. Oftentimes they may and will not; 'tis their own foolish proceedings that mars all; they are too distrustful of themselves, too soon dejected: say she be rich, thou poor: she yong, thou old: she lovely and faire, thou most illfavoured and deformed: she noble, thou base: she spruce and fine, but thou an ugly clown: *nil desperandum*, there's hope enough yet. *Mopso Nisa datur; quid non speremus amantes?* Put thy self forward once more, as unlikely matches have been and are daily made, see what will be the event. Many leave roses and gather thistles, loath hony and love verjuice: our likings are as various as our palates. But commonly they omit opportunities, *oscula qui sumpsit, &c.* they neglect the usual means and times.

He that will not when he may,
When he will he shall have nay.

They look to be wooed, sought after, and sued to. Most part, they will and cannot, either for the above-named reasons, or for that there is a multitude of suiters equally enamored, doting all alike; and where one alone must speed, what shall become of the rest? Hero was beloved of many, but one did enjoye her; Penepole had a company of suiters, yet all missed of their aym. In such cases, he or they must wisely and warily unwind themselves, unsettle his affections by those rules above prescribed,——[j] *quin stultos excutit ignes;* divert his cogitations, or else bravely bear it out, as Turnus did, *Tua sit Lavinia conjux;* when he could not get her, with a kind of heroical scorn he bid Æneas take her, or with a milder farewel, let her go——*Et Phillida solus habeto*, take her to you, God give you joye, sir. The fox in the emblem would eat no grapes, but why? because he could not get them: care not thou for that which may not be had.

Many such inconveniences, lets and hinderances there are, which cross their projects, and crucifie poor lovers; which sometimes may, sometimes again, cannot be so easily removed. But put case, they be reconciled all, agreed hitherto; suppose this love or good liking be betwixt two alone, both parties well pleased, there is *mutuus amor*, mutual love and great affection: yet their parents, guardians, tutors, cannot agree; thence all is dashed: the match is unequal; one rich, another poor: *durus pater*, an hard-hearted, unnatural, a covetous father will not marry his son except he have so much mony; *ita in aurum omnes insaniunt*, as [k]Chrysostome notes; nor joyn his daughter in marriage, to save her dowry: or for that he cannot spare her for the service she doth him, and is resolved to part with nothing whilest he lives, not a penny, though he may peradventure, well give it, he will not till he dies; and then as a pot of mony broke, it is divided amongst them that gaped after it so earnestly. Or else he wants means to set her out, he hath *no mony*, and though it be to the manifest prejudice of her body and soules

[h] *Dial. am.* [i] Ausonius. [j] Ovid. Met. 9. [k] Hom. 5. in 1 epist. Thess. cap. 4. ver. 1.

ılth, he cares not; he wil take no notice of it; she must and shall tarry. ıny slack and careless parents, *iniqui patres*, measure their childrens affec- ɔs by their own: they are now cold and decrepit themselves, past all such ıthful conceits, and they will therefore starve their childrens genius, have m *a pueris* [l]*illico nasci senes*, they must not marry, *nec earum affines esse um quas secum fert adolescentiâ: ex suâ libidine moderatur quæ est nunc,* ı *quæ olim fuit*, as he said in the comœdy: they will stifle nature, their ıg bloods must not participate of youthful pleasures, but be as they are them- ves, old on a sudden. And 'tis a general fault amongst most parents in towing of their children; the father wholly respects wealth, when through own folly, riot, indiscretion, he hath embeazled his estate, to recover him- ', he confines and prostitutes his eldest sons love and affection to some fool, ancient, or deformed piece for mony:

> [m] Phanaretæ ducet filiam, rufam illam virginem,
> Cæsiam, sparso ore, aduncо naso ———

l though his son utterly dislike, with Clitipho in the comœdy, *Non possum, er.* If she be rich, *Eja* (he replies) *ut elegans est, credas animum ibi esse?* must and shall have her, she is faire enough, yong enough; if he look or ɔe to inherit his lands, he shall marry, not when or whom he loves, *Arconi- hujus filiam*, but whom his father commands, when and where he likes, affection must dance attendance upon him. His daughter is in the ıe predicament, forsooth; as an empty boat she must carry what, where, ɔn, and whom her father will. So that in these businesses the father is for the best advantage. Now the mother respects good kinred; most t, the son a proper woman. All which [n] Livy exemplifies, *&c.* l. *lib.* 4. a tleman and a yeoman woo'd a wench in Rome (contrary to that statute t the gentry and commonalty must not match together) the matter was troverted: The gentleman was preferred by the mothers voice, *quæ quam ndidissimis nuptiis jungi puellam volebat:* the overseers stood for him t was most worth, &c. But parents ought not to be so strict in this be- ɛ; beauty is a dowrie of it self all sufficient. [o] *Virgo formosa, etsi oppido per, abunde dotata est*, [p] Rachel was so married by Jacob; and Bonaven- [q] *in* 4. sent. *denies that he so much as venially sins, that marries a maid comeliness of person.* The Jews, Deut. 21. 11. if they saw amongst the tives a beautifull woman, (some small circumstances observed,) might take to wife. They should not be too severe in that kinde, especially if there no such urgent occasion, or grievous impediment. 'Tis good for a com- ıwealth. [r] Plato holds, that in their contracts *yong men should never id the affinity of poor folks, or seek after rich.* Poverty and base paren- ɛ may be sufficiently recompenced by many other good qualities, modesty, ıue, religion and choyce bringing up. [s] *I am poor, I confess: but am I refore contemptible, and an abject? Love it self is naked, the Graces, the rs; and Hercules was clad in a lions skin.* Give something to vertue, , wisdome, favour, beauty, person; be not all for mony. Besides, you ıt consider that *Amor cogi non potest*, love cannot be compelled, they must ɛt as they may. [t] *Fatum est in partibus illis quas sinus abscondit*, as the ng is, marriage and hanging goes by destiny, matches are made in heaven.

> It lies not in our power to love or hate,
> For will in us is over-rul'd by fate.

ɛrvant maid in [u] Aristænetus loved her mistress minion, which when her ıe perceived, *furiosâ æmulatione*, in a jealous humour she dragged her

r. [m] Ter. Heaut. scen. ult. [n] Plebeius et nobilis ambiebant puellam, puellæ certamen in partes , &c. [o] Apuleius Apol. [p] Gen. 29. [q] Non peccat venialiter qui mulierem ducit ob pulchritudi- [r] Lib. 6. de leg. Ex usu reipublicæ est, ut in nuptiis juvenes neque pauperum affinitatem fugiant, ı divitum sectentur. [s] Philost. ep. Quoniam pauper sum, idcirco contemptior et abjectior tibi videar? ipse nudus est, Gratiæ, et Astra; Hercules pelle leoninâ indutus. [t] Juvenal. [u] Lib. 2. ep. 7.

about the house by the hair of the head, and vexed her sore. The wench cryed, *O* [v]*mistress, fortune hath made my body your servant, but not my soule!* Affections are free, not to be commanded. Moreover, it may be to restrain their ambition, pride and covetousness, to correct those hereditary diseases of a family, God in his just judgement assignes and permits such matches to be made. For I am of Plato and [w] Bodines mind, that families have their bounds and periods as well as kingdomes, beyond which, for extent or continuance they shall not exceed, six or seven hundred yeers, as they there illustrate by a multitude of examples, and which Peucer and [x] Melancthon approve: but in a perpetuall tenor (as we see by many pedegrees of knights, gentlemen, yeomen) continue as they began, for many descents with little alteration. Howsoever, let them I say, give something to youth, to love. They must not think they can fancy whom they appoint; [y] *Amor enim non imperatur, affectus liber si quis alias et vices exigens*, this is a free passion, as Pliny said in a panegyrick of his, and may not be forced. Love craves liking, as the saying is; it requires mutuall affections, a correspondency: *invito non datur nec aufertur*, it may not be learned, Ovid himself cannot teach us how to love, Solomon describe, Apelles paint, or Helena expresse it. They must not therefore compell or intrude; [z] *quis enim* (as Fabius urgeth) *amare alieno animo potest?* but consider withall the miseries of enforced marriages; take pitty upon youth; and such, above the rest, as have daughters to bestowe, should be very carefull and provident to marry them in due time. Siracides *cap. 7. vers.* 25. calls it a *weighty matter to perform*, so to marry a daughter to a man of understanding in due time; *Virgines enim tempestive locandæ*, as [a] Lemnius admonisheth, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. Virgins must be provided for in season, to prevent many diseases, of which [b] Rodericus a Castro *de morbis mulierum lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. and Lod. Mercatus *lib.* 2 *de mulier. affect. cap.* 4. *de melanch. virginum et viduarum*, have both largely discoursed. And therefore as well to avoid these ferall maladies, 'tis good to get them husbands betimes, as to prevent some other grosse inconveniences, and, for a thing that I know besides; *ubi nuptiarum tempus et ætas advenerit*, as Chrysostome adviseth, let them not defer it; they perchance will marry themselves else, or do worse. If Nevisanus, the lawyer do not impose, they may do it by right: for as he proves out of Curtius and some other civilians, *Sylvæ nup. lib.* 2. *numer.* 30. [c] *A maid past* 25 *years of age, against her parents consent may marry such a one as is unworthy of, and inferiour to her, and her father, by lawe, must be compelled to give her a competent dowrie.* Mistake me not in the mean time, or think that I do apologize here for any headstrong unruly wanton flurts. I do approve that of St. Ambrose (*comment. in Genesis* 24. 51.) which he hath written touching Rebeccas spousals. *A woman should give unto her parents the choyce of her husband,* [d] *lest she be reputed to be malapert and wanton, if she take upon her to make her own choyce;* [e] *for she should rather seem to be desired by a man, then to desire a man her self.* To those hard parents alone, I retort that of Curtius, (in the behalf of modester maids) that are too remiss and careless of their due time and riper yeers. For if they tarry longer, to say truth, they are past date, and no body will respect them. A woman with us in Italy (saith [f] Aretines Lucretia) 24 yeers of age, *is old already, past the best, of no account.* An old fellow, as Lycistrata confesseth in [g] Aristophanes, *etsi sit canus, cito puellam virginem ducat uxorem*, and tis no newes for an old fellow to marry a yong wench: but

[v] Ejulans inquit, non mentem unû addixit mihi fortuna servitute. [w] De repub. c. de period. rerumpub. [x] Com. in car. Chron. [y] Plin. in paneg. [z] Declam. 306. [a] Puellis imprimis nulla danda occasio lapsûs. Lemn. lib. 1. cap. 54. de vit. instit. [b] See more part. 1. s. 3. m. 2. subs. 4. [c] Filia excedens annum 25, potest inscio patre nubere, licet indignus sit maritus, et eum cogere ad congrue dotandum. [d] Ne appetentiæ procacioris reputetur auctor. [e] Expetita enim magis debet videri a viro quam ipsa virum expetisse. [f] Mulier apud nos 24 annorum, vetula est et projectitia. [g] Comœd. Lycistrat. And. Divo. Interpr.

as he follows it, *mulieris brevis occasio est, etsi hoc non apprehenderit, nemo vult ducere uxorem, expectans vero sedet*; who cares for an old maid? she may set, &c. A virgin, as the poet holds, *lasciva et petulans puella virgo*, is like a flowre, a rose withered on a sudden.

[h] Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum.

She that was erst a maid as fresh as May,
Is now an old crone, time so steales away.

Let them take time then, while they may; make advantage of youth, and as he prescribes,

[i] Collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus et nova pubes,
Et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum.

Faire maids, go gather roses in the prime,
And think that as a flowre, so goes on time.

Let's all love, *dum vires annique sinunt*, whiles we are in the flowre of yeers, fit for love matters, and while time serves: for

[j] Soles occidere et redire possunt:
Nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetuo una dormienda.

[k] Suns that set may rise again;
But if once we lose this light,
'Tis with us perpetual night.

Volat irrevocabile tempus, time past cannot be recal'd. But we need no such exhortation, we are all commonly too forward: yet if there be any escape, and all be not as it should, as Diogenes struck the father when the son swore, because he taught him no better, if a maid or yong man miscarry, I think their parents oftentimes, guardians, overseers, governours *neque vos* (saith [l] Chrysostome) *a supplicio immunes evadetis, si non statim ad nuptias, &c.* are in as much fault, and as severely to be punished, as their children, in providing for them no sooner.

Now for such as have free liberty to bestow themselves, I could wish that good counsell of the comicall old man were put in practice:

[m] Opulentiores pauperiorum ut filias
Indotatas ducant uxores domum:
Et multo fiet civitas concordior,
Et invidiâ nos minore utemur, quam utimur.

That rich men would marry poor maidens some,
And that without dowrie, and so bring them home:
So would much concord be in our city,
Less envy should we have, much more pitty.

If they would care less for wealth, we should have much more content and quietness in a common-wealth. Beauty, good bringing-up, me thinks, is a sufficient portion of it self, —— [n] *Dos est sua forma puellis*, and he doth well that will accept of such a wife. Eubulides, in [o] Aristænetus, married a poor mans child, *facie non illætabili*, of a merry countenance, and heavenly visage, in pitty of her estate, and that quickly. Acontius coming to Delos, to sacrifice to Diana, fell in love with Cydippe, a noble lass; and wanting means to get her love, flung a golden apple into her lap, with this inscription upon it;

Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Dianæ,
Me tibi venturum comitem, sponsumque futurum.

I swear by all the rites of Diana,
I'll come and be thy husband, if I may.

She considered of it, and upon some small enquiry of his person and estate, was married unto him.

Blessed is the wooing,
That is not long a doing,

As the saying is; when the parties are sufficiently known to each other, what needs such scrupulosity, so many circumstances? dost thou know her conditions, her bringing up, like her person? let her meanes be what they will, take her without any more ado. [p] Dido and Æneas were accidentally driven by a storm both into one cave, they made a match upon it; Masinissa was married to that fair captive Sophonisba, king Scyphax wife, the same day that he saw her first, to prevent Scipio and Lælius, least they should determine otherwise of her. If thou lovest the party, doe as much: good education and beauty is a competent dowrie, stand not upon mony. *Erant olim aurei homines* (saith Theocritus) *et odamantes redamabant*, in the golden world men did so, (in the raign of [q] Ogyges, belike, before staggering Ninus

[h] Ausonius Edyl. 14. [i] Idem. [j] Catullus. [k] Translated by M. B. Johnson. [l] Hom. 5. in 1 Thes. cap. 4. 1. [m] Plautus. [n] Ovid. [o] Epist. 12. l. 2. Eligit conjugem pauperem, indotatam at subito deamavit, ex commiseratione ejus inopiæ. [p] Virg. Æn. [q] Fabius pictor. Amor ipse conjunxit populos, &c.

began to domineere: if all be true that is reported: : will do as much, here and there one; 'tis well done i ness betail them for so doing. [r] Leontius, a philoso daughter called Athenais, *multo corporis lepore ac* of a comely carriage, he gave her no portion but her b *prasagio*, out of some secret fore-knowledge of her little which he had amongst his other children. B preferred by some friends to Constantinople to serve sister, of whom she was baptized and called Eudoci rour, in short space, took notice of her excellent bea little after, upon his sisters sole commendation mad bly done of Theodosius. [s] Rodophe was the faire Ægypt; she went to wash her, and by chance (her m but carelessly to her cloathes) an eagle stole away o it in Psammeticus, the king of Ægypts lap, at Men excellency of the shooe and pretty foot, but more *aqu* of the bringing of it; and caused forthwith proclam that owned that shooe, should come presently to hi and was forthwith married to the king. I say this like a prince: I commend him for it, and all such either doe (as he did) themselves, or so for love, &c. he be rich, let him take such a one as wants, if she as Siracides *cap. 7. ver.* 19. adviseth, *Foregoe not a w her grace is above gold.* If she have fortunes of her Danaus of Lacedæmon had a many daughters to be for them all; he never stood enquiring after great n do, but [t] sent for a company of brave yong gallants h his daughters choose every one one, whom she liked l husband, without any more ado. This act of his wa times. Aye, but in this iron age of ours, we respect must buy her husband now, with a great dowrie if sh ousness and filthy lucre marres all good matches, c Crales, a Servian prince, (as Nicephorus Gregoras *Ro* was an earnest suiter to Eudocia the emperours sister; desired it, yet she could not [u] abide him; for he ha basely abused. But the emperour still, *Cralis a* because he was a great prince and a troublesom neighbo ty, and to that end betrothed his own daughter Simoni yeers of age (he being forty five,) and five [v] yeers himself. Such disproportionable and unlikely ma faire fortune make. And yet not that alone, it is n time vainglory, pride, ambition do as much harm as self, in another extream. If a yeoman have one sole match her, above her birth and calling, to a gentlem her great portion, too good for one of her own ran gentlemans daughter and heir must be married to a son at least; and a knights only daughter to a baron so upwards, her great dowre deserves it. And thus to their wealth, they undo their children, many disco times they ruinate their families. [w] Paulus Jovius gi

[r] Lipsius polit. Sebast. Mayer. Select. sect. 1. cap. 13. [s] Mayerus i c. 33. Cum famulæ lavantis vestes incuriosius custodirent, &c. mandavit p quæreretur, cujus is calceus esset; eamque sic inventam in matrimonium Laconicis. Dimisit qui nuntiârunt, &c. optionem puellis dedit, ut earum cujus maxime esset forma complacita. [t] Illius conjugium abominaba annos natu major. [w] Vit. Galeat. secundi.

the second, that heroical duke of Millan, *externas affinitates, decoras quidem regio fastu, sed sibi et posteris damnosas et fere exitiales quæsivit*; he married his eldest son John Galeatius to Isabella the king of France his sister; but she was *socero tam gravis, ut ducentis millibus aureorum constiterit*, her entertainment at Millan was so costly that it almost undid him. His daughter Violanta was married to Lionel duke of Clarence, the yongest son to Edward the third king of England: but, *ad ejus adventum, tantæ opes tam admirabili liberalitate profusæ sunt, ut opulentissimorum regum splendorem superásse videretur*, he was welcomed with such incredible magnificence, that a kings purse was scarse able to bear it; for besides many rich presents of horses, arms, plate, mony, jewels, &c. he made one dinner for him and his company, in which were thirty two messes, and as much provision left, *ut relatæ a mensâ dapes decem millibus hominum sufficerent*, as would serve ten thousand men. But a little after, Lionel died, *novæ nuptæ et intempestivis conviviis operam dans, &c.* and to the Dukes great loss, the solemnity was ended. So can titles, honours, ambition, make many brave, but infortunate matches, of all sides for by-respects, (though both crased in body and minde, most unwilling, averse, and often unfit,) so love is banished, and we feel the smart of it in the end. But I am too lavish peradventure in this subject.

Another let or hinderance is strict and severe discipline, lawes and rigorous customes that forbid men to marry at set times, and in some places; as prentises, servants, collegiats, states of lives in coppy holds, or in some base inferior offices. [x] *Velle licet* in such cases, *potiri non licet*, as he said. They see but as prisoners through a grate, they covet and catch, but, *Tantalus a labris, &c.* Their love is lost, and vain it is in such an estate to attempt. [y] *Gravissimum est adamare nec potiri*, 'tis a grievous thing to love and not enjoye. They may indeed, I denye not, marry if they will, and have free choyce some of them; but in the mean time, their case is desperate, *lupum auribus tenent*, they hold a wolfe by the ears, they must either burn or starve. 'Tis *cornutum sophisma*, hard to resolve. If they marry, they forfeit their estates, they are undone, and starve themselves through beggery and want: if they do not marry, in this heroical passion, they furiously rage, are tormented, and torn in pieces by their predominate affections. Every man hath not the gift of continence, let him [z] pray for it then, as Beza adviseth, in his tract *de Divortiis*, because God hath so called him to a single life, in taking away the means of marriage. [a] Paul would have gone from Mysia to Bythinia, but the spirit suffered him not; and thou wouldest, peradventure, be a married man with all thy will, but that protecting angels hold it not fit. The divel too sometimes, may divert by his ill suggestions, and marre many good matches; as the same [b] Paul was willing to see the Romans, but hindred of Satan, he could not. There be those, that think they are necessitated by fate; their stars have so decreed; and therefore, they grumble at their hard fortune, they are well inclined to marry, but one rub or other is ever in the way. I know what astrologers say in this behalfe, what Ptolomy *quadripartit. Tract.* 4. *cap.* 4. Skoner *lib.* 1. *cap.* 12. what Leovitius *genitur. exempl.* 1. which Sextus ab Heminga takes to be the horoscope of Hieronymus Wolfius; what Pezelius, Origanaus, and Leovitius his illustrator Garceus *cap.* 12. what Junctine, Protanus, Cumpanella; what the rest (to omit those Arabian conjectures *a parte conjugii, a parte lasciviæ, triplicitates Veneris, &c.* and those resolutions upon a question, *an amicâ potiatur, &c.*) determine in this behalfe, *viz. an sit natus conjugem habiturus; facile an difficulter sit sponsam impetraturus; quot conjuges, quo tempore, quales decernantur nato uxores, de mutuo amore*

[a] Apuleius in Catel. Nobis cupido velle dat, posse abnegat. [x] Anacreon 56. [z] Continentiæ donum ex fide postulet, quia certum sit eum vocari ad cœlibatum cui demis, &c. [a] Act. 16. 7. [b] Rom. 1. 13.

conjugum both in mens and womens genitures, by t venth house the Almutens, lords and planets there, cular aphorismes, *Si dominus 7^mæ in 7^ma vel secunda serram aut ignobilem si duodecimâ. Si Venus in 12^m* tedious to relate. Yet let no man be troubled, or find prædictions, as Hier. Wolfius well saith, in his astrol *prætoriana decreta*, they be but conjectures; the sta

Sidera corporibus præsunt cœlestia nostris, Sunt ea de vili condita namque luto : | Cogere sed neque Quippe sub im

wisdome, diligence, discretion, may mitigate, if not *Fortuna sua a cujusque fingitur moribus;* [d] *Qui c potes, &c.* let no man then be terrified or molest aphorismes; or be much moved, either to vain hop dictions, but let every man follow his own free will sees cause. Better it is indeed to marry then bu but, for their present fortunes, by some other me and divert the stream of this fiery torrent, to contin fied; *lugentes virginitatis florem sic aruisse:* de that eunuch in Libanius, since there is no helpe or r daughter to bewail their virginities.

Of like nature is superstition; those rash vowes such as live in religious orders, but far more ty Nature, youth, and his furious passion forcibly in one side: but their order and vow checks them on *sua forma repugnat.* What merits and indulgen selves by it, what commodities, I know not; but vowes, and inhumane manner of life, proceed ma diseases, many vices, mastupration, satyriasis, [g] pria ness, fornication, adultery, buggery, sodomy, theft of mischiefes. Read but Bales Catalogue of Sod abbies here in England; Henry Stephen his apol. Ulricus writes in one of his epistles, [h] *that Pope G sku's and bones of infants taken out of a fishpond retracted that decree of priests marriages, whic slaughter; was much grieved at it, and purged hin* many such, and then ask what is to be done; is th No, saith Bellarmine, *cap.* 38. *lib. de monach. quam de voto cœlibatûs ad nuptias transire*, better break thy vow. And Coster *in his Enchirid. de c* it is absolutely *gravius peccatum*, [i] *a greater sin f to keep a concubine at home.* Gregory de Valence taines the same, as those Essei and Montanists of votaries out of a false perswasion of merit and h sooner dye then marry, though it be to the saving Pius 2. pope, James Rossa, nephew to the king of archbishop of Lisbone, being very sick at Floren *told him, that his disease was such, he must either or dye, cheerfully chose to dye.* Now they comm Paul teacheth otherwise, *Better marry then burne;* delivers it, *Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi*

[c] Præfix. gen. Leovitii. [d] Idem Wolfius dial. [e] That is, mu it falls. [f] Ovid. I. met. [g] Mercurialis de Priapismo. [h] fert. Gregorium, quum ex piscinâ quâdam, allata plus quam sex millei et decretum de cœlibatu, tantam cædis causam confessus condigno illu nisius ex consil. Trident. part. 3. de cœlibatu sacerdotum. [i] Si m *j* Alphonsus Ciconius lib. de gest. pontificum. [k] Cum medici senat tur, sic mortem vitari posse, mortem potius intrepidus expectavit, &c.

Paulus noster præcipit, there's a difference betwixt Gods ordinances, and mens lawes: and therefore, Cyprian Epist. 8. boldly denounceth, ***impium est, adulterum est, sacrilegum est, quodcunque humano furore statuitur, ut dispositio divina violetur***, it is abominable, impious, adulterous, and sacrilegious, what men make and ordaine after their own furies, to cross Gods lawes. [l] Georgius Wicelius one of their own arch divines (*Inspect. eccles. pag.* 18.) exclaimes against it, and all such rash monasticall vowes; and would have such persons seriously to consider what they doe, whom they admit, ***ne in posterum querantur de inanibus stupris***, lest they repent it at last. For either, as he follows it, [m] you must allow them concubines, or suffer them to marry; for scarse shall you finde three priests of three thousand, ***qui per ætatem non ament***, that are not troubled with burning lust. Wherefore I conclude, it is an unnatural and impious thing, to bar men of this Christian liberty, too severe and inhumane an edict.

[n] The silly wren, the titmouse also,
The little redbrest have their election,
They fly I saw and together gone,
Whereas hem list, about environ,
As they of kinde have inclination,
And as nature impress and guide,
Of every thing list to provide.

But man alone, alas the hard stond,
Full cruelly by kinds ordinance
Constrained is, and by statutes bound,
And debarred from all such pleasance:
What meaneth this, what is this pretence
Of lawes, I wis, against all right of kinde,
Without a cause, so narrow men to binde.

Many lay-men repine still at priests marriages above the rest, and not at cleargy men onely, but all of the meaner sort and condition; they would have none marry, but such as are rich and able to maintain wives, because their parish, belike, shall be pestered with orphanes, and the world full of beggers: but [o] these are hard-hearted, unnatural, monsters of men, shallow polititians, they do not [p] consider that a great part of the world is not yet inhabited as it ought. How many colonies into America, Terra Australis incognita, Africa, may be sent? Let them consult with S[r] William Alexanders book of colonies. Orpheus Juniors Golden Fleece, Captain Whitburne, Mr. Hagthorp, &c. And they shall surely be otherwise informed. Those politique Romans were of another minde; they thought their city and country could never be too populous. [q] Adrian the emperour said he had rather have men then mony, ***malle se hominum adjectione ampliare imperium, quam pecuniâ;*** Augustus Cæsar made an oration in Rome *ad cælibes*, to perswade them to marry. Some countries compelled them to marry of old, as [r] Jewes, Turkes, Indians, Chinese, amongst the rest in these dayes, who much wonder at our discipline, to suffer so many idle persons to live in monasteries, and often marvel how they can live honest. [s] In the Isle of Maragnan, the governour and petty king there, did wonder at the Frenchmen, and admire how so many friers, and the rest of their company could live without wives; they thought it a thing unpossible, and would not believe it. If these men should but survey our multitudes of religious houses, observe our numbers of monasteries all over Europe; 18 nunneries in Padua; in Venice 31 cloisters of monkes, 28 of nunnes, &c. ***ex ungue leonem***, 'tis to this proportion, in all other provinces and cities, what! would they think, do they live honest? Let them dissemble as they will, I am of Tertullians minde, that few can continue but by compulsion. [t] ***O chastity*** (saith he) ***thou art a rare goddess in the world, not so easily got, seldom continuate: Thou maist now and then be compeld either for defect of nature, or if discipline perswade, decrees enforce;*** or for some such by-respects, sullennesse, discontent, they have lost their first loves, may not have whom they will themselves, want of meanes, rash vowes, &c. But can

[l] Epist. 30. [m] Vide vitam ejus edit. 1623. by D. T. James. [n] Lidgate in Chaucers flower of curtesie. [o] 'Tis not multitude but idlenesse which causeth beggery. [p] Or to set them awork, and bring them up in some honest trades. [q] Dion. Cassius lib. 56. [r] Sardius. Buxtorfius. [s] Claude Albarille in his hist. of the Frenchmen to the Isle of Maragnan, an. 1614. [t] Rara quidem Dea tu es, O Castitas, in his terris! nec facile perfecta, varius perpetua, cogi nonnunquam potest, ob naturæ defectum, vel si disciplina pervaserit, censura compresserit.

he willingly containe? I thinke not. Therefore, eith humane imbecillity, in policy, or to prevent a far they hold it, some of them, as necessary as meat vigour of youth, the state and temper of most mens sire it, they have heretofore, in some nations, liberal stewes, an hundred thousand curtizans in grand C zivilus observes, are tolerated, besides boyes: ho Naples, Florence, Venice, &c. and still, in many o Europe, they do as much, because they think yo servants amongst the rest, can hardly live honest. belike, made Vibius the Spaniard, when his friend gallant, lay hid in the cave, *ut voluptatis quam æ faceret*, to gratify him the more, send two [w]lusty all that while he was there imprisoned; and Surer when he warred against the Romans, to carry cubines, as the Swisse souldiers do now (commonly this course is not generally approved, but rather co adhorred, [x] in most countries they doe much enc give great rewards to such as have many children, not marry; *Jus trium liberorum*; and in Agellius, 6. *cap.* 5. Valerius, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. [y] we read, tha father from painful offices; and five from all contri *saved by bearing children*. Epictetus would have will, 6 *de legibus*, he that marrieth not before 35 y pelled and punished, and the mony consecrated to to publique uses. They account him, in some c dies without a wife, a most unhappy man, as [a] Boe happy, yet *infortunio felix*, unhappy in his sup commonly deplore his estate, and much lament him &c. See *Lucian de luctu; Sands fol.* 83, *&c.*

Yet notwithstanding, many with us are of the married themselves, and for others let them burne, not, so they be not troubled with them. Some a too covetous; they may marry when they will, botl but so nice, that except, as Theophilus the empe mother Euphrosune with all the rarest beauties of chamber of his palace, at once, and bid to give liked best. If they might so take and choose who faire maids their nation affords, they could happ otherwise, &c. why should a man marry, saith what's matrimony but a matter of mony; why trenched on, confined or obliged, to this or that n manicles of body and goods? &c. There are th admire and follow women all their lives long, *spo* but in their companies, wistly gazing on their l hanging after them, dallying still with them, an marry. Many poor people, and of the meaner so God's providence; *they will not marry, dare not, f* fear of want, woes, miseries, or that they shall light *scolde, a slut, or a bad wife*. And therefore, [d]

[w] Peregrin. Hierosol. [x] Plutarch. vitâ ejus. Adolescentiæ medio cor formâ et ætatis flore. [y] Alex. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 8. [y] Tres filii patrem ab liberabant. [z] Præcepto primo, cogatur nubere aut muletatur, et pe publica fiat, [a] Consol. 3. pros. 7. [b] Nic Hill. Epic. philos. [c] Qui patiuntur. Lemn. l. 4. 13. de occult. nat. Abhorrent multi a matrimonio amaram uxorem perferre cogantur. [d] Senec. Hippol.

desertâ colunt, they are resolved to live single, as [e] Epaminondas did. [f] *Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cælibe vitâ*; and ready with Hippolitus, to abjure all women. [g] *Detestor omnes, horreo, fugio, exsecror, &c.* But,

Hippolite, nescis quod fugis vitæ bonum,
Hippolite, nescis ———

alas, poor Hippolitus, thou knowest not what thou saiest; 'tis otherwise, Hippolitus. [h] Some make a doubt, *an uxor literato sit ducenda*, whether a scholler should marry; if she be faire, she will bring him back from his grammer to his horne-book; or else, with kissing and dalliance she will hinder his study; if foule, with scolding: he cannot well intend to both, as Philippus Beroaldus, that great Bononian doctor once writ, *impediri enim studia literarum, &c.* but he recanted at last, and in a solemn sort, with true conceived words, he did ask the world and all women, forgiveness. But you shall have the story as he relates himself, in his Commentaries on the sixt of Apuleius. For a long time I lived a single life, *et ab uxore ducendâ semper abhorrui, nec quicquam libero lecto censui jucundius*; I could not abide marriage; but as a rambler, *erraticus ac volaticus amator* (to use his own words) *per multiplices amores discurrebam*; I took a snatch where I could get it; nay more, I railed at marriage down right, and in a publique auditory, when I did interpret that sixt satyre of Juvenal, out of Plutarch and Seneca, I did heap up all the dicteries I could, against women: but now recant with Stesichorus, *Palinodiam cano, nec pœnitet censeri in ordine maritorum*; I approve of marriage, I am glad I am a [i] married man, I am heartily glad I have a wife, so sweet a wife, so noble a wife, so yong, so chast a wife, so loving a wife, and I do wish and desire all other men to marry; and especially schollers; that as of old, Martia did by Hortensius, Terentia by Tullius, Calphurnia to Plinius, Pudentilla to Apuleius, [j] hold the candle whilst their husbands did meditate and write, so theirs may do to them, and as my dear Camilla doth to me. Let other men be averse; raile then and scoffe at women, and say what they can to the contrary, *vir sine uxore malorum expers est, &c.* a single man is a happy man, but this is a toye. [k] *Nec dulces amores sperne, puer, neque tu choreas*: these men are too distrustful and much to blame, to use such speeches; [l] *Parcite paucorum diffundere crimen in omnes.* They must not condemne all for some. As there be some bad, there be many good wives; as some be vitious, some be vertuous: read what Solomon hath said in their praises, Prov. 31. and Siracides, *cap.* 26. & 36. *Blessed is the man that hath a vertuous wife, for the number of his dayes shall be double. A vertuous woman rejoyceth her husband, and he shall fulfil the yeares of his life in peace. A good wife is a good portion* (36. 24) *an helpe, a pillar of rest, columna quietis.* [m] *Qui capit uxorem, fratrem capit atque sororem.* And 25, *He that hath no wife, wandereth to and fro, mourning. Minuuntur atræ conjuge curæ*; women are the sole, only joye, and comfort of a mans life; born *ad usum et lusum hominum. Firmamenta familiæ*;

[n] Deliciæ humani generis, solatia vitæ,
Blanditiæ noctis, placidissima cura diei,
Vota virûm, juvenum spes, &c.

[o] *A wife is a yong mans mistress, a middle ages companion, an old mans nurse: particeps lætorum et tristium*, a prop, an helpe, &c.

[p] Optima viri possessio est uxor benevola,
Mitigans iram et avertens animam ejus a tristitiâ.

Mans best possession is a loving wife,
She tempers anger and diverts all strife.

There is no joye, no comfort, no sweetness, no pleasure in the world like to to that of a good wife.

Quam cum chara domi conjux, fidusque maritus
Unanimes degunt ———

[e] Cœlebs enim vixerat, nec ad uxorem ducendam unquam induci potuit. [f] Senec. Hippol. [g] Hor. [h] Æneas Silvius de dictis Sigismundi. Heinsius. Primiero. [i] Habeo uxorem ex animi sententiâ, Camillam Paleotti jurisconsulti filiam. [j] Legentibus et meditantibus, candelas et candelabrum tenuerunt. [k] Hor. [l] Ovid. [m] Aphranius. [n] Lœchæus. [o] Bacon's Essaies. [p] Euripides.

saith our Latin Homer. She is stil the same in si eye, his hand, his bosome friend, his partner at a to be separated by any calamity, but ready to sh and as the Indian women doe, live and dye wit presently for him. Admetus, king of Thessaly, wl bed, was told by Apollos oracle, that if he coulc him, he should live longer yet; but, when all re *crepiti*, friends and followers forsook him, Alcest most willingly undertook it; what more can be d although on the other side, there be an infinite n should rail downright against some of them) able yet there be some good ones again, and those m rites. An honest country fellow (as Fulgosus rel Naples, [q] at plough by the sea side, saw his wife ritanian pirats; he ran after in all haste, up to t could wade no longer, swam, calling to the gover his wife, or if he must not have her restored, to let for he was resolved to be a gally slave, his dru misery, so that he might but enjoye his dear wi mans constancy, and relating the whole matter to set them both free, and gave them an honest pens during their lives. I could tell many stories to t often prove otherwise, because marriage is troubl avoid it, is no argument; [r] *He that will avoid tro* (Eusebius *præpar. Evang. 5. cap.* 50.) Some t I deny not. *Etsi grave sit matrimonium*, saith *multis, &c.* yet there be many things [s] to sweeten i *uxor;* pretty children, *dulces nati; deliciæ filio* delight of the sons of men. Ecclus. 26. &c. A bles, [t] *utilitatis publicæ causâ devorandum, grave* it must willingly be undergon for publique goods s

[s] Audite, populus, hæc, inquit Susarion:	Hear me, O p
Malæ sunt mulieres; veruntamen, O populares,	Women are v
Hoc sine malo, domum inhabitare non licet.	

[v] *Malum est mulier, sed necessarium malum.* Th for our own ends we must make use of them to ha *ac restituit humanum genus;* and to propagate end is a man born? why lives he, but to increase t do that well, if he do not marry? *Matrimoniu talitatem tribuit*, saith Nevisanus, matrimony ma cording to [x] Tacitus, 'tis *firmissimum imperii m* chief prop of an empire. [y] *Indigne vivit per quem* Pelopidas objected to Epaminondas, he was an common-wealth, that left not a childe after hi [z] Trismegistus to his son Tatius, *have no commu* holding (belike) that a batchelor could not live h with Georgius Wicelius, a great divine and holy m six arguments commends marriage as a thing mos persons, most laudable and fit to be embraced: that no man can live and dye religiously, and as *persuasus neminem posse neque pie vivere, neque* He is false, an enemy to the common-wealth, injurio

[q] Cum juxta mare agrum coleret, omnis enim miseriæ immemorem sine ingenti admiratione, tantâ hominis caritate motus rex liberos esse lestias vitet mundum. [r] Τῆς βίου, τῆς τεφανου, ἀτερ χρυσῆς quidve esse sine Cypr[illegible] [s] [illegible] [t] [illegible] lib. 3. num. 1. [x] [y] [z]

he world, an apostate to nature, a rebell against heaven and earth. Let our rilful, obstinate, and stale bachelors ruminate of this. *If we could live with-ut wives*, as Marcellus Numidicus said in [b] Agellius, *we would all want them; ut because we cannot, let all marry, and consult rather to the publique good, hen their own private pleasure or estate.* It were an happy thing, as wise [i] Euripides hath it, if we could buy children with gold and silver, and be so pro-ided, *sine mulierum congressu*, without womens company, but that may not be.

[d] Orbis jacebit squallido turpis situ,
Vanum sine ullis classibus stabit mare,
Alesque cœlo deerit, et sylvis fera.

Earth, ayr, sea, land eftsoon would come to nought,
The world it self should be to ruine brought.

ecessity therefore compels us to marry.

But what do I trouble myself, to finde arguments to perswade to, or com-mend marriage? behold a brief abstract of all that which I have said, and uch more, succinctly, pithily, pathetically, perspicuously, and elegantly delivered in twelve motions to mitigate the miseries of marriage, by [e] Jacobus de Voragine.

1. *Res est? habes quæ tueatur et augeat.*—2. *Non est? habes quæ quærat.* —3. *Secundæ res sunt? felicitas duplicatur.*—4. *Adversæ sunt? Consolatur, adsidet, onus participat ut tolerabile fiat.*—5. *Domi es? solitudinis tædium pellit.*—6. *Foras?—Discedentem visu prosequitur, absentem desiderat, rede-untem læta excipit.*—7. *Nihil jucundum absqe societate; nulla societas ma-trimonio suavior.*—8 *Vinculum conjugalis caritatis adamantinum.*—9. *Ac-crescit dulcis affinium turba; duplicatur numerus parentum, fratrum, sororum, nepotum.*—10. *Pulchrâ sis prole parens.*—11. *Lex Mosis sterili-tatem matrimonii exsecratur, quanto amplius cælibatum?*—12. *Si natura pœnam nan effugit, ne voluntas quidem effugiet.*

1. Hast thou means? thou hast one to keep and increase it.—2. Hast none? thou hast one to helpe to get it.—3. Art in prosperity? thine happiness is doubled.—4. Art in adversity? shee'l comfort, assist, bear a part of thy burden to make it more tolerable.—5. Art at home? shee'l drive away me-lancholy.—6. Art abroad? shee lookes after thee going from home, wishes for thee in thine absence, and joyfully welcomes thy returne.—7. There's nothing delightsome without society; no society so sweet as matrimony.—8. The band of conjugal love is adamantine.—9. The sweet company of kinsmen increaseth, the number of parents is doubled, of brothers, sisters, nephews.—10. Thou art made a father by a faire and happy issue.—11. Moses curseth the barren-ness of matrimony, how much more a single life?—12. If Nature escape not punishment, surely thy *will* shall not avoid it.

All this is true, say you, and who knowes it not? but how easy a matter is it to answer these motives, and to make an *anti-parodia* quite opposite unto it? To exercise myself, I will essay.

1. Hast thou meanes? thou hast one to spend it.—2. Hast none? thy beggery is increased.—3. Art in prosperity? thy happiness is ended.—4. Art in adversity? like Jobs wife shee'l aggravate thy misery; vexe thy soule; make thy burden intollerable.—5. Art at home? shee'l scold thee out of doores. —6. Art abroad? if thou be wise keep thee so; shee'l perhaps graft hornes in thine absence; scowle on thee coming home.—7. Nothing gives more content then solitariness; no solitariness like this of a single life.—8. The band of mar-riage is adamantine; no hope of loosing it; thou art undone.—9. Thy number increaseth, thou shalt be devoured by thy wives friends.—10. Thou art made a cornuto by an unchast wife; and shalt bring up other folkes children in stead of thine owne.—11. Paul commends marriage, yet he preferres a single life.—12. Is marriage honourable? what an immortall crown belongs to virginity!

[b] Lib. 1. cap. 6. Si, inquit, Quirites, sine uxore esse possemus, omnes careremus; sed quoniam sic est, salutі potius publicæ quam voluptati consulendum. [i] Beatum foret si liberos auro et argento mercari, &c. [d] Seneca. Hip. [e] *Gen. 2. Adjutorium simile*, &c.

So Siracides himself speaks as much as may be for and against women; so doth almost every philosopher plead *pro* and *con;* every poet thus argues the case (though what cares *vulgus hominum* what they say?) so can I conceive, peradventure, and so canst thou. When all is said, yet since some be good, some bad, let's put it to the venture. I conclude therefore with Seneca:

———cur toro viduo jaces?
Tristem juventam solve: nunc luxus rape,
Effunde habenas, optimos vitæ dies
Effluere prohibe.

Why dost thou lye alone, let thy youth and best dayes to pass away? Marry whilst thou maist, *donec virenti canities abest morosa,* whilest thou art yet able, yet lusty, [f] *Elige cui dicas, tu mihi sola places,* make thy choyce, and that freely, forthwith, make no delay, but take thy fortune as it falls. 'Tis true,

[g]——— calamitosus est qui inciderit
In malam uxorem, felix qui in bonam.

'Tis an hazard both wayes I confess, to live single or to marry; [h] *Nam et uxorem ducere et non ducere, malum est;* it may be bad, it may be good; as it is a cross and calamity on the one side, so 'tis a sweet delighte, an incomparable happiness, a blessed estate, a most unspeakable benefit, a sole content on the other; 'tis all in the proofe. Be not then so wayward, so covetous, so distrustful, so curious and nice, but let's all marry, *mutuos foventes amplexus. Take me to thee, and thee to me;* to morrow is St. Valentines day, let's keep it holiday for Cupids sake, for that great god Loves sake, for Hymens sake, and celebrate [i] Venus Vigil with our ancestors, for company together, singing as they did,

Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit; quique amavit, cras amet;
Ver novum, ver jam canorum, vere natus orbis est,
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus coma resolvit, &c.
Cras amet, &c.

Let him that is averse from marriage read more in Barbarus *de re uxor. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. Lemnius *de institut. cap.* 4. P. Godfridus *de amor. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. [j] Nevisanus *lib.* 3. Alex. ab Alexandro, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. Tunstall, Erasmus Tracts *in laudem matrimonii, &c.* and I doubt not but in the end he will rest satisfied, recant with Beroaldus, do penance for his former folly, singing some penitentiall ditties, desire to be reconciled to the deity of this great god Love, go a pilgrimage to his shrine, offer to his image, sacrifice upon his altar, and be as willing at last to embrace marriage as the rest. There will not be found, I hope, [k] *no not in that severe family of stoicks, who shall refuse to submit his grave beard, and supercilious lookes to the clipping of a wife;* or disagree from his fellowes in this point. *For what more willingly* (as [l] Varro holds) *can a proper man see then a faire wife, a sweet wife, a loving wife?* can the world afford a better sight, sweeter content, a fairer object, a more gratious aspect?

Since then, this of marriage, is the last and best refuge and cure of heroical love, all doubts are cleared and impediments removed; I say again, what remaines, that but according to both their desires, they be happily joyned, since it cannot otherwise be helped? God send us all good wives; every man his wish in this kinde, and me mine!

[m] And God that all this world hath ywrought,
Send him his love, that hath it so deare bought.

If all parties be pleased, aske their banes, 'tis a match. [n] *Fruitur Rhodanthe sponsâ, sponso Dosicle;* Rhodanthe and Dosicles shall go together; Clitiphon and Leucippe, Theagines and Chariclea; Poliarchus hath his Argenis, Lysander Calista, (to make up the maske) [o] *Potiturque suâ puer Iphis Ianthi.*

[f] Ovid. [g] Euripides. [h] E Græco Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7. [i] Pervigilium Veneris e vetere porta. [j] Domus non potest consistere sine uxore. Nevisanus lib. 3. num. 18. [k] Nemo in severissimâ Stoicorum familiâ, qui non barbam quoque et supercilium amplexibus uxoris submiserit, aut in istâ parte a reliquis dissenserit. Heinsius Primiero. [l] Quid libentius homo masculus videre debet quam bellam uxorem? [m] Chaucer. [n] Conclusio Theod. Prodromi. 9. l. Amor. [o] Ovid.

And Troilus in lust and in quiet,
Is with Cressid, his own heart sweet.

And although they have hardly passed the pikes, through many difficulties and delayes brought the match about, yet let them take this of [p] Aristænetus (that so marry) for their comforte.[q] *After many troubles and cares, the marriages of lovers are more sweet and pleasant* As we commonly conclude a comœdy with a [r] wedding, and shaking of hands, let's shut up our discourse, and end all with an [s] *epithalamium.*

Feliciter nuptis, God give them joye together. [t] *Hymen O Hymenæe. Hymen ades O Hymenæe! Bonum factum.* 'Tis well done. *Haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine Divûm*, 'tis an happy conjunction, a fortunate match, an even couple.

Ambo animis, ambo præstantes viribus, ambo
Florentes annis, ———

they both excell in gifts of body and minde, are both equal in yeares, youth, vigor, alacrity; she is faire and lovely as Lais or Helena, he as another Charinus or Alcibiades,

——— [u] ludite ut lubet, et brevi Liberos date.———	Then modestly go sport and playe, And let's have every year a boy.

[v] *Goe give a sweet smel as incense, and bring forth flowres, as the lilly*; that we may say hereafter, *Scitus mecastor! natus est Pamphilo puer.* In the mean time I say,

[w] Ite, agite, O juvenes, [x] non murmura vestra columbæ, Brachia non hederæ, neque vincant oscula conchæ.	Gentle youths go sport your selves betimes, Let not the doves outpass your murmurings, Or ivy clasping armes, or oyster kissings.

And in the morn betime, as those [y] Lacedæmonian lasses saluted Helena and Menelaus, singing at their windowes and wishing good successe, do we at yours:

Salve, O sponsa, salve felix, det vobis Latona Felicem sobolem; Venus Dea det æqualem amorem Inter vos mutuo; Saturnus durabiles divitias. Dormite, in pectora mutuo amorem inspirantes, Et desiderium!———	Good morrow master bridegroom, and mistress bride, Many fair lovely bernes to you betide! Let Venus to you mutual love procure, Let Saturne give you riches to endure. Long may you sleep in one anothers armes, Inspiring sweet desire, and free from harmes.

Even all your lives long,

[z] Contingat vobis turturum concordia, Corniculæ vivacitas———	The love of turtles hap to you, And ravens yeares still to renew.

Let the Muses sing, (as he said) the Graces dance, not at their weddings only but all their dayes long; *so couple their hearts, that no irksomeness or anger ever befall them; Let him never call her other name then my joye, my light; or she call him otherwise then sweet-heart. To this happiness of theirs, let not old age any whit detract, but as their yeares, so let their mutual love and comfort increase.* And when they depart this life,

——— concordes quoniam vixêre tot annos, Auferat hora duos eadem, nec conjugis usquam Busta suæ videat, nec alt tumulandus ab illâ.	Because they have so sweetly liv'd together, Let not one dye a day before the other, He bury her, she him, with even fate, One houre their soules, let jointly separate.

Fortunati ambo, si quid mea carmina possunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.

Atque hæc de amore dixisse sufficiat, *sub correctione*, [a] quod ait ille, *cujusque melius sentientis.* Plura qui volet de remediis amoris, legat Jasonem Pratensem, Arnoldum, Montaltum, Savanarolam, Langium, Valescum, Crimisonum,

[p] Epist. 4. l. 2. Jucundiores multo et suaviores longe post molestas turbas amantium nuptiæ. [q] Olim meminisse juvabit. [r] Quid expectatis, intus fiunt nuptiæ. The musick, guests, and all the good cheere is within. [s] The conclusion of Chaucer's Poem of Troilus and Cressid. [t] Catullus. [u] Catullus. J. Secundus sylvar. lib. Jam virgo thalamum subibit, unde ne virgo redeat, marite, cura. [w] Ecclus. 39. 14. [x] Galeni Epithal. [y] O noctem quater et quater beatam. [z] Theocritus edyl. 18. [a] Erasm. Epithal. P. Ægidii. Nec saltent modo, sed duo charissima pectora indissolubili mutuæ benevolentiæ nodo copulent, ut nihil unquam eos incedere possit iræ vel tædii. Illa perpetuo nihil audiat nisi, mea lux: ille viciasim nihil nisi, animæ mi: atque hujc jucunditati ne senectus detrahat, imo potius aliquid adaugeat. * Kornmannus de lineâ amoris.

Alexandrum Benedictum, Laurentium, Valleriolam, e Poetis Nasonem, e nostratibus Chaucerum, &c. with whom I conclude,

[b] For my words here and every part,
I speak hem all under correction
Of you that feeling have in love's art,
And put it all in your discretion.

To intreat or make diminution
Of my language that I you beseech:
But now to purpose of my rather speech.

SECT. III. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Jealousie, its æquivocations, name, definition, extent, severall kindes; of princes, parents, friends. In beasts, men: before marriage, as corrivals; or after, as in this place.*

VALESCUS de Taranta *cap. de Melanchol.* Ælian Montaltus, Felix Platerus, Guianerius, put jealousie for a cause of melancholy, others for a symptome; because melancholy persons, amongst these passions and perturbations of the minde, are most obnoxious to it. But methinks, for the latitude it hath, and that prerogative above other ordinary symptomes, it ought to be treated of as a species apart, being of so great and eminent note, so furious a passion, and almost of as great extent as love itself, as [c] Benedetto Varchi holds, *No love without a mixture of jealousie; qui non zelat, non amat.* For these causes, I will dilate, and treat of it by itself, as a bastard-branch or kinde of Love Melancholy, which, as heroical love goeth commonly before marriage, doth usually follow, torture, and crucifie in like sort; deserves therefore to be rectified alike, requires as much care and industry, in setting out the severall causes, prognosticks and cures of it. Which I have more willingly done, that he that is or hath been jealous, may see his errour as in a glasse; he that is not, may learn to detest, avoid it himselfe, and dispossess others that are any wise affected with it.

Jealousie is described and defined to be [d] *a certain suspition which the lover hath, of the party he chiefly loveth, lest he or she should be enamored of another:* or any eager desire to enjoye some beauty alone, to have it proper to himselfe only: a fear or doubt, lest any forrainer should participate or share with him in his love. Or (as [e] Scaliger adds) *a feare of losing her favour, whom he so earnestly affects.* Cardan cals it *a* [f]*zeale for love, and a kinde of envy lest any man should beguile us.* [g] Ludovicus Vives defines it in the very same words, or little differing in sense.

There be many other jealousies, but improperly so called all; as that of parents, tutors, guardians over their children; friends whom they love; or such as are left to their wardship or protection.

(Storax, non redilt hac nocte a cœnâ Æschinus,
Neque servulorum quispiam qui adversum ierant?

As the olde man in the comœdy cried out in passion, and from a sollicitous feare and care he had of his adopted son) [h] *not of their beauty, but lest they should miscarry, do amiss, or any way discredit, disgrace* (as Vives notes) *or endanger themselves and us.* [i] Ægeus was so sollicitous for his son Theseus, (when he went to fight with the Minotaure) of his success, lest he should be foiled. [j] *Prona est timori semper in pejus fides.* We are still apt to suspect the worst in such doubtful cases, as many wives in their husbands absence; fond mothers in their childrens: lest if absent, they should be misled or sicke, and are continually expecting newes from them, how they do fare, and what is become of them, they cannot endure to have them long out of their sight. O my sweet son, O my dear childe, &c. Paul was jealous over the church of Corinth, as he confesseth. 2 Cor. 11. 3. *With a godly jealousie, to present*

[b] Finis 3. book of Troilus and Cressid. [c] In his oration of Jealousie, put out by F. R. Sansevino. [d] Benedetto Varchi. [e] Exercitat. 317. Cum metuimus ne amatæ rei exturbemur possessione. [f] Zelus de formâ est invidentiæ species, ne quis formâ quam amamus fruatur. [g] 3. de Animâ. [h] B. de Animâ. Tangimur zelotypiâ de pupillis, liberis charisque curæ nostræ concreditis, non de formâ, sed ne male sit iis, aut ne nobis sibique parent ignominiam. [i] Plutarch. [j] Senec. in Herc. fur.

them a pure virgin to Christ; and he was affraid still, lest as the serpent beguiled Eva through his subtilty, so their mindes could be corrupt from the simplicity that is in Christ. God himself, in some sense, is said to be jealous, [k] *I am a jealous God, and will visite:* so Psal. 79. 5. *Shall thy jealousie burn like fire for ever?* But these are improperly called jealousies, and by a metaphor, to shew the care and sollicitude they have of them. Although some jealousies express all the symptomes of this which we treat of, feare, sorrow, anguish, anxiety, suspition, hatred, &c. the object only varied. That of some fathers is very eminent, to their sons and heires; for though they love them dearly being children, yet now comming toward mans estate they may not well abide them; the son and heire is commonly sick of the father, and the father again may not well brook his eldest son; *inde simultates, plerumque contentiones inimicitiæ;* but that of princes is most notorious, as when they fear corrivals (if I may so call them) successours, emulators, subjects, or such as they have offended. [l] *Omnisque potestas impatiens consortis erit: They are still suspitious, lest their authority should be diminished,* [m] as one observes; and as Comineus hath it, [n] *It cannot be expressed what slender causes they have of their griefe and suspition, a secret disease, that commonly lurkes and breedes in princes families.* Sometimes it is for their honour onely; as that of Adrian the emperour, [o] *that killed all his emulators.* Saul envied David; Domitian Agricola, because he did excell him, obscure his honour as he thought, eclipse his fame. Juno turned Prætus daughters into kine, for that they contended with her for beauty; Cyparissæ king Eteocles' children, were envied of the goddesses for their excellent good parts, and dancing amongst the rest, saith [p] Constantine; *and for that cause, flung downe headlong from heaven, and buried in a pit; but the earth took pity of them, and brought out cypress trees to preserve their memories.* [q] Niobe, Arachne, and Marsias can testifie as much. But it is most grievous when it is for a kingdome it self, or matters of commodity, it produceth lamentable effects, especially amongst tyrants, *in despotico imperio*, and such as are more feared then beloved of their subjects, that get and keep their soveraignty by force, and fear. [r] *Quod civibus tenere te invitis scias, &c.* as Phalaris, Dionysius, Periander held theirs. For though feare, cowardise and jealousie, in Plutarchs opinion, be the common causes of tyranny, as in Nero, Caligula, Tiberius, yet most take them to be symptomes. For [s] *what slave, what hangman* (as Bodine well expresseth this passion, *l.* 2. *c.* 5. *de rep.*) *can so cruelly torture a condemned person, as this feare and suspition? Feare of death, infamie, torments, are those furies and vultures that vexe and disquiet tyrants, and torture them day and night, with perpetuall terrors and affrights, envy, suspition, feare, desire of revenge, and a thousand such disagreeing perturbations, turn and affright the soule out of the hinges of health; and more grievously wound and pierce, then those cruel masters can exasperate and vexe their prentises or servants, with clubbes, whippes, chaines and tortures.* Many terrible examples we have in this kinde, amongst the Turkes especially, many jealous outrages; [t] Selimus killed Cornutus his yongest brother, five of his nephewes, Mustapha Bassa, and divers others. [u] Bajazet, the second Turke, jealous of the valour and greatness of Acmet Bassa, caused him to be slaine. [v] Solyman the magnificent murdered his own son Mustapha; and 'tis an ordinary thing amongst them, to make

[k] Exod. 20. [l] Lucan. [m] Danæus Aphoris. polit. Semper metuunt ne eorum auctoritas minuatur. [n] Belli Neapol. lib. 5. Dici non potest quam tenues et infirmas causas habent mœroris et suspicionis, et hic sæt morbus occultus, qui in familiis principum regnat. [o] Omnes æmulos interfecit. Lamprid. [p] Constant. agricult. lib. 10. c. 5. Cyparissæ, Eteoclis filiæ, saltantes ad æmulationem Dearum, in puteum demissæ sunt; sed terra miserata, cupressos inde produxit. [q] Ovid. Met. [r] Seneca. [s] Quis autem carnifex addictum supplicio crudelius afficiat, quam metus? Metus, inquam, mortis, infamiæ, cruciatûs, sunt illæ ultrices Furiæ quæ tyrannos exagitant, &c. Multo acerbius sæviant et pungunt, quam crudeles domini servos vinctos fustibus ac tormentis exulcerare possunt. [t] Loniceru tom. 1. Turc. hist. c. 24. [u] Jovius vitâ ejus. [v] *Knowles.* Busbequius. Sand. fol. 52.

away their brothers, or any competitors, at the first co
all the solemnity they use at their fathers funerals.
jealous fury, did Herode of old commit in Jury, when
dren of a yeare old? [w] Valens, the emperour in Consta
no man alive of quality in his kingdome that had his
Theodoti, Theognosti, Theodosii, Theoduli, &c Th
home, because a wizard told him that name should suc
what furious designes hath [x] Jo. Basilius, that Musce
late? It is a wonder to read that strange suspition, w
Claudius Cæsar, and of Domitian; they were afraid
And, which Herodian reports of Antoninus and Geta
thers; the one could not endure so much as the others
him, his chiefest followers, and all that belonged to him.
[y] *Maximinus perceiving himselfe to be odious to mo
come to that height of honour out of base beginni
meane parentage would be objected to him, caused a
nobly descended, to be slaine in a jealous humour,
of Alexander, his predecessor, out of doores, and sleu
they lamented their masters death, suspecting then
love they bare to him.* When Alexander in his fu
deare friend, to be put to death, and saw now, (saith
in his subjects hearts, none durst talk with him; he
himselfe, lest they should attempt as much on him,
so many wilde beasts in a wilderness, one afraide of
stories afford us many notable examples. [z] Henry th
of Henry of Loraine duke of Guise, Anno 1588, ca
in his own chamber. [a] Lewes the eleventh was so
trust his children; every man about him he suspec
strange tricks Comineus telleth of him. How jeal
[b] fourth of king Richard the second, so long as he liv
and of his own son Henry, in his later dayes! which th
came to visite his father in his sicknesse, in a watc
oilet holes, and with needles sticking in them, (as
and so pacified his suspitious father, after some spe
which he had used to that purpose. Perpetual impris
[d] duke of Normandy, in the dayes of Henry the first;
some persons, with such like edicts and prohibitions.
In a word ([e] as he said) three things cause jealousie:
treasure, a faire wife; or where there is a crackt title, r
exactions. In our state, as being freed from all th
we may be most secure and happy under the raign

[f] His fortune hath indebted him to none,
But to all his people universally;
And not to them but for their love alone,
Which they account as placed worthily.

He is so set, h
Jealous, or dre
The pedistall
Is held of all o

But I rove, I confesse. These æquivocations, jealo
which crucifie the soules of men, are not here prope
tinction of ours included; but that alone which is for
and wherein they can brooke no corrival, or endure
this jealousie belongs as well to bruite beasts as men.

[w] Nicephorus lib. 11. c. 45. Socrates lib. 7. cap. 35. Neque Valens alic
vocaretur. [x] Alexand. Gaguin. Muscov. hist. descrip. c. 5. [y] Dr. F
essent. Herodian. l. 7. Maximinus invisum se sentiens, quod ex infimo lo
moribus ac genere barbarus, metuens ne natalium obscuritas objiceretur,
nobilesque ex aulâ electi, pluribus interfectis quod mœsti essent ad mortem
[z] Lib. 9. Tanquam feræ solitudine vivebant, terrentes alios, timentes.
10. A. Nulli penitus homini fidebat, omes insidiari sibi putabat. [c]
Paris. [d] R. T. terms it blazon jealousie. [e] Daniel in his Panegyri

[i] Vives, swans, doves, cockes, bulls, &c. are jealous as well as men, and as much moved, for feare of communion.

[k] Grege pro toto bella juvenci,
Si conjugio timuêre suo,
Pascunt timidi prælia cervi,
Et mugitus dant concepti signa furoris.

In Venus' cause what mighty battels make
Your raving bulls, and stirs for their herds sake!
And harts and bucks that are so timorous,
Will fight and roare, if once they be but jealous.

In bulls, horses, goats, this is most apparently discerned, bulls especially; *alium in pascuis non admittit;* he will not admit another bull to feed in the same pasture, saith [l] Oppian: which Stephanus Bathorius, late king of Poland, used as an impresse, with that motto, *Regnum non capit duos.* R. T. in his blason of jealousie, telleth a story of a swan about Windsore, that finding a strange cocke with his mate, did swim, I know not how many miles after him, to kill him; and when he had so done, came back and killed his hen; a certaine truth, he saith, done upon Thames, as many water-men, and neighbour gentlemen can tell. *Fidem suum liberet;* for my part, I do beleeve it may be true; for swans have ever been branded with that epithite of jealousie.

[j] The jealous swanne against his death that singeth,
And eke the owle that of death bode bringeth.

[l] Some say as much of elephants, that they are more jealous then any other creatures whatsoever; and those old Ægyptians, as [l] Pierius informeth us, expresse, in their hieroglyphicks, the passion of jealousie by a camell; [m] because that fearing the worst still about matters of venery, he loves solitudes, that he may enjoye his pleasure alone, *et in quoscunque obvios insurgit, zelotypiæ stimulis agitatus,* he will quarrel and fight with whosoever come next, man or beast, in his jealous fits. I have reade as much of [n] crocodiles; and if Peter Martyrs authority be authentique, *legat. Babylonicæ lib.* 3. you shall have a strange tale to that purpose confidently related. Another story of the jealousie of dogs, see in Hieron. Fabricius *Tract.* 3. *cap.* 5. *de loquelâ animalium.*

But this furious passion is most eminent in men; and is as well amongst batchelors, as married men. If it appear amongst batchelors we commonly call them rivals or corrivals, a metaphor derived from a river, *rivales a* [o] *rivo;* for as a river, saith Acron *in Hor. art. Poet* and *Donat. in Ter. Eunuch.* divides a common grounde betwixt two men, and both participate of it, so is a woman indifferent betwixt two suiters, both likely to enjoye her; and thence comes this emulation, which breakes out many times into tempestuous stormes, and produceth lamentable effects, murder it self, with much cruelty, many single combats. They cannot endure the least injury done unto them before their mistress; and in her defence, will bite off one anothers noses; they are most impatient of any floute, disgrace, the least emulation or participation in that kinde. [p] *Lacerat lacertum Largi mordax Memnius.* Memnius the Roman (as Tully tells the story *de oratore lib.* 2.) being corrival with Largus at Terracina, bit him by the arme, which fact of his was so famous, that it afterwards grew to a proverbe, in those parts. [q] Phædria could not abide his corrival Thraso: for when Parmeno demanded, *numquid aliud imperas?* whether he would command him any more service: *No more* (saith he) *but to speake in his behalfe, and to drive away his corrival, if he could.* Constantine in the eleventh book of his husbandry, *cap.* 11. hath a pleasant tale of the pine tree; [r] she was once a faire maid, whom Pineus and Boreas two corrivals, dearly sought; but jealous Boreas broke her neck, &c. And in his 18 chapter he telleth another tale of [s] Mars, that in his jealousie slew Adonis. Petronius calleth this passion *amantium furiosam æmulationem,* a

[s] 3. De animâ cap. de zel. Animalia quædam zelotypiâ tanguntur, ut olores, columbæ, galli, tauri, &c. ob metum communionis. [k] Seneca. [l] Lib. 11. Cynoget. [j] Chaucer in his assembly of fowls. [l] Aldrovand. [l] Lib. 12. [m] Sibi timens circa res venereas, solitudines amat, quo solus solâ fœminâ fruatur. [n] Crocodili zelotypi et uxorum amantissimi, &c. [o] Qui dividit agrum communem; inde deducitur ad amnem. [p] Erasmus chil. 1. cent. 9. adag. 90. [q] Ter. Eun. act. 1. sc. 1. Munus nostrum ornato verbis, si istum amulum, quod poteris, ab eâ pellito. [r] Pinus puella quondam fuit, &c. [s] Mars zelotypus Adonidem interfecit.

furious emulation; and their symptomes are well expressed by Sir Jeffery Chaucer, in his first Canterbury tale. It will make the neerest and dearest friends fall out; they will endure all other things to bee common goods, lands, monys, participate of each others pleasures, and take in good part any disgraces, injuries in another kinde; but, as Propertius well describes it in an elegy of his, in this they will suffer nothing, have no corrivals.

[t]Tu mihi vel ferro pectus, vel perde veneno,
A domina tantum te modo tolle mea:
Te socium vitæ, te corporis esse licebit,
Te dominum admitto rebus, amice, meis.
Lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno:
Rivalem possim non ego ferre Jovem.

Stab me with sword, or poyson strong
Give me to work my bane;
So thou court not my lass, so thou
From mistress mine refrain.
Command my selfe, my body, purse,
As thine own goods take all,
And as my neerest dearest friend,
I ever use thee shall.
O spare my love, to have alone
Her to my self I crave;
Nay, Jove himselfe I'll not endure
My rival for to have.

This jealousie which I am to treat of, is that which belongs to married men, in respect to their owne wives; to whose estate, as no sweetnesse, pleasure, happinesse can be compared in the world, if they live quietly and loveingly together; so if they disagree or be jealous, those bitter pils of sorrow and grief, disasterous mischieves, mischances, tortures, gripings, discontents, are not to be separated from them. A most violent passion it is, where it taketh place, an unspeakable torment, a hellish torture, an infernal plague, as Ariosto cals it; *a fury, a continual fever, full of suspition, feare, and sorrow; a martyrdome, a mirth-marring monster. The sorrow and grief of heart of one woman jealous of another, is heavier then death, Ecclus.* 26. 6. as [u] Peninnah did Hannah, *vexe her and upbraid her sore.* 'Tis a main vexation, a most intollerable burden, a corrosive to all content, a frenzy, a madness it self, as [v] Benedetto Varchi proves out of that select sonnet of Giovanni de la Casa, that reverend lord, as he stiles him.

SUBSECT II.—*Causes of Jealousie. Who are most apt. Idleness, melancholy, impotency, long absence, beauty, wantonness, naught themselves. Allurements from time, place, persons, bad usage.*

ASTROLOGERS make the stars a cause or signe of this bitter passion; and out of every mans horoscope will give a probable conjecture whether he will be jealous or no, and at what time, by direction of the significators to their several promissors; their aphorismes are to be read in Albubator, Pontanus, Skoner, Junctine, &c. Bodine *cap. 5. meth. hist.* ascribes a great cause to the country or clime, and discourseth largely there of this subject, saying, that southerne men are more hot, lascivious, and jealous, then such as live in the north; they can hardly containe themselves in those hotter climes, but are most subject to prodigious lusts. Leo Afer telleth incredible things almost, of the lust and jealousie of his country men of Africke, and especially such as live about Carthage; and so doth every geographer of them in [w] Asia, Turkie, Spaniards, Italians. Germany hath not so many drunkards, England tobacconists, France dancers, Holland mariners, as Italy alone hath jealous husbands. And in [x] Italy, some account them of Piacenza more jealous then the rest. In [y] Germany, France, Brittain, Scandia, Poland, Muscovy, they are not so troubled with this ferall malady, although Damianus a Goes, which I doe much wonder at, in his topography of Laplande, and Herbastein of Russia, against the stream of all other geographers, would fasten it upon those northerne inhabitants. Altomarius Poggius, and Munster in his description of Baden, reports that men and women of all sorts, go commonly into the bathes together, without all suspition, *the name of jealousie* (saith Munster) *is not so much as once heard of among them:* In Frisland the women kiss him they drink to, and are kissed again of those they pledge. The

[t] *R. T.* [u] 1 Sam. 1. 6. [v] Blason of Jealousie. [w] Mulierum conditio misera; nullam honestam credunt nisi domo conclusa vivat. [x] Fines Moriæon. [y] Nomen velocypha apud istos locum non habet. *Hb. 3. c. 8.*

virgins in Holland go hand in hand with yong men from home, glide on the ice, such is their harmless liberty, and lodge together abroad without suspition, which rash Sansovinus, an Italian, makes a great signe of unchastity. In France, upon small acquaintance, it is usual to court other mens wives, to come to their houses, and accompany them arme in arme in the streets, without imputation. In the most northerne countries, yong men and maids familiarly dance together, men and their wives, [z] which, Siena only excepted, Italians may not abide. The [a] Greekes, on the other side, have their private bathes for men and women, where they must not come neer, not so much as see one another: and as [b] Bodine observes *lib. 5. de repub. the Italians could never endure this*, or a Spaniard; the very conceit of it would make him mad: and for that cause they locke up their women, and will not suffer them to be neer men, so much as in the [c] church, but with a partition between. He telleth moreover, how that *when he was embassadour in England, he heard Mendoza, the Spanish legate, finding fault with it, as a filthy custome for men and women to sit promiscuously in churches together: but Dr. Dale, the master of the requests, told him again, that it was indeed a filthy custome in Spain, where they could not contain themselves from lascivious thoughts in their holy places, but not with us.* Baronius, in his Annals out of Eusebius, taxeth Licinius the emperour for a decree of his made to this effect, *jubens ne viri simul cum mulieribus in ecclesiâ interessent:* for being prodigiously naught himself, *aliorum naturam ex suâ vitiosâ mente spectavit*, he so esteemed others. But we are far from any such strange conceits, and will permit our wives and daughters to go to the taverne with a friend, as Aubanus saith, *modo absit lascivia*, and suspect nothing; to kiss comming and going, which as Erasmus writes in one of his epistles, they cannot endure. England is a paradise for women, and hell for horses; Italy a paradise for horses, hell for women, as the diverbe goes. Some make a question whether this headstrong passion rage more in women then men, as Montagne *l.* 3. But sure it is more outragious in women, as all other melancholy is, by reason of the weakness of their sexe. Scaliger, *Poet. lib. cap.* 13. concludes against women. [d] *Besides their inconstancy, treachery, suspition, dissimulation, superstition, pride,* (for all women are by nature proud) *desire of soveraignty, if they be great women* (he gives instance in Juno) *bitterness and jealousie are the most remarkable affections.*

[e] Sed neque fulvus aper mediâ tam fulvus in irâ est,
Fulmineo rapidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec leo, &c.———

Tyger, bore, bear, viper, lioness,
A womans fury cannot express.

[f] Some say red-headed women, pale-coloured, black-eyed and of a shril voice, are most subject to jealousie.

[g] High colour in a woman choler shews,
Naught are they, peevish, proud, malicious;
But worst of all, red, shril, and jealous.

Comparisons are odious; I neither parallel them with others, nor debase them any more: men and women are both bad, and too subject to this pernicious infirmity. It is most part a symptome and cause of melancholy, as Plater and Valescus teach us: melancholy men are apt to be jealous, and jealous apt to be melancholy.

[h] Pale jealousie, childe of insatiate love,
Of heart-sick thoughts which melancholy bred,
A hell-tormenting feare, no faith can move,
By discontent with deadly poyson fed;

With headless youth and errour vainly led.
A mortall plague, a vertue-drowning floode,
A hellish fire, not quenched but with bloud.

If idleness concurr with melancholy, such persons are most apt to be jealous;

[z] Fines Moris. part. 3. cap. 2. [a] Busbequius. Sands. [b] Præ amore et zelotypiâ sæpius insaniunt. [c] Australes ne sacra quidem publica fieri patiuntur, nisi uterque sexus pariete medio dividatur; et quum in Angliam, inquit, legationis causâ profectus essem, audivi Mendosam legatum Hispaniarum dicentem, turpe esse viros et fœminas, &c. [d] Idea. Mulieres præterquam quod sunt infidæ, suspicaces, inconstantes, insidiosæ, simulatrices, superstitiosæ, etsi potentes, intolerabiles, amore zelotypæ supra modum. [e] Ovid. 2. de art. [f] Bartello. [g] R. T. [h] R. T.

'tis [i] Nevisanus' note, *An idle woman is presumed to be lascivious, and often jealous. Mulier cum sola cogitat, male cogitat:* and 'tis not unlikely, for they have no other business to trouble their heads with.

More particular causes be these which follow. Impotency first, when a man is not able of himselfe to performe those dues which he ought unto his wife: for though he be an honest liver, hurt no man, yet Trebius the lawyer may make a question, *an suum cuique tribuat*, whether he give every one their owne; and therefore, when he takes notice of his wants, and perceives her to be more craving, clamorous, unsatiable and prone to lust then is fit, he begins presently to suspect, that wherein he is defective, she will satisfie her selfe, she will be pleased by some other meanes. Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly expressed this humor in an epigram to his Lycoris.

Jamque alios juvenes aliosque requirit amores,
Me vocat imbellem decrepitumque senem, &c.

For this cause is most evident in old men, that are cold and drye by nature, and married *succi plenis*, to yong wanton wives. With old doting Janivere in Chaucer, they begin to mistrust all is not well;

——she was yong and he was old,
And therefore he feared to be a cuckold.

And how should it otherwise be? Old age is a disease of it self, loathsome, full of suspition and feare; when it is at best, unable, unfit for such matters. [j] *Tam apta nuptiis quam bruma messibus*, as welcome to a yong woman as snow in harvest, saith Nevisanus: *Et si capis juvenculam, facit tibi cornua.* Marry a lusty maid and she will surely graft hornes on thy head. [k] *All women are slippery, often unfaithfull to their husbands,* (as Æneas Silvius *epist.* 38. seconds him) *but to old men, most treacherous of all:* they had rather *mortem amplexiarier*, lye with a corse then such a one. [l] *Oderunt illum pueri, contemnunt mulieres.* On the other side many men, saith Hieronymus, are suspitious of their wives, [m] if they be lightly given, but old folkes above the rest. In so much that she did not complain without a cause, in [n] Apuleius of an old, bald, bedridden knave she had to a good man. *Poor woman as I am, what shall I doe? I have an old grim sire to my husband, as bald as a coute, as little and as unable as a childe*, a bedfull of bones, *he keeps all the doores barred and locked upon me: wo is me, what shall I doe?* He was jealous, and she made him a cuckold for keeping her up. Suspition without a cause, hard usage is able of it selfe to make a woman flye out, that was otherwise honest.

——[o] plerasque bonas tractatio pravas
Esse facit,——

bad usage aggravates the matter. *Nam quando mulieres cognoscunt maritum hoc advertere, licentius peccant*, as [p] Nevisanus holds, when a woman thinks her husband watcheth her, she will sooner offend; [q] *liberius peccant, et pudor omnis abest*, rough handling makes them worse: as the good wife of Bathe in Chaucer brags,

In his own grease I made him frie,
For anger and for very jealousie.

Of two extreames, this of hard usage is the worst. 'Tis a great fault (for some men are *uxorii*) to be too fond of their wives, to dote on them as [r] senior Deliro on his Fallace, to be too effeminate; or as some doe, to be sick for their wives, breed children for them, and like the [s] Tiberini, lye in for them, as some birds hatch eggs by turns, they do all womens offices. Cœlius Rhodiginus *ant. lect. lib.* 6. *cap.* 24. makes mention of a fellow out of

[i] Lib. 2. num. 8. Mulier otiosa facile præsumitur luxuriosa, et sæpe zelotypa. [j] Lib. 2. num. 4. [k] Quum omnibus infideles fœminæ, senibus infidelissimæ. [l] Mimnermus. [m] Vix aliqua non impudica, et quam non suspectam merito quis habeat. [n] Lib. 5. de aur. asino. At ego misera, patre meo seniorem maritum nacta sum, dein cucurbitâ calviorem et quovis puero pumiliorem, cunctam domum seris et catenis obditam custodientem. [o] Chalcner. [p] Lib. 4. n. 80. [q] Ovid. 2. de art. amandi. [r] Every man out of his humour. [s] Calcagninus Apol. Tiberini ab uxorum partu earum vices subeunt, ut aves per vices incubant, &c.

Seneca, [1] that was so besotted on his wife, he could not endure a moment off of her company; he wore her scarfe, when he went abroad, lay in bed and would never drinke but in that cup she began first. We have many such fondlings, that are their wives packhorses and slaves. *Nam quem non miserum videas uxor superans virum suum*, as the comical poet hath it, there is no greater misery to a man then to let his wife domineer) to carry her muffe, goe and let me weare the breeches, lay out, spende and do what she will, go and come whither, when she will, they give consent.

Now take my muffe; and do you hear, good man?
Now give me Pearl, and carry you my fan, &c.

——[2] *puerè palam, redimiculo mundus*
Curre, quid te cessas? tuge vim, tu vide
Tu pete rectricem.

many brave and worthy men have trespassed in this kinde. *Multos fortes exoravit domestica hæc destruxit infamia*, and many noble senators and soveraigne as [3] Pliny notes) have lost their honour, in being *uxorii*, or servants overcome by their wives. And therefore Cato, in Plutarch, made a bitter jeste of his fellow citizens, the Romans, *we govern all the world abroad and our wives at home rule us.* These offend in one extreame: but too nice and too severe are far more offensive on the other. As just a cause may be long absence of either party, when they must of necessity be much from home as lawyers, physicians, marriners, by their professions; or otherwise make frivolous impertinent journeyes; tarry long abroad to no purpose, ryde out and in gadding still upon small occasions, it must needs yeeld matter of suspition, when they use their wives unkindly in the mean time, and never tarry at home. It cannot but ingender some such conceit.

[4] Uxor, si censes, amare te cogitat
Aut tete amari, aut potare, aut animo obsequi,
Et tibi bene esse soli, quum sibi sit male.

If thou be absent long the wife then thinks,
Th'art drunke, or with some pretty minks,
Thou wel with thee or else beloved of some,
Whil'st she poor soule, doth fare full ill at home.

Hippocrates, the physician, had a smack of this disease; for when he was to go from home as far as Abdera, and some other remote cities of Greece, he writ to his friend Dionysius (if at least those [5] epistles be his,) *to oversee his wife in his absence*, (as Apollo set a raven to watch his Coronis, *although she lived in his house with her father and mother, whom he knew would have a care of her; yet that would not satisfie his jealousie, he would have his speciall friend Dionysius to dwell in his house with her, all the time of his peregrination, and to observe her behaviour, how she carried her self in her husbands absence; and that she did not lust after other men.* [6] *For a woman had need to have an overseer to keep her honest, they are bad by nature, and lightly given all, and if they be not curbed in time as an unproyned tree, they will be full of wilde branches, and degenerate of a sudden.* Especially in their husbands absence: though one Lucretia were trusty, and one Penelope, yet Clytemnestra made Agamemnon a cuckold, and no question there be too many of her conditions. If their husbands tarry too long abroad upon unnecessary business, well they may suspect, for if they run one way, their wives at home will flye out another. *Quid per quas?* [7] if present, and give them not that content which they ought, [8] *primum impotens mox invisæ noctes quæ per somnum transigentur*, they cannot endure to lye alone, or to fast long. [9] Peter Godfridus, in his second book of love and that chapter, hath a story out of St. Anthonines life of a gentleman, who by that good mans advice, would not meddle with his wife in the peremptory week: but for his pains, she set a pair of hornes on his head. Such quarrels in bath.

[1] Exiturus fascii uxoris pectus allingebat, non momentum permittebat ejus oculos patiebat patronique non habebat nisi pergustatum labris ejus. [2] Clamitant. [3] Panegyr. Traj. [4] Adelph. act. 1. sc. 1. [5] Fab. Calvo Ravennate interprete. [6] Dum redierit domum meam hospitalis, et illud cum patrimonium habitet hac mea peregrinatione, cum tamen et ejus mores observet qui alienum vitæ non probe degat, nec alius vicus cogitet aut quærat. [7] Feminæ semper custode egent, qui se pudicas continent, subjecta enim ultro vitia cogitat aut quærat. [8] Heinsius putavit nequitiæ locum habet, quas alii malas cognominant, id affectus studiose emittunt, &c. [9] Helenius Uxor cujusdam nobilis quum detinetur maritale sacro pœnitente hebdomadâ non obdormiret, alterum adiit.

out of Abstemius, one perswaded a new married man, [c] *to forbear the three first nights, and he should all his life time after be fortunate in cattle;* but his impatient wife would not tarry so long: well he might speede in cattle; but not in children. Such a tale hath Heinsius, of an impotent and slack scholler, a meere student, and a friend of his, that seeing by chance a fine damsel sing and dance, would needs marry her; the match was soon made, for he was yong and riche, *genis gratus, corpore glabellus, arte multiscius, et fortunâ opulentus,* like that Apollo in [d] Apuleius. The first night, having liberally taken his liquor (as in that countrey they do) my fine scholler was so fusled, that he no sooner was laid in bed, but he fell fast asleep, never waked till morning, and then much abashed, *purpureis formosa rosis cum Aurora ruberet,* when the faire morn with purple hue 'gan shine, he made an excuse, I know not what, out of Hippocrates Cous, &c. and for that time it went currant; but when, as afterward, he did not play the man as he should do, she fell in league with a good fellow, and whil'st he sate up late at his study about those criticismes, mending some hard places in Festus or Pollux, came cold to bed, and would tell her stil what he had done, she did not much regard what he said, &c. [e] *Shee would have another matter mended much rather, which he did not perceive was corrupt:* thus he continued at his study late, she at her sport, *alibi enim festivas noctes agitabat,* hating all schollers for his sake, till at length he began to suspect, and turne a little yellow, as well he might; for it was his owne fault; and if men be jealous in such cases ([f] as oft it falls out) the mends is in their owne hands; they must thank themselves. Who will pitie them, saith Neander, or be much offended with such wives, *si deceptæ prius viros decipiant, et cornutos reddant,* if they deceive those that cozened them first? A lawyers wife in [g] Aristænetus, because her husband was negligent in his business, *quando lecto danda opera,* threatned to cornute him: and did not stick to tell Philinna one of her gossips as much, and that aloud for him to hear: *If he follow other mens matters, and leave his own, I'll have an orator shall plead my cause;* I care not if he know it.

A fourth eminent cause of jealousie, may be this, when he that is deformed, and as Pindarus says of Vulcan, *sine gratiis natus,* hirsute, ragged, yet vertuously given, will marry some very faire nice peece, or light huswife, begins to misdoubt (as well he may) she doth not affect him. [h] *Lis est cum formâ magna pudicitiæ;* beautie and honesty have ever been at oddes. Abraham was jealous of his wife because she was faire: so was Vulcan of his Venus, when he made her creeking shooes, saith [i] Philostratus, *ne mœcharetur, sandalio scilicet deferente,* that he might hear, by them, when she stirred; which Mars *indigne ferre,* [j] was not well pleased with. Good cause had Vulcan to do as he did, for she was no honester then she should be. Your fine faces have commonly this fault, and it is hard to finde, saith Francis Philelphus, in an epistle to Saxola his friend, a rich man honest, a proper woman not proud or unchast. *Can she be faire and honest too?*

> [k] Sæpe etenim occuluit picta sese Hydra sub herbâ,
> Sub specie formæ, incauto se sæpe marito
> Nequam animus vendit, ———

He that marries a wife that is snout-faire alone, let him look, saith [l] Barbarus, for no better successe then Vulcan had with Venus, or Claudius with Messalina. And 'tis impossible almost in such cases, the wife should containe

[c] Ne tribus prioribus noctibus rem haberet cum eâ, ut esset in pecoribus fortunatus, ab uxore moræ impatiente, &c. [d] Totam noctem bene et pudice nemini molestus dormiendo transegit; mane autem quum nullius conscius facinoris sibi esset, et inertiæ puderet, audisse se dicebat cum dolore calculi solere eam conflictari. Duo præcepta juris unâ nocte expressit, neminem læserat et honeste vixerat, sed an suum cuique reddidisset, quæri poterat. Mucius opinor et Trebatius hoc negâssent. lib. 1. [e] Alterius loci emendationem serio optabat, quem corruptum esse ille non invenit. [f] Such another tale is in Neander *de Jocosariis* his first tale. [g] Lib. 2. Ep. 8. Si pergit alienis negotiis operam dare, sui negligens, erit alius *mihi orator* qui rem meam agat. [h] Ovid. Rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitiæ. [i] Epist. [j] *Quod strideret* ejus calceamentum. [k] Hor. epist. 15. [l] De re uxoriâ lib. 1. cap. 6.

or the good man not be jealous. For when he is so defective, weak, ill proportioned, unpleasing in those parts which women most affect, and she most absolutely faire and able on the other side, if she be not very vertuously given, how can she love him? and although she be not faire, yet if he admire her and think her so, in his conceit she is absolute; he holds it unpossible for any man living not to dote as he doth; to look on her and not lust or covet, and if he be in company with her, not to lay siege to her honestie: or else, out of a deep apprehension of his infirmities, deformities, and other mens good parts, out of his own little worth and desert, he distrusts himselfe, (for what is jealousie but distrust?) he suspects she cannot affect him, nor be so kinde and loving as she should; she certainly loves some other man better then himselfe.

[m] *Nevisanus lib. 4. num. 27.* will have barrenness to be a main cause of jealousie. If her husband cannot play the man, some other shall; they will leave no remedies unassayed, and thereupon the good man growes jealous. I could give an instance, but be it as it is.

I finde this reason given by some men, because they have been formerly naught themselves; they think they may be so served by others; they turned up trumpe, before the cards were shuffled; they shall have therefore *legem talionis*, like for like.

[n] Ipse miser docui, quo posset ludere pacto
Custodes, eheu nunc premor arte meâ!

Wretch as I was, I taught her bad to be,
And now mine owne slye tricks are put on me.

Mala mens, malus animus, as the saying is, ill dispositions cause ill suspitions.

[o] There is none jealous, I durst pawne my life,
But he that hath defil'd anothers wife:

And for that he himself hath gone astray,
He straightway thinks his wife will tread that waye.

To these two above named causes, or incendiaries of this rage, I may very well annex those circumstances of time, place, persons, by which it ebbes and flowes, the fewell of this furie, as [p] Vives truely observes; and such like accidents or occasions, proceeding from the parties themselves, or others, which much aggravate and intend this suspitious humour. For many men are so lasciviously given, either out of a depraved nature, or too much liberty, which they do assume unto themselves, by reason of their greatnesse, in that they are noble men, (for *licentia peccandi, et multitudo peccantium* are great motives) though their own wives be never so faire, noble, vertuous, honest, wise, able and well given, they must have change.

[q] Qui cum legitimi junguntur fœdere lecti,
Virtute egregiis, facieque domoque puellis,
Scorta tamen, fœdasque lupas in fornice quærunt,
Et per adulterium nova carpere gaudia tentant.

Who being match'd to wives most vertuous,
Noble and fair, fly out lascivious.

Quod licet ingratum est, that which is ordinary is unpleasant. Nero (saith Tacitus) abhorred Octavia his own wife, a noble vertuous lady, and loved Acte, a base quean in respect. [r] Cerinthus rejected Sulpitia, a noble mans daughter, and courted a poore servant maid. —— *tanta est alienâ in messe voluptas*, for that [s] *stolne waters be more pleasant:* or as Vitellius the emperour was wont to say, *Jucundiores amores, qui cum periculo habentur;* like stolne venison, still the sweetest is that love, which is most difficultly attained: they like better to hunt by stealthe in another mans walk, then to have the fairest course that may be, at game of their own.

[t] Aspice ut in cœlo modo Sol, modo Luna ministret,
Sic etiam nobis una puella parum est.

As Sun and Moone in heaven change their course,
So they change loves, though often to the worse.

Or that some faire object so forcibly moves them, they cannot contain themselves, be it heard or seen they will be at it. [u] Nessus the Centaure, was by agreement, to carry Hercules and his wife over the river Evenus; no sooner

[m] Cum steriles sunt, ex mutatione viri se putant concipere. [n] Tibullus eleg. 6. [o] Withers Sat. [p] 3. de Animâ. Crescit ac decrescit zelotypia cum personis, locis, temporibus, negotiis. [q] Marullus. [r] Tibullus Epig. [s] Prov. 9. 17. [t] Propert. eleg. 2. [u] Ovid. lib. 9. Met. Pausanias. Strabo. Quum crevit imbribus hyemalibus, Deianiram suscipit, Herculem nando sequi jubet.

had he set Deianira on the other side, but he would have offered violence unto her, leaving Hercules to swim over as he could: and though her husband was a spectator, yet he would not desist till Hercules with a poysoned arrow shot him to death. [v] Neptune saw by chance that Thessalian Tyro, Eunippius wife; he forthwith, in the furie of his lust, counterfeited her husbands habit, and made him a cuckold. Tarquin heard Collatine commend his wife, and was so far enraged, that in midst of the night to her he went. [w] Theseus stole Ariadne, *vi rapuit*, that Trazenian Anaxa, Antiope, and now being old, Helena, a girle not yet ready for an husband. Great men are most part thus affected all, as an horse they neigh, saith [x] Jeremiah, after their neighbours wives; —— *ut visâ pullus adhinnit equâ.* And if they be in company with other women, though in their own wives presence, they must be courting and dallying with them. Juno, in Lucian, complains of Jupiter that he was still kissing Ganymede before her face, which did not a little offend her: and besides he was a counterfeit Amphitryo, a bull, a swan, a golden showre, and plaid many such bad pranks, too long, too shameful to relate.

Or they care little for their own ladies, and fear no lawes, they dare freely keep whores at their wives noses. 'Tis too frequent with noblemen to be dishonest; *pietas, probitas, fides, privata bona sunt*, as [y] he said long since; piety, chastity, and such like vertues, are for private men: not to be much looked after in great courts: and what Suetonius said of the good princes of his time, they might be all engraven in one ring, we may truely hold of chast potentates of our age. For great personages will familiarly run out in this kinde, and yeeld occasion of offence. [z] Montagne, in his essayes, gives instance in Cæsar, Mahomet the Turke, that sacked Constantinople, and Ladislaus king of Naples, that besieged Florence: great men, and great souldiers, are commonly great, &c. *probatum est*, they are good doers. Mars and Venus are equally ballanced in their actions.

[a] Militis in galeâ nidum fecêre columbæ, Apparet Marti quam sit amica Venus. | A dove within a head-piece made her nest, 'Twixt Mars and Venus see an interest.

Especially if they be bald, for bald men have ever been suspitious (reade more in Aristotle *sect.* 4. *prob.* 19.) as Galba, Otho, Domitian, and remarkable Cæsar amongst the rest. [b] *Urbani, servate uxores, mœchum calvum adducimus;* besides, this bald Cæsar, saith Cureo in Sueton, was *omnium mulierum vir;* he made love to Eunöe queen of Mauritania, to Cleopatra, to Posthumia wife to Sergius Sulpitius, to Lollia wife to Gabinius, to Tertulla of Crassus, and to Mutia Pompeys wife; and I know not how many besides. And well he might, for if all be true that I have reade, he had a licence to lye with whom he list. *Inter alios honores Cæsari decretos* (as Sueton. *cap.* 52. *de* Julio, and Dion *lib.* 44. relate) *jus illi datum, cum quibuscunque fœminis se jungendi.* Every private history will yeeld such variety of instances: otherwise good, wise, discreet men, vertuous and valiant, but too faulty in this. Priamus had fifty sons, but seventeen alone lawfully begotten. [c] Philippus bonus left fourteen bastards. Laurence Medices, a good prince and a wise, but, saith [d] Machiavel, prodigiously lascivious. None so valiant as Castruccius Castrucanus, but as the said author hath it, [e] none so incontinent as he was. And 'tis not only predominant in grandies, this fault; but if you will take a great mans testimony, 'tis familiar with every base souldier in France, (and elsewhere I think) *This vice* (saith [f] mine author) *is so common with us in France, that he is of no accompt, a meer coward, not worthy the name of a souldier, that is not a notorious whoremaster.* In Italy, he is not a gentleman,

[v] Lucian. tom. 4. [w] Plutarch. [x] Cap. 5. 8. [y] Seneca. [z] Lib. 2. cap 23. [a] Petronius Catal. [b] Sueton. [c] Pontus Heuter vitâ ejus. [d] Lib. 8. Flor. hist. Dux omnium optimus et sapientissimus, sed *in re venereâ* prodigiosus. [e] Vita Castruccii. Idem uxores maritis abalienavit. [f] Sesellius lib. 2. de *repub. Gallorum.* Ita nunc apud infimos obtinuit hoc vitium, ut nullius fere pretii sit, et ignavus miles, *qui non in* scortatione maxime excellat, et adulterio.

that besides his wife hath not a courtisan and a mistress. 'Tis no marvail then, if poore women in such cases be jealous, when they shall see themselves manifestly neglected, contemned, loathed, unkindly used: their disloyal husbands to entertain others in their rooms, and many times to court ladies to their faces: other mens wives to wear their jewels: how shall a poore woman in such a case moderate her passions? [g] *Quis tibi nunc, Dido, cernenti talia sensus?* How on the other side shall a poore man contain himself from this feral maladie, when he shall see so manifest signes of his wives inconstancy? when as, like Milos wife, she dotes upon every yong man she sees; or as [h] Martials Sota,——*deserto sequitur Clitum marito.* Though her husband be proper and tall, faire and lovely to behold, able to give contentment to any one woman, yet she will taste of the forbidden fruit: Juvenals Iberina to an hair, she is as well pleased with one eye, as one man. If a yong gallant come by chance into her presence, a fastidious brisk, that can wear his cloaths well in fashion, with a locke, gingling spur, a feather, that can cringe, and withal complement, court a gentlewoman, she raves upon him, *O what a lovely proper man he was*, another Hector, an Alexander, a goodly man, a demigod, how sweetly he carried himselfe, with how comely a grace, *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat*, how neatly he did wear his cloaths! [i] *Quam sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!* how bravely did he discourse, ride, sing and dance, &c. and then she begins to loath her husband, *repugnans osculatur*, to hate him and his filthie beard, his goatish complexion, as Doris said of Polyphemus, [j] *Totus qui saniem, totus ut hircus olet*, he is a rammy fulsome fellow, a goblin faced fellow, he smels, he stinkes, *Et cepas simul alliumque ructat———si quando ad thalamum, &c.* how like a dizard, a foole, an asse he looks, how like a clowne he behaves himselfe! [k] she will not come neer him by her good will, but wholly rejects him, as Venus did her fuliginous Vulcan, at last, *Nec Deus hunc mensâ, Dea nec dignata cubili est.* So did Lucretia a lady of Senes, after she had but seen Eurialus, *in Eurialum tota ferebatur, domum reversa, &c.* she would not hold her eys off him in his presence. —[l] *Tantum egregio decus enitet ore*, and in his absence could think of none but him, *odit virum*, she loathed her husband forthwith, might not abide him.

[m] Et conjugalis negligens tori, viro Præsente, acerbo nauseat fastidio.	All against the lawes of matrimony, She did abhor her husbands phisnomy,

and sought all opportunity to see her sweet-heart again. Now when the good man shall observe his wife so lightly given, *to be so free, and familiar with every gallant, her immodesty and wantonness* (as [n] Camerarius notes) it must needs yield matter of suspicion to him, when she still pranks up her self beyond her meanes and fortunes, makes impertinent journeys, unnecessary visitations, staies out so long, with such and such companions, so frequently goes to playes, masks, feasts, and all publique meetings, shall use such immodest [o] gestures, free speeches, and withal shew some distast of her own husband; how can he chuse, though he were another Socrates, but be suspitious, and instantly jealous? [p] *Socraticas tandem faciet transcendere metas;* More especially, when he shall take notice of their more secret and slye tricks, which to cornute their husbands they commonly use, (*dum ludis, ludos hæc te facit*) they pretend love, honour, chastity, and seem to respect them before all men living, saints in shew, so cunningly can they dissemple, they will not so much as look upon another man, in his presence; [q] so chast, so religious, and so devout, they cannot endure the name or sight of a quean, an harlot, out upon her! and in their outward carriage are most loving and officious, will kiss their husband, and hang about his neck, (dear husband, sweet husband) and

[g] Virg. Æn. 4. [h] Epig. 9. lib. 4. [i] Virg. 4. Æn. [j] Secundus syl. [k] Æneas Silvius. [l] Virg. 4. Æn. [m] S. Græco Simonidis. [n] Cont. 2. ca. 38. oper. subcis. Mulieris liberius et familiarius communicantis cum omnibus licentia et immodestia sinistri sermonis et suspicionis materiam viro præbet. [o] *Voces liberæ, oculorum colloquia*, contrectationes parum verecundæ, motus immodici, &c. Betuleius. [p] *Chaloner.* [q] *What is here said, is not prejudicial to honest women.*

with a composed countenance, salute him, especially when he comes home, or if he go from home; weep, sigh, lament, and take upon them to be sick and swoune, (like Jocundos wife in [r] Ariosto, when her husband was to depart) and yet arrant, &c. they care not for him,

Aye me, the thought (quoth she) makes me so fraid,
That scarse the breath abideth in my brest;
Peace, my sweet love and wife, Jocundo said,
And weeps as fast, and comforts her his best, &c.
All this might not asswage the womans pain:
Need must I dye before you come again,
Nor how to keep my life I can devise;
The doleful dayes and nights I shall sustain,
From meat my mouth, from sleep will keep mine eys, &c.
That very night that went before the morrow,
That he had pointed surely to depart,
Jocundos wife was sick, and swoun'd for sorrow
Amid his armes, so heavy was her heart.

And yet for all these counterfeit tears and protestations, Jocundo coming back in all haste, for a jewell he had forgot,

His chast and yoke-fellow he found,
Yok't with a knave, all honesty neglected;
Th' adulterer sleeping very sound,
Yet by his face was easily detected:
A beggars brat bred by him from his cradle,
And now was riding on his masters saddle.

Thus can they cunningly counterfeit, as [s] Platina describes their customes, *kiss their husbands, whom they had rather see hanging on the gallowes; and swear they love him dearer then their own lives, whose soule they would not ransome for their little dogs;*

——simillis si permutatio detur,
Morte viri cupiunt animam servare catellæ.

Many of them seem to be precise and holy forsooth, and will go to such a [t] church, to hear such a good man, by all meanes, an excellent man, when 'tis for no other intent (as he follows it) then *to see and to be seen, to observe what fashions are in use, to meet some pander, bawde, monke, frier, or to entise some good fellow.* For they perswade themselves, as [u] Nevisanus shews, *that it is neither sin or shame to lye with a lord or a parish priest if he be a proper man:* [v] *and though she kneele often, and pray devoutly, 'tis* (saith Platina) *not for her husbands welfare, or childrens good, or any friend, but for her sweet-hearts return, her panders health.* If her husband would have her go, she fains her self sick, [w] *et simulat subito condoluisse caput:* her head akes, and she cannot stir: but if her paramour ask as much, she is for him in all seasons, at all houres of the night. [x] In the kingdome of Malabar, and about Goa in the East-Indies, the women are so subtile, that with a certain drink they give them to drive away cares as they say, [y] *they will make them sleep for twenty foure houres, or so intoxicate them, that they can remember naught of that they saw done, or heard, and by washing of their feet, restore them again, and so make their husbands cuckolds to their faces.* Some are ill disposed at all times, to all persons they like, others more wary to some few, at such and such seasons; as Augusta, Livia, *non nisi plena navi vectorem tollebat.* But as he said,

[z] No pen could write, no tongue attain to tell,
By force of eloquence, or help of art,
Of womens treacheries the hundredth part.

Both, to say truth, are often faulty; men and women give just occasions in this humour of discontent, aggravate and yeeld matter of suspition: but most part of the chief causes proceed from other adventitious accidents and circumstances, though the parties be free, and both well given themselves. The undiscreet carriage of some lascivious gallant (*et e contra* of some light woman) by his often frequenting of an house, bold unseemly gestures, may make a breach, and by his over familiarity, if he be inclined to yellowness, colour him quite out. If he be poor, basely born, saith Benedetto Varchi, and other-

[r] Lib. 28. sc. 13. [s] Dial. amor. Pendet fallax et blanda circa oscula mariti, quem in cruce, si fieri posset, deosculari velit. Illius vitam cariorem esse suâ jurejurando affirmat; quem certe non redimeret animâ catelli si posset. [t] Adeunt templum ut rem divinam audiant, ut ipsæ simulant, sed vel ut monachum fratrem, vel adulterum linguâ, oculis, ad libidinem provocent. [u] Lib. 4. num. 81. Ipsæ sibi persuadent, quod adulterium cum principe vel cum præsule, non est pudor, nec peccatum. [v] Deum rogat, non *pro salute* mariti, filii, cognati vota suscipit, sed pro reditu mœchi si abest, pro valetudine lenonis si ægrotet. [w] Tibullus. [x] Gotardus Artus descript. Indiæ Orient. Linschoten. [y] Garcias ab Horto hist. *lib. 2. cap. 24.* Daturam herbam vocat et describit. Tam proclives sunt ad venerem mulieres, ut vires *inebrient per 24 horas,* liquore quodam, ut nihil videant, recordentur, at dormiant; et post. lethargum *ad se restituunt,* &c. [z] Ariosto, lib. 28. st. 76.

wise unhandsome, he suspects him the lesse; but if a proper man, such as was Alcibiades in Greece, and Castruccius Castrucanus in Italy, well descended, commendable for his good parts, he taketh on the more, and watcheth his doings. [a] Theodosius the emperour, gave his wife Eudoxia a golden apple when he was a suiter to her, which she long after bestowed upon a yong gallant in the court, of her especiall acquaintance. The emperour espying this apple in his hand, suspected forthwith, more then was, his wives dishonesty, banished him the court, and from that day following forbare to accompany her any more. [b] A rich merchant had a faire wife; according to his custome, he went to travell; in his absence a good fellow tempted his wife; she denied him; yet he dying a little after, gave her a legacy for the love he bore her. At his return, her jealous husband, because she had got more by land than he had done at sea, turned her away upon suspition.

Now when those other circumstances of time and place, opportunity and importunity shall concurre, what will they not effect?

Faire opportunitie can win the coyest she that is,
So wisely he takes time, as hee'll be sure he will not miss:
Then he that loves her gamesome vein, and tempers toyes with art,
Brings love that swimmeth in her eys, to dive into her heart.

As at playes, masks, great feasts and banquets, one singles out his wife to dance, another courts her in his presence, a third tempts her, a fourth insinuates with a pleasing complement, a sweet smile, ingratiates himself with an amphibological speech, as that merry companion in the [c] satyrist did to his Glycerium, *adsidens et interiorem palmam amabiliter concutiens,*

Quod meus hortus habet, sumas impune licebit,
Si dederis nobis quod tuus hortus habet,

with many such, &c. and then as he saith,

[d] She may no while in chastity abide,
That is assaild on every side.

For after a great feast, [e] *Vino sæpe suum nescit amica virum. Noah* (saith [f]Hierome) *shewed his nakedness in his drunkenness, which for six hundred yeers he had covered in soberness.* Lot lay with his daughters in his drink, as Cyneras with Myrrha, [g] —— *quid enim Venus ebria curat?* The most continent may be overcome, or if otherwise they keep bad company, they that are modest of themselves, and dare not offend, *confirmed by* [h] *others, grow impudent, and confident, and get an ill habit.*

[i] Alia quæstûs gratâ matrimonium corrumpit,
Alia peccans multas vult morbi habere socias.

Or if they dwell in suspected places, as in an infamous inne, neer some stewes, neer monkes, friers, Nevisanus addes, where be many tempters and solliciters, idle persons that frequent their companies, it may give just cause of suspition. Martial of old enveighed against them that counterfeited a disease to go to the bath; for so, many times,

——— relicto
Conjuge Penelope venit, abit Helena.

Æneas Silvius puts in a caveat against princes courts, because there be *tot formosi juvenes qui promittunt;* so many brave suiters to tempt, &c. [j] *If you leave her in such a place, you shall likely find her in company you like not; either they come to her, or she is gone to them.* [k] Kornmannus makes a doubting jest in his lascivious countrey, *Virginis illibata censeatur ne castitas ad quam frequenter accedant scholares?* And Baldus, the lawyer, scoffes on, *quum scholaris, inquit, loquitur cum puellâ, non præsumitur ei dicere, pater noster;* when a scholler talkes with a maid, or another mans wife in private, it is presumed he saith not a *pater noster.* Or if I shall see a monke or frier

[a] Lipsius Polit. [b] Seneca lib. 2. controv. 8. [c] Bodicher. Sat. [d] Chaucer. [e] Tibullus. [f] Epist. 85. ad Oceanum. Ad unius horæ ebrietatem nudat femora, quæ per sexcentos annos sobrietate contexerat. [g] Juv. Sat. 13. [h] Nihil audent primo, post ab aliis confirmatæ, audaces et confidentes sunt, ubi semel verecundiæ limites transierint. [i] Euripides. [j] De miser. curialium. Aut alium cum eâ invenies, aut isse alium reperies. [k] Cap. 18. de Virg.

climbe up by a ladder at midnight into a virgins or widdowes chamber window, I shall hardly think he then goes to administer the sacraments, or to take her confession. These are the ordinary causes of jealousie, which are intended or remitted as the circumstances vary.

MEMB. II.

SUBSECT. I.—*Symptomes of Jealousie; feare, sorrow, suspition, strange actions, gestures, outrages, locking-up, oathes, trials, lawes, &c.*

OF all passions, as I have already proved, love is most violent, and of those bitter potions which this Love-Melancholy affords, this bastard jealousie is the greatest, as appears by those prodigious symptomes which it hath, and that it produceth. For besides feare and sorrow, which is common to all melancholy, anxiety of minde, suspition, aggravation, restless thoughts, paleness, meagerness, neglect of business, and the like, these men are farther yet misaffected, and in an higher strain. 'Tis a more vehement passion, a more furious perturbation, a bitter pain, a fire, a pernicious curiosity, a gall corrupting the bony of our life, madness, vertigo, plague, hell, they are more then ordinarily disquieted, they lose *bonum pacis*, as [l] Chrysostome observes; and though they be rich, keep sumptuous tables, be nobly allied, yet *miserrimi omnium sunt*, they are most miserable; they are more then ordinarily discontent, more sad, *nihil tristius*, more then ordinarily suspitious. *Jealousie*, saith [m] Vives, *begets unquietness in the minde, night and day: he hunts after every word he hears, every whisper, and amplifies it to himself* (as all melancholy men do in other matters) *with a most injust calumny of others, he misinterprets every thing is said or done, most apt to mistake or misconstrue;* he pryes into every corner, follows close, observes to an hair. 'Tis proper to jealousie so to do.

Pale hag, infernall fury, pleasures smart,
Envies observer, pryeing in every part.

Besides those strange gestures of staring, frowning, grinning, rolling of eys, menacing, ghastly looks, broken pace, interrupt, precipitate, half-turns. He will sometimes sigh, weep, sob for anger, *Nempe suos imbres etiam ista tonitrua fundunt*, swear and bely, slander any man, curse, threaten, braule, scold, fight; and sometimes again flatter, and speak faire, ask forgiveness, kisse and coll, condemn his rashness and folly, vow, protest and swear he will never do so again; and then eftsoons, impatient as he is, rave, roar, and lay about him like a mad man, thump her sides, drag her about, perchance, drive her out of doors, send her home, he will be divorced forthwith, she is a whore, &c. by and by, with all submiss complement intreat her faire, and bring her in again; he loves her dearly; she is his sweet, most kinde and loving wife; he will not change, not leave her for a kingdome; so he continues off and on, as the toy takes him, the object moves him, but most part brauling, fretting, unquiet he is; accusing and suspecting not strangers only, but brothers and sisters, father and mother, neerest and dearest friends. He thinks with those Italians,

Chi non tocca parentado,
Tocca mai e rado.

And through feare, conceives unto himself things almost incredible and impossible to be effected. As an hearn when she fishes, still pryeing on all sides; or as a cat doth a mouse, his eye is never off hers; he glotes on him, on her, accurately observing on whom she looks, who looks at her, what she saith, doth, at dinner, at supper, sitting, walking, at home, abroad, he is the same, still enquiring, mandring, gazing, listning, affrighted with every small object; why did she smile, why did she pitty him, commend him? why did

[l] *Hom. 38. in c. 17. Gen.* Etsi magnis affluunt divitiis, &c. [m] *3. de Animâ.* Omnes voces, auras, omnes susurros captat zelotypus, et amplificat apud se cum iniquissimâ de singulis calumniâ. Maxime suspicient. et ad pejora credendum proclives.

she drink twice to such a man [illegible] to kiss [illegible] art a whore, a whore, an arrant whore [illegible] this be [illegible] in the poet.

[a]Omnia me terrent, tenebræ sum, ignoro quid.
Et miser in tunicis suspicor esse viros
Me ledit si multa tibi sunt serta corona
Me soror, et cum qui serta minora gerit.

[illegible] bad news affrights me, I do fear
[illegible] and turn to me ill cheer
[illegible] a man a fair woman
The number and the less that wear

Is't not a man in [illegible] behinde the door, or [illegible] steal in at the window with a ladder of ropes [illegible] have a false key, or get in when he is asleep [illegible] winde blow, a casement flutter, that's the matter there is [illegible] will, no man shall see her, salute her, speak with her, but [illegible] his sight, so much as to [illegible] did not so keep his cow, that watchful [illegible] the comming-in of [illegible] come as guest to his house, to visit him, he will never [illegible] own sight and company, lest [illegible] ness be such, that he must [illegible] mit her with a deale of [illegible] him and her he sets [illegible] to watch another, [illegible] though his business be very urgent, he will [illegible] again in all post haste, rise from supper, [illegible] sometimes leave his [illegible] some disguised habit. [illegible] tion, she live in such a [illegible] if she would, yet he suspects her as much [illegible] some princes court, or in a common inne, where all comers might have free accesse. He cals her [illegible] huswife, a bitch, an arrant [illegible] this passion, nothing can [illegible] most strange to report what [illegible] committed in this kinde [illegible] husbands into all places and [illegible] follow him whithersoever he went, it matters not, or upon what business, raving like Juno in the tragedy, mis-doing, cursing, swearing, and mistrusting every one she sees. Gomesius, in his third book of the life and deeds of Francis Ximenius, sometime archbishop of Toledo, hath a strange story of that incredible jealousie of Joane queen of Spain, wife to king Philip, mother of Ferdinand and Charles the 5th, emperours. When her husband Philip, either for that he was tyred with his wives jealousie, or had some great business, went into the low-countries, she was so impatient and melancholy upon his departure, that she would scarce eat her meat, or converse with any man; and though she were with child, the season of the yeer very bad, the winde against her, in all haste she would to sea after him. Neither Isabella, her queen mother, the archbishop, or any other friend could perswade her to the contrary, but she would after him. When she was now come into the Low-countries, and kindly entertained by her husband, she could not contain her self, [q]*but in a rage, ran upon a yellow-hair'd wench*, with whom she suspected her husband to be naught, *cut off her hair, did beat her blacke and blew, and so dragged her about.* It is an ordinary thing for women, in such cases, to scrat the faces, slit the noses of such as they suspect; as Henry the seconds importune Juno did by Rosamond at Woodstock: for she complains in a moderne [r]poet, she scarse spake,

[a]Propertius. [q]Æneas Silv. [r]Ant. Dial. [q]Rabie concepta, crinem abrasit, puellæque miserrime insultans, faciem viticibus fœdavit. [r]Daniel.

But flies with eager fury to my face,	So fell she on
Offering me most unwomanly disgrace.	As could disd
Look how a tigresse, &c.	

Or if it be so, they dare not, or cannot execute any s
they will miscall, rail and revile, bear them deadly
[s] Tacitus observes; *the hatred of a jealous woman such as she suspects.*

[t] Nulla vis flammæ, tumidique venti	Windes, weapo
Tanta, nec teli metuenda torti,	burly,
Quanta cum conjux viduata tædis	As raving wome
Ardet et odit.	

So did Agrippina by Lollia, and Calphurnia in the d
women are sufficiently curbed in such cases, the rage
and frequently put in practice. See but with what r
bands tyrannize over their poor wives. In Greece, Spai
Asia, and generally over all those hot countries, [u] *muli*
arate sicut vultis. Mahomet, in his Alcoran, gives t
wives are as your land, till them, use them, intreat th
will yourselves. [v] *Mecastor, lege durá vivunt mulier*
in their houses, which are as so many prisons to the
come at them, or their wives to be seen abroad:—
trare patentes. They must not so much as look ou
persons, they have eunuchs to keep them, as the Gr
Turkes, the Sophies of Persia, those Tartarian Mong
Infantes masculos castrant innumeros ut regi servia
geld innumerable infants to this purpose. The king of
eunuchs in his family, to keep his wives. The Xeril
curtisans in such strict manner, that if any man come bu
for it; and if they chance to see a man, though from th
instantly crie out, they must be put to death. The Turl
many, black deformed eunuchs (for the white serve
this purpose sent commonly from Ægypt, deprived in t
privities; and brought up in the seraglio at Constantin
which are so penned up, they may not confer with any
with yonger woman, have a cucumber or carret sent
but sliced, for feare, &c. and so live, and are left alone t
all the dayes of their lives. The vulgar sort of women
abroad, which is very seldome, to visit one another, or t
covered, that no man can see them, as the matrons wer
sellâ tectâ vectæ; so [y] Dion and Seneca record, *velat*
Alexander ab Alexandro relates of the Parthians, *lib*
Andreas Tiraquellus his commentator, I rather think
Persians. I have not yet said all. They do not on
pudendis seras adhibent. Hear what Bembus relate
History, of those inhabitants that dwell about Quiloa i
quit, quorundam civitates adierunt, qui natis statim
suunt, quoad urinæ exitus ne impediatur, easque quum
in matrimonium collocant, ut sponsi prima cura sit c
ferro interscindere. In some parts of Greece at this
they will not beleeve their wives are honest, *nisi pan*
nocte videant. Our countryman [a] Sands, in his p
severely observed in Zazynthus, or Zante; and Leo
in Africke, *non credunt virginem esse, nisi videan*

[s] Annal. lib. 12. Principis mulieris zelotypæ est in alias mulieres quas
bile. [t] Seneca in Medeâ. [u] Alcoran cap. Bovis, interprete Ricardo pra
[v] Expedit. in Sinas l. 3. c. 9. [x] Decem eunuchorum millia numer
uxores ejus. [y] Lib. 57. ep. 81. [a] Semotas a viris servant in inte
munes. [a] Lib. 1. fol. 7.

si non, ad parentes pudore rejicitur. Those sheets are publiquely shewed by their parents, and kept as a signe of incorrupt virginity. The Jewes of old, examined their maids *ex tenui membranâ*, called hymen, which Laurentius in his Anatomy, Columbus, *lib.* 12. *cap.* 16. Capivaccius, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 11. *de uteri affectibus*, Vincent. Alsarus Genuensis *quæsit. med. cent.* 4. Hieronymus Mercurialis *consult.* Ambros. Pareus, Julius Cæsar Claudinus *Respons.* 4. as that also *de* [b]*rupturâ venarum ut sanguis fluat*, copiously confute: 'tis no sufficient trial, they contend. And yet others again defend it. Gasper Bartholinus *Institut. Anat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 31. Pinæus of Paris, Albertus Magnus *de secret. mulier. cap.* 9. *et* 10. *&c.* and think they speak too much in favour of women. [c] Ludovicus Boncialus, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *muliebr. naturalem illam uteri labiorum constrictionem, in quâ virginitatem consistere volunt, astringentibus medicinis fieri posse vendicat; et si defloratæ sint, astutæ* [d]*mulieres* (*inquit*) *nos fallunt in his. Idem* Alsarius Crucius, Genuensis *iisdem fere verbis. Idem* Avicenna *lib.* 3. *Fen.* 20. *tract.* 1. *cap.* 47. [e] Rhasis *Continent. lib.* 24. Rodericus a Castro *de nat. mul. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. An old bawdy nurse, in [f]Aristænetus, (like that Spanish Cœlestina, [g] *quæ quinque mille virgines fecit mulieres, totidemque mulieres arte suâ virgines*) when a faire maid of her acquaintance wept and made her moane to her, how she had been deflowred, and now ready to be married, was afraid it would be perceived, comfortably replyed, *Noli vereri, filia, &c. Fear not, daughter, I'll teach thee a trick to help it. Sed hæc extra callem.* To what end are all those astrologicall questions, *an sit virgo, an sit casta, an sit mulier?* and such strange absurd trials in Albertus Magnus, Bap. Porta, Mag. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 21, in Wecker. *lib.* 5. *de secret.* by stones, perfumes, to make them pisse, and confess I know not what, in their sleep. Some jealous brain was the first founder of them. And to what passion may we ascribe those severe laws against jealousie, *Num.* 5. 14. Adulterers, *Deut. cap.* 22. *v.* 22. amongst the Hebrewes? amongst the Ægyptians (reade [h] Bohemus *l.* 1. *c.* 5. *de mor. gen.* of the Cathaginians, *cap.* 6. of Turkes, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 11.) amongst the Athenians of old? Italians at this day, wherein they are to be severely punished, cut in peeces, burned, *vivi-comburio*, buried alive, with severall expurgations, &c. are they not as so many symptomes of incredible jealousie? We may say the same of those vestall virgins that fetched water in a sieve, as Tatia did in Rome, *anno ab urb. conditâ* 800. before the senators; and [i]Æmilia, *virgo innocens*, that ran over hot irons; as Emma, Edward the Confessors mother did, the king himself being a spectator; with the like. We reade in Nicephorus, that Cunegunda, the wife of Henricus Bavarus, emperour, suspected of adultery, *insimulata adulterii per ignitos vomeres illæsa transiit;* trod upon red hot coulters, and had no harm. Such another story we finde in Regino, *lib.* 2. in Aventinus and Sigonius, of Charles the third and his wife Richarda, *An.* 887. that was so purged with hot irons. Pausanias saith, that he was once an eye-witness of such a miracle at Dianas temple; a maid, without any harm at all, walked upon burning coales. Pius secund. in his description of Europe, *c.* 46. relates as much; that it was commonly practised at Dianas temple, for women to go barefoot over hot coales, to try their honesties. Plinius, Solinus, and many writers make mention of [j] Feronias temple; and Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *lib.* 3. of Memnons statue, which were used to this purpose. Tatius lib. 6. of Pan his cave, (much like old St. Wilfrides needle in Yorkshire) wherein they did use to try maids, [k] whe-

[b] Disruptiones hymenis sæpe fiunt a propriis digitis vel ab aliis instrumentis. [c] Idem Rhasis Arab. Cont. [d] Ita clausæ pharmacis ut non possunt coitum exercere. [e] Qui et pharmacum præscribit decetque. [f] Epist. 6. Mercero Inter. [g] Barthius. Ludus illi temeratum pudicitiæ florem mentitis machinis pro integro vendere. Ego docebo te, qui mulier ante nuptias sponso te probes virginem. [h] Qui mulieres violâsset, virilia exsecabant, et mille virgas dabant. [i] Dion. Halic. [j] Viridi gaudens Feronia luco. Virg. [k] Ismene was so tried by Dianas well, in which maids did swimme, unchast were drowned. Eustathius lib. 8.

ther they were honest. When Leucippe went in, *suavissimus exaudiri sonus cæpit.* Austin. *de civ. Dei, lib.* 10. *c.* 16. relates many such examples, all which Lavater *de spectr. part.* 1. *cap.* 19. contends to be done by the illusion of divels; though Thomas *quæst.* 6. *de potentiâ, &c.* ascribe it to good angels. Some, saith [l]Austin, compell their wives to swear they be honest; as if perjury were a lesser sin then adultery. [m] Some consult oracles, as Phærus that blinde king of Ægypt. Others reward, as those old Romans used to do. If a woman were contented with one man, *coronâ pudicitiæ donabatur*, she had a crown of chastity bestowed on her. When all this will not serve, saith Alexander Gaguinus, *cap.* 5. *descript. Muscoviæ*, the Muscovites, if they suspect their wives, will beat them till they confess, and if that will not availe, like those wilde Irish, be divorced at their pleasures, or else knock them on the heads, as the old [n] Gaules have done in former ages. Of this tyranny of jealousie reade more in Parthenius Erot. *cap.* 10. Camerarius *cap.* 53. *hor. subcis. et cent.* 2. *cap.* 34. Cælias Epistles; Tho. Chaloner *de repub. Ang. lib.* 9. Ariosto *lib.* 31. *staffe* 1. Fælix Platerus *observat. lib.* 1. *&c.*

MEMB. III.

Prognostickes of Jealousie; despair, madness, to make away themselves and others.

Those which are jealous, most part, if they be not otherwise relieved, [o] *proceed from suspition to hatred: from hatred to frenzie, madness, injurie, murder and despair.*

[p] A plague by whose most damnable effect,
Divers in deep despair to dye have sought,
By which a man to madness neer is brought,
As well with causlesse, as with just suspect.

In their madness, many times, saith [q] Vives, they make away themselves and others. Which induceth Cyprian to cal it, *fœcundam et multiplicem perniciem, fontem cladium et seminarium delictorum;* a fruitfull mischiefe, the seminary of offences, and fountain of murders. Tragical examples are too common in this kinde, both new and old, in all ages; as of [r] Cephalus and Procris, [s] Phærus of Ægypt, Tereus, Atreus, and Thyestes. [t] Alexander Phærus was murdered of his wife, *ob pellicatûs suspicionem*, Tully saith. Antoninus Verus was so made away by Lucilla; Demetrius the son of Antigonus, and Nicanor, by their wives. Hercules poysoned by Deianira; [u] Cæcinna murdered by Vespasian; Justina a Roman lady by her husband. [v] Ametris, Xerxes wife, because she found her husbands cloake in Masista his house, *cut off Masista his wives paps, and gave them to the dogs; flead her besides, and cut off her eares, lips, tongue, and slit the nose of Artaynta her daughter.* Our late writers are full of such outrages. [w] Paulus Æmilius, in his history of France, hath a trägicall story of Chilpericus the first his death, made away by Ferdegunde his queen. In a jealous humour, he came from hunting, and stole behinde his wife, as she was dressing and combing her head in the sun, gave her a familiar touch with his wand, which she mistaking for her lover, said, *Ah Landre, a good knight should strike before, and not behinde:* but when she saw herself betrayed by his presence, she instantly took order to make him away. Hierome Osorius, in the eleventh book of the deeds of

[l] Contra mendac. ad confess. 21. cap. [m] Phærus Ægypti rex captus oculis per decennium, oraculum consuluit de uxoris pudicitiâ. Herod. Euterp. [n] Cæsar. lib. 6. de bello Gall. Vitæ necisque in uxores habuerunt potestatem. [o] Animi dolores et zelotypia, si diutius perseverent, dementes reddunt. Acad. comment. in par. art. Galeni. [p] Ariosto lib. 31. staff. 6. [q] 3. de animâ, c. 3. de zelotyp. Transit in rabiem et odium, et sibi et aliis violentas sæpe manus injiciunt. [r] Hyginus cap. 189. Ovid. &c. [s] Phærus Ægypti rex de cæcitate oraculum consulens, visum ei redditurum accepit, si oculos abluisset lotio mulieris quæ aliorum virorum esset expers; uxoris urinam expertus nihil profecit, et aliarum frustra; eas omnes (eâ exceptâ per quam curatus fuit) unum in locum coactas concremavit. Herod. Euterp. [t] Offic. lib. 2. [u] Aurelius Victor. [v] Herod. lib. 9. in Calliope. Masistæ uxorem excarnificat, mammillas præscindit, easque canibus abjicit, filiæ nares præscidit, labra, linguam, &c. [w] Lib. 1. Dum formæ curandæ intenta capillum in sole pectit, a marito per lusum leviter percussa furtim superveniente virgâ. Risu sublato, mi Landrice, dixit, frontem vir fortis petet, &c. Marito conspecto altonita, cum Landrico mox in ejus mortem conspirat, et statim inter venandum efficit.

Emanuel king of Portugal, to this effect hath a tragical narration, of one Ferdinandus Chalderia, that wounded Gotherinus, a noble countryman of his, at Goa in the East Indies, [x] *and cut off one of his leys, for that he looked, as he thought, too familiarly upon his wife; which was afterwards a cause of many quarrels, and much bloudshed.* Guianerius, *cap.* 36. *de ægritud. matr.* speakes of a silly jealous fellow, that seeing his childe new born, included in a kell, thought sure *a* [y] *Franciscan, that used to come to his house, was the father of it, it was so like the friers coule; and thereupon threatned the frier to kill him.* Fulgosus, of a woman in Narbone, that cut off her husbands privities in the night, because she thought he plaid false with her. The story of [z] Jonuses Bassa and faire Manto his wife, is well known to such as have read the Turkish history; and that of Joane of Spain, of which I treated in my former section. Her jealousie, saith Gomesius, was cause of both their deaths. King Philip died for grief a little after, as [a] Martian his physician gave it out; *and she, for her part, after a melancholy discontented life, mispent in lurking holes, and corners, made an end of her miseries.* Fælix Plater in the first booke of his observations, hath many such instances; of a physician, of his acquaintance, [b] *that was first mad through jealousie, and afterwards desperate.* Of a merchant [c] *that killed his wife in the same humour, and after precipitated himself.* Of a doctor of law that cut off his mans nose. Of a painters wife in Basil, anno 1600, that was mother of nine children, and had been 27 yeers married, yet afterwards jealous, and so impatient, that she became desperate, and would neither eat nor drink in her own house, for feare her husband should poyson her. 'Tis a common signe this; for when once the humours are stirred, and the imagination misaffected, it will vary itself in divers forms; and many such absurd symptomes will accompany even madness it self. Sckenkius *observat. lib.* 4. *cap. de uter.* hath an example of a jealous woman, that by this meanes had many fits of the mother: and in his first book, of some that through jealousie, ran mad; of a baker that gelded himself to try his wives honesty, &c. Such examples are too common.

MEMB. IV.

Subsect. 1.—*Cure of Jealousie. By avoiding occasions; not to be idle. By good counsell. To contemn it; not to watch or lock them up: to dissemble it, &c.*

As of all other melancholy, some doubt whether this malady may be cured or no; they think 'tis like the [d] gout, or Switzers, whom we commonly call Wallones, those hired souldiers, if once they take possession of a castle, they can never be got out.

Qui timet ut sua sit, ne quis sibi subtrahat illam,
Ille Machaonià vix ope salvus erit.

[e] This is that cruel wound against whose smart,
No liquors force prevailes, or any plaister,
No skill of starres, no depth of magick art,
Devised by that great clerk Zoroaster;
A wound that so infects the soule and heart,
As all our sense and reason it doth master;
A wound whose pange and torment is so durable,
As it may rightly called be incurable.

Yet what I have formerly said of other melancholy, I will say again, it may be cured, or mitigated at least, by some contrary passion, good counsell and perswasion, if it be withstood in the beginning, maturely resisted, *and as those ancients hold,* [f] *the nailes of it be pared before they grow too long.* No better meanes to resist or repell it, then by avoiding idleness; to be stil seriously bu-

[x] Qui Goæ uxorem habens, Gotherinum, principem quendam virum, quod uxori suæ oculos adjecisset, ingenti vulnere deformavit in facie, et tibiam abscidit, unde mutuæ cædes. [y] Eo quod infans natus involutus esset pannículo, credebat eum filium fratris Francisci, &c. [z] Knowles. [a] Zelotypia reginæ regis mortem acceleravit paulo post, ut Martianus medicus mihi retulit. Illa autem atrâ bile inde exagitata, in latebras se subducens, præ ægritudine animi reliquum tempus consumpsit. [b] A zelotypiâ redactus ad insaniam et desperationem. [c] Uxorem interemit, inde desperabundus, ex alto se præcipitavit. [d] Tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram. [e] Ariosto lib. 31. staff. 5. [f] Veteres mature suadent ungues amoris esse radendos, priusquam producant se nimis.

sied about some matters of importance, to drive out those vaine fears, foolish fantasies and irksome suspitions out of his head, and then to be perswaded by his judicious friends, to give eare to their good counsell and advice, and wisely to consider, how much he discredits himself, his friends, dishonours his children, disgraceth his family, publisheth his shame, and as a trumpeter of his own misery, divulgeth, macerates, grieves himself and others: what an argument of weakness it is, how absurd a thing in its own nature, how ridiculous, how brutish a passion, how sottish, how odious; how harebraine a disease, mad and furious. For as [g] Hierome well hath it, *odium sui facit, et ipse novissime sibi odio est*, others hate him, and at last he hates himself for it. If he will but hear them speake, no doubt he may be cured. [h] Joane, queen of Spain, of whom I have formerly spoken, under pretence of changing ayr, was sent to Complutum, or Alcada de las Heneras, where Ximenius the archbishop of Toledo then lived, that by his good counsell (as for the present she was) she might be eased. [i] *For a disease of the soule, if concealed, tortures and overturnes it, and by no physicke can sooner be removed then by a discreet mans comfortable speeches.* I will not here insert any consolatory sentences to this purpose, or forestall any mans invention, but leave it to every one to dilate and amplifie, as he shall think fit in his own judgement. Let him advise with Siracides *cap.* 9. 1. *Be not jealous over the wife of thy bosome;* reade that comfortable and pithy speech to this purpose of Ximenius in the author himself, as it is recorded by Gomesius; consult with Chaloner, *lib* 9. *de repub. Anglor.* or Cœlia in her epistles, &c. Onely this I will adde, that if it be considered aright, which causeth this jealous passion, be it just or unjust, whether with or without cause, true or false, it ought not so haniously to be taken; 'tis no such real or capital matter, that it should make so deep a wounde. 'Tis a blow that hurts not, an insensible smart, grounded many times upon false suspition alone, and so fostered by a sinister conceit. If she be not dishonest, he troubles and macerates himself without a cause; or put case, which is the worst, he be a cuckold, it cannot be helped, the more he stirres in it, the more he aggravates his own misery. How much better were it, in such a case, to dissemble or contemne it! why should that be feared which cannot be redressed? *multæ tandem deposuerunt* (saith [j] Vives) *quum flecti maritos non posse vident*, many women when they see there is no remedy, have been pacified; and shall men be more jealous then women? 'Tis some comfort in such a case to have companions. *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris:* Who can say he is free? Who can assure himself he is not one *de præterito*, or secure himself *de futuro?* If it were his case alone, it were hard; but being as it is, almost a common calamity, 'tis not so grievously to be taken. If a man have a locke, which every mans key will open, as well as his owne, why should he think to keep it private to himself? In some countries they make nothing of it, *ne nobiles quidem*, saith [k] Leo Afer, in many parts of Africke (if she be past fourteen) there's not a noble man that marries a maid, or that hath a chast wife; 'tis so common; as the moone gives horns once a moneth to the world, do they to their husbands, at least. And 'tis most part true, which that [l] Caledonian lady, (wife of Argetocoxus, a British prince) told Julia Augusta, when she took her up for dishonesty, *We Brittaines are naught at least with some few choycemen of better sort, but you Romans lye with every base knave; you are a company of common whores.* Severus the emperour, in his time, made lawes for the restraint of this vice; and as [m] Dion Nicæus relates in his life, *tria millia mœchorum*, three thousand cuckold makers, or *natura*

[g] In Jovianum. [h] Gomesius lib. 3. de reb. gestis Ximenii. [i] Urit enim præcordia ægritudo animi compressa, et in angustias adducta mentem subvertit, nec allo medicamine facilius erigitur, quam curâ hominis sermone. [j] 3. de animâ. [k] Lib. 3. [l] Argetocoxi Caledonii reguli uxor, Juliæ Augustæ cum ipsam morderet quod inhoneste versaretur, respondet: Nos cum optimis viris consuetudinem habemus; vos Romanas autem occulte passim homines constuprant. [m] Leges de mœchis fecit, ex civibus plures in jus vocati.

monetam adulterantes, as Philo cals them, false coyners and clippers of natures mony, were summoned into the court at once. And yet, *Non omnem molitor quæ fluit undam videt:* the miller sees not all the water that goes by his mill: no doubt but as in our dayes, these were of the commonalty; all the great ones were not so much as called in question for it. [n] Martials epigram, I suppose, might have been generally applied in those licentious times, *Omnia solus habes, &c.* thy goods, lands, mony, wits, are thine owne, *Uxorem sed habes, Candide cum populo;* but neighbour Candidus your wife is common. Husband and cuckold in that age, it seems were reciprocal termes; the emperours themselves did wear Actæons badge; how many Cæsars might I reckon up together, and what a catalogue of cornuted kings and princes in every story! Agamemnon, Menelaus, Philippus of Greece, Ptolomæus of Ægypt, Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompeius, Cato, Augustus, Antonius, Antoninus, &c. that wore fair plumes of bulls feathers in their crests. The bravest souldiers and most heroical spirits could not avoid it. They have been active and passive in this business; they have either given or taken hornes. [o] King Arthur, whom we call one of the nine worthies, for all his great valour was unworthily served by Mordred, one of his round-table knights: and Guithera, or Helena Alba his faire wife, as Leland interprets it, was an arrant honest woman. *Parcerem libenter* (saith [p] mine author) *heroinarum læsæ majestati, si non historiæ veritas eurem vellicaret*, I could willingly winke at a faire ladies faults, but that I am bound, by the lawes of history, to tell the truth. Against his will, God knows, did he write it, and so do I repeat it. I speak not of our times all this while; we have good, honest, vertuous men and women, whom fame, zeale, feare of God, religion and superstition containes: and yet for all that, we have too many knights of this order, so dubbed by their wives; many good women abused by dissolute husbands, in some places; and such persons you may as soon enjoyn to carry water in a sieve, as to keep themselves honest. What shall a man do now in such a case? What remedy is to be had? how shall he be eased? By suing a divorce? that is hard to be effected: *si non caste, tamen caute*, they carry the matter so cunningly, that though it be as common as simony, as clear and as manifest as the nose in a mans face, yet it cannot be evidently proved, or they likely taken in the fact: they will have a knave Gallus to watch; or, with that Roman [q] Sulpitia, all made fast and sure,

> Ne se cadurcis destitutam fasciis,
> Nudam Caleno concumbentem videat.

She will hardly be surprised by her husband, be he never so wary. Much better then to put it up: the more he strives in it, the more he shall divulge his owne shame: make a vertue of necessity, and conceal it. Yea, but the world takes notice of it, 'tis in every mans mouth: let them talke their pleasure, of whom speak they not in this sense? From the highest to the lowest, they are thus censured, all. There is no remedy then but patience. It may be 'tis his owne fault, and he hath no reason to complain, 'tis *quid pro quo*, she is bad, he is worse.[r] *Bethinke thy selfe, hast thou not done as much for some of thy neighbours? why dost thou require that of thy wife, which thou wilt not performe thy self?* Thou rangest like a *town bull;* [s] *why art thou so incensed if she tread awry?*

> [t] Be it that some woman break chast wedlocks lawes,
> And leaves her husband and becomes unchast:
> Yet commonly it is not without cause,
> She sees her man in sin her goods to waste,
> She feels that he his love from her withdrawes,
> And hath on some, perhaps, less worthy plac't.
> Who strikes with sword, the scabbard them may strike,
> And sure, love craveth love, like asketh like.

Ea semper studebit, saith [u] Nevisanus, *pares reddere vices*, she will quit it if

[n] L. 3. Epig. 26. [o] Asser. Arthuri. Parcerem libenter heroinarum læsæ majestati, si non historiæ veritas eurem vellicaret. Leland, [p] Lelands assert. Arthuri. [q] Epigram. [r] Cogita an sic aliis tu unquam feceris; an hoc tibi nunc fieri dignum sit? severus aliis, indulgens tibi, cur ab uxore exigis quod non ipse præstas? Plutar. [s] Vagâ lubidine cum ipse quovis rapiaris, cur, si vel modicum aberret ipsa, insanis? [t] Ariosto li. 28. staffe 80. [u] Sylva nupt. l. 4. num. 72.

she can. And therefore as well adviseth Siracides, c *an evill lesson against thy self*, which as Jansenius, and Carthusianus interpret, is no otherwise to bee unde thee not a mischief. I do not excuse her in accusing thee mend thy self first; for as the old saying is, a good husl

Yea, but thou repliest, 'Tis not the like reason be through her fault my children are bastards, I may not *lenta, sit imperiosa, prodiga, &c.* let her scolde, brawl *modo sit casta*, so she be honest, I could easily bear may not, I will not; my faith, my fame, mine eye m the diverbe is, *Non patitur tactum fama, fides, ocu* my wife, touch all, use all, take all but this, I acknow be true, *nullius boni jucunda possessio sine socio*, the the possession of any good thing without a compani I say, *This*. And why this? Even this which thou may be for thy progenies good; [w] better be any man begot of base Irus, poor Scius, or mean Mœvius, tl shepheards son: and well is he, that like Hercules, h thou thy self hast, peradventure, more diseases then a of body and minde, a cankerd soule, crabbed conditi it, as it is *vulnus insanabile, sic vulnus insensibile*, a insensible. But art thou sure it is so? [x] *res agit ille t* It may be, thou art over suspitious, and without a c be *octimestris partus*, born at eight moneths, or like hi suspecte he got it; if she speake or laugh familiarly then presently she is naught with them: such is tl charity, or a well-disposed minde, would interpret Francis, by chance, seeing a frier familiarly kissing so far from misconceiving it, that he presently knee God there was so much charity left: but they, on the nothing to naturall causes, indulge nothing to fami friendship: but out of a sinister suspition, presently them, thinking by those meanes to prevent all such in way to help it; whereas by such tricks they doe aggra but in vain to watch that which will away.

[y] Nec custodiri si velit ulla potest;	None can be kept
Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia serves;	Though body be l
Omnibus exclusis, intus adulter erit.	Advoutry lurks, t

Argus with an hundred eys cannot keep her, *et hunc* as in [z] Ariosto.

If all our hearts were eys, yet sure, they said,
We husbands of our wives should be betray'd.

Hierome holds, *uxor impudica servari non potest*, pi *custos castitatis est necessitas*, to what end is all your woman cannot be kept; an honest woman ought not a keeper not to be trusted. *Difficile custoditur*, q which many covet, can hardly be preserved, as [a] Salisb Æneas Silvius minde. [b] *Those jealous Italians do very il for women are of such a disposition, they will most co most, and offend least when they have free liberty to* locke her up if she be dishonest; *et tyrannicum imperi* Aristotle cals it, too tyrannical a taske, most unfit. Fo

[x] Lemnius lib. 4. cap. 13. de occult. nat. mir. [w] Optimum bene nasci lib. 3. eleg. 4. [z] Lib. 4. st. 72. [a] Pollerat. lib. 8. c. 11. De amor. occludunt, meo judicio minus utiliter faciunt: sunt enim eo ingenio mul quod maxime denegatur. Si liberas habent habenas, minus delinquunt; [b] *si sint casta.*

husband observes her and suspects, *liberius peccat*, saith [c] Nevisanus. [d] *Toxica zelotypo dedit uxor mœcha marito*, she is exasperated, seeks, by all meanes, to vindicate her self, and will therefore offend, because she is unjustly suspected. The best course then is to let them have their owne wills, give them free liberty, without any keeping.

In vain our friends from this do us dehort,
For beauty will be where is most resort.

If she be honest as Lucretia to Collatinus, Laodamia to Protesilaus, Penelope to her Ulysses, she will so continue her honour, good name, credit; *Penelope conjux semper Ulyssis ero.* And as Phocias wife in [e] Plutarch, called her husband *her wealth, treasure, world, joye, delight, orbe and spheare*, she will hers. The vow she made unto her good man; love, vertue, religion, zeale, are better keepers then all those locks, eunuches, prisons; she will not be moved.

[f] At mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Aut pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam,
Ante pudor, quam te violem, aut tua jura resolvam.

First I desire the earth to swallow mee,
Before I violate mine honesty;
Or thunder from above drive me to hell,
With those pale ghosts, and ugly night to dwell.

She is resolv'd with Dido to be chast; though her husband be false, she will be true: and as Octavia writ to her Anthony;

[g] These walls that here do keep me out of sight,
Shall keep me all unspotted unto thee,

And testifie that I will do thee right,
I'll never stain thine house, though thou shame mee.

Turn her loose to all those Tarquins and Satyres, she will not be tempted. In the time of Valence the emperour, saith [h] St. Austin, one Archidamus, a consul of Antioch, offered an hundred pound of gold to a faire yong wife, and besides to set her husband free, who was then *sub gravissimâ custodiâ*, a dark prisoner, *pro unius noctis concubitu:* but the chast matron would not accept of it. [i] When one commended Theanas fine arme to his fellows, she took him up short, *Sir, 'tis not common;* she is wholly reserved to her husband. [j] Bilia had an old man to her spouse, and his breath stunke, so that nobody could abide it abroad, *comming home one day, he reprehended his wife, because she did not tell him of it: she vowed unto him she woulde have told him, but that she thought every mans breath had been as strong as his.* [k] Tigranes and Armena his lady were invited to supper by king Cyrus; when they came home, Tigranes asked his wife, how she liked Cyrus, and what she did especially commend in him? *she swore she did not observe him. When he replyed again, what then she did observe, whom looked she on? She made answer, Her husband, that said he would dye for her sake.* Such are the properties and conditions of good women: and if she be well given, she will so carry her self; if otherwise she be naught, use all the meanes thou canst, she will be naught. *Non deest animus sed corruptor*, she hath so many lyes, excuses, as an hare hath meshes, tricks, panders, bawdes, shifts to deceive, 'tis to no purpose to keep her up, or to reclaime her by hard usage. Faire meanes, peradventure, may do somewhat. [l] *Obsequio vinces aptius ipse tuo*, Men and women are both in a predicament in this behalfe, sooner won, and better pacified. *Duci volunt, non cogi:* though she be as arrant a scolde as Xantippe, as cruel as Medea, as clamorous as Hecuba, as lustfull as Messalina, by such meanes (if at all) she may be reformed. Many patient [m] Grizels by their obsequiousness in this kinde, have reclaimed their husbands from their wandring lusts. In Nova Francia and Turkie (as Leah, Rachel, and Sarah did to Abraham and Jacob) they bring their fairest damsels to their

[c] Quando cognoscunt maritos hoc advertere. [d] Ausonius. [e] Opes suas, mundum suum, thesaurum suum, &c. [f] Virg. Æn. [g] Daniel. [h] 1 de serm. d. in monte ros. 16. [i] O quam formosus lacertus hic, quidam inquit ad æquales conversus; at illa, Publicus, inquit, non est. [j] Bilia Dimutum virum senem habuit et spiritum fœtidum habentem, quem quum quidam exprobrásset, &c. [k] Numquid tibi, Armena, Tigranes, videbatur esse pulcher? et illum, inquit, ædepol, &c. Xenoph. Cyroped. l. 3. [l] Ovid. [m] Read Petrarchs tale of patient Grizel in Chaucer.

husbands beds. Livia seconded the lustfull appetites of Augustus: Stratonice wife to king Seleucus did not only bring Electra, a faire maid, to her goodmans bed, but brought up the children begot on her, as careful as if they had been her owne. Tertius Æmilius wife, Cornelias mother, perceiving her husbands intemperance, *rem dissimulavit*, made much of the maid, and would take no notice of it. A new married man, when a pickthank friend of his, to curry favour, had shewn him his wife familiar in private with a yong gallant, courting and dallying, &c. Tush, said he, let him do his wôrst; I dare trust my wife, though I dare not trust him. The best remedy then is by faire meanes; if that will not take place, to dissemble it as I say, or turn it off with a jest. Hear Guexerras advice in this case, *vel joco excipies, vel silentio eludes;* for if you take exceptions at every thing your wife doth, Solomons wisdome, Hercules valour, Homers learning, Socrates patience, Argus vigilancy will not serve turne. Therefore *minus malum,* [n] a less mischief, Nevisanus holds, *dissimulare*, to be [o] *cunarum emptor*, a buyer of cradles, as the proverb is, then to be too solicitous. [p] *A good fellow, when his wife was brought to bed before her time, bought halfe a dozen of cradles before hand for so many children, as if his wife should continue to bear children at every two moneths.* [q] Pertinax the emperour, when one told him a fidler was too familiar with his empress, made no reckoning of it. And when that Macedonian Philip was upbraided with his wifes dishonesty, *cum tot victor regnorum ac populorum esset, &c.* a conquerour of kingdomes could not tame his wife, (for she thrust him out at doores) he made a jest of it. *Sapientes portant cornua in pectore, stulti in fronte*, saith Nevisanus; wise men beare their hornes in their hearts, fooles on their foreheads. Eumenes king of Pergamus was at deadly feud with Perseus of Macedonia, in so much that Perseus hearing of a journey he was to take to Delphos, [r] set a company of souldiers to intercept him in his passage; they did it accordingly, and as they supposed, left him stoned to death. The newes of this fact was brought instantly to Pergamus: Attalus, Eumenes brother proclaimed himself king forthwith, took possession of the crown, and married Stratonice the queen. But by and by, when contrary newes was brought, that king Eumenes was alive, and now comming to the citie, he laid by his crown, left his wife, as a private man went to meet him, and congratulate his returne. Eumenes though he knew all particulars passed, yet dissembling the matter, kindly embraced his brother, and took his wife into his favour again, as if no such matter had been heard of or done. Jocundo in Ariosto, found his wife in bed with a knave, both asleep, went his wayes, and would not so much as wake them, much less reprove them for it. [s] An honest fellow, finding in like sort, his wife had plaid false at tables, and born a man too many, drew his dagger, and swore if he had not been his very friend, he would have kill'd him. Another hearing one had done that for him, which no man desires to be done by a deputy, followed in a rage with his sword drawne, and having overtaken him, laid adultery to his charge; the offender, hotly pursued, confessed it was true; with which confession he was satisfied, and so left him, swearing that if he had denyed it, he would not have put it up. How much better is it to do thus, then to macerate himself, impatiently to rave and rage, to enter an action (as Arnoldus Tilius did in the court of Tholouse, against Martin Guerre his fellow souldier, for that he counterfeited his habit, and was too familiar with his wife) so to divulge his own shame, and to remaine for ever a cuckold on record? How

[n] Sil. nup. lib. 4. num. 80. [o] Erasmus. [p] Quum accepisset uxorem peperisse secundo a nuptiis mense, cunas quinas vel senas coëmit, ut si forte uxor singulis bimensibus pareret. [q] Julius Capitol. vitâ ejus. *Quum* palam citharœdus uxorem diligeret, minime curiosus fuit. [r] Disposuit armatos qui ipsum interficerent: hi protenus mandatum exequentes, &c. Ille et rex declaratur, et Stratonicem, quæ fratri nupserat, uxorem ducit; sed postquam audivit fratrem vivere, &c. Attalum comiter accepit, pristinamque uxorem complexus, magno honore apud se habuit. [s] Sir John Harringtons notes in 28. book of Ariosto.

much better be Cornelius Tacitus, then Publius Cornutus, to contemne in such cases, or take no notice of it? *Melius sic errare, quam zelotypiæ curis*, saith Erasmus, *se conficere*, better be a wittall and put it up, then to trouble himself to no purpose. And though he will not *omnibus dormire*, be an asse, as he is an oxe, yet to wink at it as many do, is not amisse at some times, in some cases, to some parties, if it be for his commodity, or some great mans sake, his landlord, patron, benefactor, (as Calbas the Roman saith [t] Plutarch did by Mæcenas, and Phallyus of Argos did by king Philip, when he promised him an office on that condition, he might lye with his wife) and so to let it passe:

——— [u] pol me haud pœnitet
Scilicet boni dimidium dividere cum Jove.

it never troubles me, said Amphitrio, to be cornuted by Jupiter; let it not molest thee then; be friends with her.

[v] Tu cum Alcmenâ uxore antiquam in gratiam
Redi———

let it, I say, make no breach of love betwixt you. Howsoever, the best waye is, to contemne it; which [w] Henry the second, king of France, advised a courtier of his, jealous of his wife, and complaining of her unchastness, to reject it, and comfort himself; for he that suspects his wifes incontinencie, and fears the popes curse, shall never live a merry houre, or sleep a quiet night: no remedy but patience. When all is done, according to that counsell of [x] Nevisanus, *si vitium uxoris corrigi non potest, ferendum est:* if it may not be helped, it must be endured. *Date veniam et sustinete taciti*, 'tis Sophocles advice, keep it to thy self; and which Chrysostome calls *palæstram philosophiæ, et domesticum gymnasium*, a school of philosophie, put it up. There is no other cure, but time to wear it out, *injuriarum remedium est oblivio*, as if they had drunk a draught of Lethe in Trophonius den. To conclude, age will bereave her of it, *dies dolorem minuit*, time and patience must end it.

[y] The minds affections patience will appease
It passions kills, and healeth each disease.

Subsect. II.—*By prevention before, or after marriage: Platos communitie; marry a curtisan; philters; stewes; to marry one equal in yeers, fortunes, of a good family, education, good place, to use them well, &c.*

Of such medicines as conduce to the cure of this malady, I have sufficiently treated; there be some good remedies remaining, by way of prevention, precautions, or admonitions, which if rightly practised, may do much good. Plato, in his commonwealth, to prevent this mischiefe, belike, would have all things common, wives and children all as one: and which Cæsar in his commentaries observed of those old Britaines, that first inhabited this land; they had ten or twelve wives allotted to such a family, or promiscuously to be used by so many men: not one to one, as with us; or foure, five or six to one, as in Turkie. The [z] Nicholaites, a sect that sprung, saith Austin, from Nicholas the deacon, would have women indifferent; and the cause of this filthie sect, was Nicholas the deacons jealousie, for which, when he was condemned, to purge himself of his offence, he broched this heresie, that it was lawful to lye with one anothers wives, and for any man to lye with his. Like to those [a] anabaptists in Munster, that would consort with other mens wives as the spirit moved them. Or as [b] Mahomet, the seducing prophet, would needs use women as he list himself, to beget prophets; 205 their Alcoran saith, were in love with him, and [c] he as able as fortie men. Amongst the old Carthaginians, as [d] Bohemus relates out of Sabellicus, the king of the countrey lay with the bride the first night, and once in a year they went promiscuously

[t] Amator. Dial. [u] Plautus scen. ult. Amphit. [v] Idem. [w] T. Daniel conjurat. French. [x] Lib. 4. num. 80. [y] R. T. [z] Lib. de heres. Quum de zelo culparetur, purgandi se causâ permisisse fertur, ut eâ qui vellet uteretur; quod ejus factum in sectam turpissimam versum est, quâ placet usus indifferens fœminarum. [a] Sleiden. Com. [b] Alcoran. [c] Alcoran edit. a Bibliandro. [d] De mor. gent. lib. 1. cap. 6. *Nupturæ regi devirginandæ exhibentur.*

together. Munster *Cosmog. lib.* 3. *cap.* 497. ascribes the beginning of this brutish custome (injustly) to one Picardus a Frenchman, that invented a new sect of Adamites, to go naked as Adam did, and to use promiscuous venery at set times. When the priest repeated that of Genesis, *Increase and multiply*, out [e] went the candles in the place where they met, *and without all respect of age, persons, conditions, catch that catch may, every man took her came next, &c.* some fasten this on those ancient Bohemians and Russians; [f] others on the inhabitants of Mambrium, in the Lucerne valley in Pedemont; and, as I read, it was practised in Scotland amongst Christians themselves; until king Malcomes time, the king, or the lord of the town, had their maidenheads. In some parts of [g] India, in our age; and those [h] Islanders; [i] as amongst the Babylonians of old, they will prostitute their wives and daughters (which Chalcocondila, a Greek modern writer, for want of better intelligence, puts upon us Britains) to such travellers or sea-faring men as come amongst them by chance, to shew how far they were from this feral vice of jealousie, and how little they esteemed it. The kings of Calecut, as [j] Lod. Vertomannus relates, will not touch their wives till one of their Biarmi or high priests have lain first with them, to sanctifie their wombes. But those Essæai and Montanists, two strange sects of old, were in another extream; they would not marry at all, or have any society with women, [k] *because of their intemperance they held them all to be naught.* Nevisanus the lawyer, *lib.* 4. *num.* 33. *syl. nupt.* would have him that is inclined to this malady, to prevent the worst, marry a quean; *capiens meretricem, hoc habet saltem boni, quod non decipitur, quia scit eam sic esse, quod non contingit aliis.* A fornicator, in Seneca, constuprated two wenches in a night: for satisfaction, the one desired to hang him, the other to marry him. [l] Hierome, king of Syracuse in Sicily, espoused himself to Pitho, keeper of the stewes; and Ptolomy took Thais, a common whore, to be his wife; had two sons, Leontiscus and Lagus by her, and one daughter Irene: 'tis therefore no such unlikely thing. [m] A citizen of Eugubine gelded himself to try his wives honesty, and to be freed from jealousie: so did a baker in [n] Basil, to the same intent. But of all other presidents in this kinde, that of [o] Combalus is most memorable: who, to prevent his masters suspition, for he was a beautiful yong man, and sent by Seleucus his lord and king, with Stratonice, the queen, to conduct her into Syria, fearing the worst, gelded himself before he went, and left his genitals behind him in a box, sealed up. His mistress, by the way, fell in love with him, but he not yeelding to her, was accused to Seleucus of incontinency, (as that Bellerophon was, in like case, falsely traduced by Sthenobia, to king Prætus her husband, *cum non posset ad coitum inducere*) and that by her, and was therefore at his comming home, cast into prison: the day of hearing appointed, he was sufficiently cleared and acquitted by shewing his privities, which, to the admiration of the beholders, he had formerly cut off. The Lydians used to geld women whom they suspected, saith Leonicus *var. hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 59. as well as men. To this purpose [p] Saint Francis, because he used to confess women in private, to prevent suspition, and prove himself a maid, stripped himself before the bishop of Assise and others: and frier Leonard, for the same cause, went through Viterbium in Italy, without any garments.

[e] Lumina exstinguebantur, nec personæ et ætatis habita reverentia, in quam quisque per tenebras incidit, mulierem cognoscit. [f] Leander Albertus. Flagitioso ritu cuncti in ædem convenientes, post impuram concionem, exstinctis luminibus, in Venerem ruunt. [g] Lod. Vertomannus navig. lib. 6. cap. 8. et Marcus Polus lib. 1. cap. 46. Uxores viatoribus prostituunt. [h] Dithmarus, Bleskenius, ut Agetas Aristoni. Pulcherrimam uxorem habens amico prostituit. [i] Herodot. in Erato. Mulieres Babyloni cæcum hospite permiscentur ob argentum quod post Veneri sacrum. Bohemus lib. 2. [j] Navigat. lib. 5. cap. 4. Prius thorum non init, quam a digniore sacerdote nova nupta defiorata sit. [k] Bohemus lib. 2. *cap. 3. Ideo* nubere nollent ob mulierum intemperantiam, nullam servare viro fidem putabant. [l] Stephanus præfat. Herod. Alius e lupanari meretricem, Pitho dictam, in uxorem duxit; Ptolomæus Thaidem *nobile scortum* duxit, et ex eâ duos filios suscepit, &c. [m] Poggius Florent. [n] Felix Plater. [o] Lucian *Salmutz Tit. 2.* de porcellanis com. in Panciro. de nov. repert. et Plutarchus. [p] Stephanus e L. contin. *Bonavent. c. 6.* vit. Francisci.

Our pseudocatholickes, to help these inconveniences which proceed from ealousie, to keep themselves and their wives honest, make severe lawes: against dultery, present death: and withal, fornication a venial sin. As a sink to onvey that furious and swift stream of concupiscence, they appoint and permit stewes, those punks and pleasant sinners, the more to secure their wives n all populous cities; for they hold them as necessary as churches. And howoever unlawful, yet to avoid a greater mischiefe, to be tolerated in policy, as usury, for the hardness of mens hearts; and for this end, they have whole olledges of curtisans in their towns and cities. Of [q] Catos minde, belike, that would have his servants (*cum ancillis congredi coitûs causâ, definito ære, ut praviora facinora evitarent, cæteris interim interdicens*) familiar with some uch feminine creatures, to avoid worse mischiefs in his house, and made alowance for it. They hold it unpossible for idle persons, yong, rich, and lusty, o many servants, monkes, friers, to live honest; too tyrannical a burden to ompel them to be chast; and most unfit to suffer poor men, yonger brothers nd souldiers at all to marry, as also diseased persons, votaries, priests, serants. Therefore, as well to helpe and ease the one as the other, they tolerate nd wink at these kind of brothel houses and stewes. Many probable arguments hey have to prove the lawfulness, the necessity, and a toleration of them, as f usury; and without question in policy, they are not to be contradicted: ut altogether in religion. Others prescribe philters, spels, charms to keep nen and women honest. [r] *Mulier ut alienum virum non admittat præter suum: Accipe felhirci, et adipem, et exsicca, calescat in oleo, &c. et non alium præter te amabit. In Alexi, Portâ, &c. plura invenies, et multo his absurdiora; uti et in Rhasi, ne mulier virum admittat, et maritum solum diligat, &c.* But these are most part Pagan, impious, irreligious, absurde, and ridiculous devices.

The best meanes to avoid these and like inconveniences, are, to take away the causes and occasions. To this purpose, [s] Varro writ Satyram Menippeam, but it is lost. [b] Patricius prescribes foure rules to be observed in chusing of a wife (which who so will may reade) Fonseca the Spaniard in his 45. *c.* [t] *Amphitheat. Amoris*, sets down six special cautions for men, foure for women: Sam. Neander out of Shonbernerus, five for men, five for women: Anthony Guiverra many good lessons: [u] Cleobulus two alone, others otherwise; as first, to make a good choyce in marriage, to invite Christ to their wedding, and which [v] Saint Ambrose adviseth, *Deum conjugii præsidem habere*, and to pray to him for her, (*a Domino enim datur uxor prudens, Prov.* 19.) not to be too rash and precipitate in his election, to run upon the first he meets, or dote on every stout faire peece he sees, but to chuse her as much by his ears as eys; to be well advised whom he takes, of what age, &c. and cautelous in his proceeding. An old man should not marry a yong woman, or a yong man an old woman: [w] *Quam male inæquales veniunt ad aratra juvenci!* such matches must needs minister a perpetual cause of suspition, and be distastful to each other.

[s] Noctua ut in tumulis, super atque cadavera bubo, Talis apud Sophoclem nostra puella sedet. | Night-crows on tombes, owl sits on carcass dead, So lyes a wench with Sophocles in bed.

For Sophocles, as [y] Athenæus describes him, was a very old man, as cold as January, a bedfellow of bones; and doted yet upon Archippe a yong curtisan, then which nothing can be more odious. [z] *Senex maritus uxori juveni ingratus est*, an old man is a most unwelcome guest to a yong wench, unable, unfit.

[a] Amplexus suos fugiunt puellæ,
Omnis horret amor, Venusque Hymenque.

[q] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [r] Wecker lib. 5. secret. [s] Citatur a Gellio. [t] Lib. 4. Tit. 4. de instit. reipub. de officio mariti. [u] Ne cum eâ blande nimis agas, ne objurges præsentibus extraneis. [v] Epist. 70. [w] Ovid. [x] Alciat. emb. 116. [y] Deipnosoph. l. 3. cap. 12. [z] Euripides. [a] Pontanus biarum lib. 1.

And as, in like case, a good fellow that had but a peck of corn weekly to grinde, yet would needs build a new mill for it, found his errour eftsoons, for either he must let his mill lye waste, pull it quite down, or let others grinde at it. So these men, &c.

Seneca therefore, disallowes all such unseasonable matches; *habent enim maledicti locum crebræ nuptiæ.* And as [b] Tully farther inveighs, *'tis unfit for any, but ugly and filthy in old age. Turpe senilis amor,* one of the three things [c] God hateth. Plutarch in his book *contra Coleten*, rails downright at such kinde of marriages, which are attempted by old men, *qui jam corpore impotenti, et a voluptatibus deserti, peccant animo;* and makes a question whether, in some cases, it be tolerable at least for such a man to marry, —— *qui Venerem affectat sine viribus:* that is now past those venerous exercises, *as a gelded man lyes with a virgin and sighs*, Ecclus. 30. 20. and now complains with him in Petronius, *funerata est hæc pars jam, quæ fuit olim Achillea*, he is quite done.

[d] Vixit puellæ nuper idoneus,
Et militavit non sine gloriâ.

But the question is, whether he may delight himself, as those Priapeian popes, which in their decrepid age lay commonly between two yong wenches every night, *contactu formosarum et contrectatione, num adhuc gaudeat;* and as many doting syres still do to their own shame, their childrens undoing, and their families confusion: he abhors it, *tanquam ab agresti et furioso domino fugiendum*, it must be avoided as a bedlame master, and not obeyed.

Alecto ——————
Ipsa faces præfert nubentibus, et malus Hymen
Triste ululat, ———

the divel himself makes such matches. [e] Levinus Lemnius reckons up three things, which generally disturb the peace of marriage. The first is, when they marry intempestive or unseasonably, *as many mortall men marry precipitately and inconsiderately, when they are effæte and old. The second, when they marry unequally for fortunes and birth. The third, when a sick impotent person weds one that is sound, novæ nuptæ spes frustratur:* Many dislikes instantly follow. Many doting dizards, it may not be denyed, as Plutarch confesseth, [f] *recreate themselves with such obselete, unseasonable and filthy remedies* (so he calls them) *with a remembrance of their former pleasures, against nature, they stir up their dead flesh:* but an old leacher is abominable; *mulier tertio nubens*, [g] Nevisanus holds, *præsumitur lubrica et inconstans*, a woman that marries the third time may be presumed to be no honester than she should. Of them both, thus Ambrose concludes, in his comment upon Luke, [h] *they that are coupled together, not to get children, but to satisfie their lust, are not husbands, but fornicators;* with whom S[t]. Austin consents. Matrimony, without hope of children, *non matrimonium, sed concubium dici debet*, is not a wedding, but a jumbling or coupling together. In a word, except they wed for mutual society, helpe and comfort one of another, (in which respects, though [i] Tiberius denye it, without question old folks may well marry) for sometimes a man hath most need of a wife, according to Puccius, when he hath no need of a wife; otherwise, it is most odious, when an old Acheronticke dizard, that hath one foote in his grave, a *silicernium*, shall flicker after a lusty yong wench that is blithe and bonny:

[j] —— salaciorque
Verno passere, et albulis columbis.

What can be more detestable?

[b] Offic. lib. Luxuria cum omni ætati turpis, tum senectuti fœdissima. [c] Eccius. 25. 2. An old man that dotes, &c. [d] Hor. lib. 3. ode 26. [e] Cap. 54. instit. ad optimam vitam. Maxima mortalium pars præcipitanter et inconsiderate nubit, idque eâ ætate quæ minus apta est, quum senex adolescentulæ, sanus morbidæ, dives pauperi, &c. [f] Obsoleto, intempestivo, turpi remedio fatentur se uti; recordatione pristinarum voluptatum se recreant, et adversante naturâ, pollinctam carnem et enectam excitant. [g] Lib. 2. ss. 35. [h] Qui vero non procreandæ prolis, sed explendæ libidinis causâ, sibi invicem copulantur, non tam conjuges quam fornicarii habentur. [i] Lex Papia. Sueton. Claud. c. 23. [j] Pontanus Varum lib. 1.

› capite amas, senex nequissime,	Thou old goat, hoary leacher, naughty man
nus ætatis, animâque fœtidâ,	With stinking breath, art thou in love?
ircosus tu osculare mulierem?	Must thou be slavering? she spewes to see
diens vomitum potius excuties?	Thy filthie face, it doth so move.

›me will, it is much more tolerable for an old man to marry a yong our ladies match they call it) for *cras erit mulier*, as he said in Tully. Roman, Critobulus in [l] Xenophon, [m] Tiraquellus of late, Julius Sca-:. and many famous precedents we have in that kinde; but not : 'tis not held fit for an ancient woman to match with a yong man. arro will, *Anus dum ludit morti delicias facit*: 'tis Charons match [n] Cascus and Casca, and the divel himself is surely well pleased with therefore, as the poet inveighs, thou old Vetustina bed-ridden quean, now skin and bones,

capilli, quatuorque sunt dentes,	That hast three hairs, foure teeth, a brest
:icadæ, crusculumque formicæ,	Like grashopper, an emmets crest,
rem quæ geris stolâ frontem,	A skin more rugged then thy coat,
:arum cassibus pares mammas.	And duggs like spiders web to boot.

›u marry a youth again? And yet *ducentas ire nuptum post mortes* howsoever it is, as [p] Apuleius gives out of his Meröe, *congressus pestilens, abhorrendus*, a pestilent match, abominable, and not to be

In such case, how can they otherwise choose but be jealous, how ›ey agree one with another? This inequality is not in yeers only, rth, fortunes, conditions, and all good qualities. [q] *Si qua voles apte ›ube pari*; 'Tis my counsell, saith Anthony Guiverra, to choose such *Civis civem ducat, nobilis nobilem*, let a citizen match with a citizen, ›an with a gentlewoman; he that observes not this precept, (saith *generum sed malum genium; non nurum sed furiam; non vitæ sed litis fomitem domi habebit*: in stead of a faire wife shall have a r a fit son-in-law a meer fiend, &c. examples are too frequent.

›r main caution fit to be observed, is this, that though they be equal birth, fortunes, and other conditions, yet they do not omit vertue and cation, which Musonius and Antipater so much inculcate in Stobæus:

Dos est magna parentûm
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas.

tarch adviseth, one must eat *modium salis*, a bushell of salt with him, choose his friend, what care should be had in choosing a wife, his se-; how sollicitous should he be to know her qualities and behaviour? › he is assured of them, not to prefer birth, fortune, beauty, before bring-nd good conditions. [r] Coquage, god of cuckolds, as one merrily said, ›ies the goddess Jealousie, both follow the fairest, by Jupiters ap-t, and they sacrifice to them together. Beauty and honesty seldom ›raight personages have often crooked manners; faire faces, foule od complexions, ill conditions. *Suspicionis plena res est, et insidia-*uty (saith [s] Chrysostome) is full of treachery and suspition: he that ire wife, cannot have a worse mischiefe, and yet most covet it; as if ›lse in marriage, but that and wealth were to be respected. [t] Francis ›ke of Millain, was so curious in this behalfe, that he would not marry of Mantuas daughter, except he might see her naked first; which appointed in his lawes, and Morus in his Utopian Commonwealth

[u] In Italy, as a traveller observes, if a man have three or foure daugh-ore, and they prove faire, they are married eftsoons: if deformed, they heir lovely names of Lucia, Cynthia, Camœna, call them Dorothie,

Mercator. [l] Symposio. [m] Vide Thuani historiam. [n] Catal. vet. poetarum .3. 62. Epig. [p] Lib. 1. Miles. [q] Ovid. [r] Rabelais hist. Pantagruel. l. 3. cap. 33. ui pulchram habet uxorem, nihil pejus habere potest. [s] Arnisæus. [t] Itinerar. Ital. . 1620. Nomine trium Ger. fol. 304. Displicuit quod dominæ filiabus immutent nomen indi-›mo, et pro Catharinâ Margareta, &c. ne quid dealt ad luxuriam, appellant ipsas nominibus næniæ, &c.

Ursula, Bridgit, and so put them into monasteries, as i riage, but such as are eminentlie faire: but these ar modest virgin well conditioned, to such a fair-snout pe ferred. If thou wilt avoid them, take away all causes of marry a coarse peece, fetch her from Cassandras [v] tem Italy to be a sanctuary of all deformed maids, and so th man will make thee cuckold, but for spight. A citize had a filthy dowdy, deformed slut to his wife, and f another man, cryed out as one amazed; *O miser! quæ t* O thou wretch, what necessity brought thee hither? as can affect such a one? But this is warily to be und another extream; they prefer wealth before beauty, a care not how she look; but these are all out as faulty a *semper uxoris forma*, as [w] Salisburiensis adviseth, *ne si eam sordere putes*, as the knight in Chaucer that was m

And all day after hid him as an owle,
So woe was him, his wife looked so foule.

Have a care of thy wifes complexion, lest whilst th loathest her, she prove jealous, thou naught,

Si tibi deformis conjux, si serva venusta,
Ne utaris servâ,———

I can perhaps give instance. *Molestum est possi dignetur*, a misery to possess that which no man lil *difficile custoditur quod plures amant*. And as the br in the comœdy, *nimia est miseria pulchrum esse hom* never so hardly besiege Carthage, as these yong gallan one with wit or person, another with wealth, &c. If sh she will be suspected howsoever. Both extreams a *adamatur, facile concupiscit*, the one is soon b one is hardly kept, because proud and arrogant, the o what is to be done in this case? Ennius, in Menel friend, to take *statam formam, si vis habere incolu* a middle size, neither too faire, nor too foule; [x] *Nec fo casta placet*, with old Cato, though fit, let her beau *neque illiberalis*, between both. This I approve; resolve with Salisburiensis, *cæteris paribus*, both ric *majori misericordia deformis habetur quam formosa serva* a faire one, and put it to the hazard, then be troubled thou as thou wilt, I speak only for my self.

Howsoever, *quod iterum moneo*, I would advise t faire or foule, to choose a wife out of a good kindred, up, in an honest place.

[y] Primum animo tibi proponas quo sanguine cre
Qua formâ, quâ ætate, quibusque ante omnia
Moribus, in junctos veniat nova nupta penates.

He that marries a wife out of a suspected inne or ale Smithfield, and hires a servant in Pauls, as the diver a jade to his horse, a knave for his man, an arrant ho *Filia præsumitur esse matri similis*, saith [z] Nevisa *such a daughter; mali corvi malum ovum*, cat to her

[b] Scilicet exspectas ut tradat mater honestos
Atque alios mores quam quos habet?———

If the mother be dishonest, in all likelihood the daugh after her in all good qualities,

[v] Leonicus de var. lib. 3. c. 43. Asylus virginum deformium Cassandræ crat. l. 8. cap. 11. [x] Marullus. [y] Chalconer lib. 9. de repub. Ang. [z] *caste, caste quoque filia vivit; Si meretrix mater, filia talis erit.* [b] Juven.

Creden' Pasiphaæ non tauripotente futuram
Tauripetam?——

trot, the foale will not amble. My last caution is, that a woman towe her self upon a fool, or an apparent melancholy person; jea- symptome of that disease, and fools have no moderation. Justina, lady, was much persecuted, and after made away by her jealous he caused and enjoyned this epitaph, as a caveat to others, to be n her tombe.

exemplo Justinæ, discite patres, | Learn parents all, and by Justinas case,
t fatuo filia vestra viro, &c. | Your children to no disards for to place.

iage, I can give no better admonitions then to use their wives well; a friend of mine, that was a married man, told me, I will tell you eape, saith Nicostratus in [d]Stobæus, to avoid future strife, and for sake, *when you are in bed, take heed of your wives flattering ver night, and curtain sermons in the morning.* Let them do their likewise to maintain them to their meanes, which [e]Patricius ingemi- let them have liberty with discretion, as time and place require. nen turn queans by compulsion, as [f]Nevisanus observes, because nds are so harde, and keep them so short in diet and apparell, *cogit eas meretricari*, poverty and hunger, want of meanes, makes nest, or bad usage; their churlish behaviour forceth them to fly out; mples, they doe it to cry quittance. In the other extream, some are , as the proverb is, *turdus malum sibi cacat*, they make a rod for ailes, as Candaules did to Gyges in [g]Herodotus, commend his wifes iselfe, and besides would needs have him see her naked. Whilst heir wives too much liberty to gad abroad, and bountifull allowance, ccessary to their own miseries; *animæ uxorem pessime olent*, as bes, they have deformed soules; and by their painting and colours *ium mariti*, their husbands hate; especially, [h]*cum misere viscantur iti.* Besides, their wives (as [i]Basil notes) *impudenter se exponunt m aspectibus, jactantes tunicas, et coram tripudiantes*, impudently mselves into other mens companies, and by their undecent wanton provoke and tempt the spectators. Vertuous women should keep l 'twas well performed and ordered by the Greeks,

—— mulier ne qua in publicum
Spectandam se sine arbitro præbeat viro:

e Phidias, belike, at Elis paint Venus treading on a tortoise, a sym- mens silence and house keeping. For a woman abroad and alone, er broke out of a parke, *quam mille venatores insequuntur*, whom er followes; and besides, in such places, she cannot so well vindicate t as that virgin Dinah (Gen. 34. 2) *going forth to see the daughters l*, lost her virginity, she may be defiled and overtaken on a sudden. *'amæ quid nisi præda sumus?*

erefore I know not what philosopher he was, that would have ne but thrice abroad all their time, [j]*to be baptized, married, and* it he was too strait laced. Let them have their liberty in good go in good sort, *modo non annos viginti ætatis suæ domi relin-* a good fellowe said, so that they look not twenty yeers yonger n they do at home, they be not spruce, neate, angels abroad, beasts, luts at home; but seek by all meanes to please and give content to ands; to be quiet, above all things; obedient, silent and patient;

cent. 2. cap. 54. oper. subcis. [d] Ser. 72. Quod amicus quidam uxorem habens mihi dixit, cubili cavendæ adulationes vesperi, mane clamores. [e] Lib. 4. tit. 4. de institut. reipub. mariti et uxoris. [f] Lib. 4. syl. nup. num. 81. Non curant de uxoribus, nec volunt iis ictu, vestitu, &c. [g] In Clio. Speciem uxoris supra modum extollens, fecit ut illam nudam t. [h] Juven. Sat. 6. He cannot kisse his wife for paint. [i] Orat. contra ebr. [j] Ad bap- imonium, et tumulum.

if they be incensed, angry, chide a little, their wives mu
- but take it in good part. An honest woman, I cann
dwelt, but by report an honest woman she was, hearir
chance complain of her husbands impatience, told her
it, and gave her withall a glasse of water, which wher
hold still in her mouth, and that *toties quoties*, as of
so two or three times with good successe, and at lengt
gave her great thankes for it, and would needs know tl
her in brief what it was, *faire water*, and no more: t
but her silence which performed the cure. Let every
this example, and be quiet within doores, and (as [m] N
necessary caution it is to be observed of all good matrc
to come little abroad, but followe their work at home
affaires and private business, *œconomiæ incumbentes*,
circumspect, modest, and compose themselves to live t
as a good huswife should do.

[n] Quæ studiis gaviss colì, partita labores | Cura puellaris,
Fallet opus cantu, formæ assimulata coronæ | Cum volvet, &c

Howsoever 'tis good to keepe them private, not in pr

[o] Quisquis custodit uxorem vectibus et seris,
Etsi sibi sapiens, stultus est, et nihil sapit.

Reade more of this subject, Horol. *princ. lib.* 2. *per*
Cyprian, Tertullian, Bossus *de mulier. apparat.* Godfr
4. Levinus Lemnius, *cap.* 54. *de institut.* Christ. Bar
cap. 2. Franciscus Patricius *de institut. reipub. lib.*
mariti et uxoris, Christ. Fonseca *Amphitheat. Amor. ca*

These cautions concerne him; and if by these,
otherwise he cannot moderate himself, his friends
their wisdome, if it be possible, to give the party gri
vent and remove the occasions, objects, if it may be
one alone, or many, to consider whom he suspects, o
places he is most incensed, in what companies. [p] Ne
whether a yong physician ought to be admitted in
new married mans house, to administer a julip, a syr
sick. The Persians of old, would not suffer a
amongst women. [q] Apollonides Cous made Artaxe
after buried alive for it. A gaoler, in Aristænetus, ha
to his prisoner; [r] in commisseration of his youth and
to enjoye the liberty of the prison, but he unkind
Menelaus gave good welcome to Paris, a stranger
family were at his commande; but he ungently stol
wife. The like measure was offered to Agis, king
biades an exile; for his good entertainment, he was
his wife, begetting a childe of her, called Leotichid
over, when he came home to Athens, that he had a
Lacedæmonians. If such objects were removed, nc
might easily be satisfied, or that they could use them
well, not to revile them, scoffe at, hate them, as in su
doe; 'tis an humane infirmity, a miserable vexatio
add griefe to griefe, nor aggravate their misery, but
all meanes, give them content; by good counsell;

[k] Non vociferatur illa si maritus obganniat. [l] Fraudem aperiens, ostu
iracundiæ moderari. [m] Horol. Princi. lib. 2. cap. 8. Diligenter cav
quenter exeant. [n] Chaloner. [o] Menander. [p] Lib. 5. num. 11.
morbum esse, nec curari posse, nisi cum viro concumberet; hâc arte voti
culis solutumque demisit, at ille inhumanus stupravit conjugem. [r] Plut

objects, or by mediation of some discreet friends. In old Rome, there was a temple erected by the matrones to the [t]Viriplaca Dea, another to *Venus verticordia, quæ maritos uxoribus reddebat benevolos*, whither (if any difference hapned betwixt man and wife) they did instantly resort: there they did offer sacrifice, a white hart, Plutarch records, *sine felle*, without the gall (some say the like of Junos temple) and make their prayers for conjugall peace: before some [u]indifferent arbitratours and friends, the matter was heard betwixt man and wife, and commonly composed. In our times we want no sacred churches, or good men to end such controversies, if use were made of them. Some say that precious stone called [v]beryllus, others a diamond, hath excellent vertue, *contra hostium injurias, et conjugatos invicem conciliare*, to reconcile men and wives, to maintaine unitie and love; you may trye this when you will, and as you see cause. If none of all these meanes and cautions will take place, I know not what remedy to prescribe, or whither such persons may go for ease, except they can get into the same [w]Turkie paradise, *where they shall have as many faire wives as they will themselves, with cleare eys, and such as look on none but their own husbands*; no fear, no danger of being cuckolds. Or else, I would have them observe that strict rule of [x]Alphonsus, to marry a deaf and dumb man to a blinde woman. If this will not help, let them, to prevent the worst, consult with an [y]astrologer, and see whether the significatours in her horoscope agree with his, that they be not *in signis et partibus odiose intuentibus aut imperantibus, sed mutuo, et amice antisciis et obedientibus*; otherwise, (as they holde) there will be intolerable enmities between them. Or else get him *sigillum Veneris*, a characteristical seal stamped in the daye and houre of Venus, when she is fortunate, with such and such set words and charmes; which Villanovanus and Leo Suavius prescribe, *ex sigillis magicis Salomonis, Hermetis, Ruguelis, &c.* with many suche: which Alexis, Albertus, and some of our natural magitians put upon us: *ut mulier cum aliquo adulterare non possit, incide de capillis ejus, &c.* and he shall surely be gracious in all womens eys, and never suspect or disagree with his own wife, so long as he wears it. If this course be not approved, and other remedies may not be had, they must, in the last place, sue for a divorce: but that is somewhat difficult to effect, and not all out so fit. For as Felisacus, in his tracte *de justa uxore* urgeth, If that lawe of Constantine the great, or that of Theodosius and Valentinian, concerning divorce, were in use in our times, *innumeras propemodum viduas haberemus et cœlibes viros*, we should have almost no married couples left. Try therefore those former remedies: or as [z]Tertullian reports of Democritus, that put out his eys because he could not look upon a woman without lust, and was much troubled to see that which he might not enjoye; let him make himself blinde, and so he shall avoid that care and molestation of watching his wife. One other soveraign remedie I could repeat, an especial antidote against jealousie, an excellent cure, but I am not now disposed to tell it, not that like a covetous emperick I conceal it for any gaine, but for some other reasons, I am not willing to publish it; if you be very desirous to know it, when I meet you next, I will peradventure tell you what it is in your ear. This is the best counsell I can give; which he that hath need of, as occasion serves may applye unto himselfe. In the mean time, —— *Di talem terris avertite pestem*, as the proverbe is, from heresie, jealousie, and frensie, good Lord deliver us.

[t] Rosinus lib. 2. 19. Valerius lib. 2. cap. 1. [u] Alexander ab Alexandro l. 4. cap. 8. et gen. dier. [v] Fr. Rueus de gemmis l. 2. cap. 8. et 15. [w] Strozius Cicogna lib. 2. cap. 15. spirit. et incan. Habent ibidem uxores quot volunt, cum oculis clarissimis, quos nunquam in aliquem præter maritum fixuri sunt, &c. Bredenbacchius, idem et Bohemus, &c. [x] Uxor cæca ducat maritum surdum, &c. [y] See Valent. Nabod. differ. com. in Alcabitium, ubi plura. [z] Cap. 46. Apol. Quod mulieres sine concupiscentiâ aspicere non posset, &c.

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Religious Melancholy. Its object God; how it allureth. The parts and parties af*

THAT there is such a distinct species of Love-Melancholy yet doubted; but whether this sub-division of [a] *Religious* rantable, it may be controverted.

> [b] Pergite, Pierides, medio nec calle vagantem
> Linquite me, quâ nulla pedum vestigia ducunt,
> Nulla rotæ currus testantur signa priores.

I have no patterne to followe as in some of the reste, no physician hath as yet, distinctly written of it as of the oth it a most notable symptome, some a cause, but few a spe tæus, Alexander, Rhasis, Avicenna, and most of our late w Fuchsius, Plater, Bruel, Montaltus, &c. repeate it as a syn *to be inspired of the holy Ghoste; some take upon them are addicted to new opinions; some foretell strange thing Antichristi*, saith Gordonius. Some will prophecy of th a daye almost, and the fall of the Antichrist, as they ha brought up; for so melancholy works with them, as [e] Laur have been precisely given, all their meditations tend that sion, produce strange effects, the humour imprints syn their several inclinations and conditions, which makes [f] C Plater, put too much devotion, blinde zeal, feare of eter the last judgement, for a cause of those enthusiasticks a But some do not obscurely make a distinct species of it, c cholv into that whose object is women; and into the other Plato *in Convivio*, makes mention of two distinct furi Neotericks, Hercules de Saxoniâ, *lib.* 1. *pract. med. cap.* doth expresly treate of it as a distinct species. [h] *Love Me twofolde; the first is that (to which peradventure som this name or species of melancholy) affection of those their object, and are altogether about prayer, fasting, women.* Peter Forestus, in his observations, delivereth words: and Felix Platerus *de mentis alienat. cap.* 3. *fr species in quâ curandâ sæpissime multum fui impeditu* ease; and they have a ground of what they say, forth c [i] Aretæus, an old authour, in his third booke, *cap.* 6. dot lancholy, and derives this second from the first, which c otherwise. [j] Plato, in his Phædrus, hath these words, *A phos, and at Dodona, in their furie do many pretty f Greekes, but never in their right wits.* He makes the might; and he that shall but consider that superstition o effects of it (as in its place I will shew the several furie Pythonissas, Sibyls, Enthusiasts, Pseudoprophets, H maticks in these our latter ages) shall instantly confes again cannot afford so much matter of madness, so man

[a] Called Religious, because it is still conversant about religion and such divi
[b] Lib. 1. cap. 16. Nonnulli opinionibus addicti sunt, et futura se prædicere a tur quod sunt prophetæ, et inspirati a Spiritu Sancto, et incipiunt prophetar
[c] Cap. 6. de Melanch. [f] Cap. 5. Tractat. Multi ob timorem Dei sunt melan They are still troubled for their sins. [g] Plater c. 13. [h] Melancholia Ea duplex est: prima, quæ ab aliis forsan non meretur nomen melancholiæ, est proponunt Deum, et ideo, nihil aliud curant aut cogitant quam Deum, jejunia
[i] Alia reperitur furoris species a primâ vel a secundâ, Deorum rogantium, vel nit. [j] Qui in Delphis futura prædicunt vates, et in Dodonâ sacerdotes fur Gralis deferunt, sani vero exigua aut nulla.

as superstition, heresie, schisme hath brought out; that this species alone may be parallel'd to all the former, hath a greater latitude, and more miraculous effects; that it more besots and infatuates men, then any other above named whatsoever; doth more harme, work more disquietness to mankinde, and hath more crucified the soules of mortall men (such hath been the divels craft) then wars, plagues, sicknesses, dearth, famine and all the rest.

Give me but a little leave, and I will set before your eys, in briefe, a stupend, vast, infinite ocean of incredible madness and folly: a sea full of shelves and rockes, sands, gulfes, Euripes and contrary tides; full of fearfull monsters, uncouth shapes, roaring waves, tempests, and Siren calmes, Halcyonian seas, unspeakable misery, such comœdies and tragœdies, such absurde and ridiculous, ferall and lamentable fits, that I know not whether they are more to be pitied or derided, or may bee beleeved; but that we daily see the same still practised in our dayes, fresh examples, *nova novitia*, fresh objects of misery and madness in this kinde, that are still represented unto us, abroad, at home, in the midst of us, in our bosomes.

But, before I can come to treat of these several errours and obliquities, their causes, symptomes, affections, &c. I must say something necessarily of the object of this love, God himself; what this love is; how it allureth; whence it proceeds; and (which is the cause of all our miseries) how we mistake, wander and swerve from it.

Amongst all those divine attributes that God doth vindicate to himself, eternity, omnipotency, immutability, wisdome, majesty, justice, mercy, &c. his [k]beauty is not the least. *One thing, saith David, have I desired of the Lord, and that I will still desire, to behold the beauty of the Lord, Psal.* 27. 4. *And out of Sion which is the perfection of beauty, hath God shined, Psal.* 50. 2. All other creatures are faire, I confess; and many other objects do much enamor us, a faire house, a faire horse, a comely person, [l]*I am amazed*, saith Austin, *when I look up to heaven, and behold the beauty of the stars, the beauty of angels, principalities, powers, who can expresse it? who can sufficiently commend, or set out this beauty which appears in us? so faire a body, so faire a face, eys, nose, cheeks, chin, browes, all faire and lovely to behold; besides the beauty of the soule which cannot be discerned. If we so labour, and be so much affected with the comeliness of creatures, how should we be ravished with that admirable lustre of God himself?* If ordinary beauty have such a prerogative and power, and what is amiable and faire, to draw the eys and ears, hearts and affections of all spectatours unto it, to move, win, entise, allure: how shall this divine forme ravish our soules, which is the fountain and quintessence of all beauty? *Cœlum pulchrum, sed pulchrior cœli fabricator;* if heaven be so faire, the sun so faire, how much fairer shall he be, that made them faire? *For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionally the maker of them is seen.* Wisd. 13. 5. If there be such pleasure in beholding a beautifull person alone, and as a plausible sermon, he so much affect us, what shall this beauty of God himself, that is infinitely fairer then all creatures, men, angels, &c. [m]*Omnis pulchritudo florum, hominum, angelorum, et rerum omnium pulcherrimarum ad Dei pulchritudinem collata, nox est et tenebræ;* all other beauties are night it self, meer darkness to this our inexplicable, incomprehensible, unspeakable, eternall, infinite, admirable, and divine beauty. This lustre, *pulchritudo omnium pulcherrima.* This beauty and [n]*splendor of the divine Majesty*, is it that drawes all creatures to it, to seeke it, love, admire, and adore it. And those heathens, pagans, philosophers, out of those

[k] Deus bonus, justus, pulcher, juxta Platonem. [l] Miror et stupeo, cum cœlum aspicio et pulchritudinem siderum, angelorum, &c. et quis digne laudet quod in nobis viget, corpus tam pulchrum, frontem pulcherum, nares, genas, oculos, intellectum, omnia pulchra? si sic in creaturis laboramus quid in ipso Deo? [m] Drexelius Nicet. lib. 2. cap. 11. [n] Fulgor divinæ majestatis. Aug.

reliques they have yet left of Gods image, are so far forth to acknowledge a God, but, though after their own im admiration of his bounty, goodness, to adore and seek cence and structure of the world it self, and beauty of goodness, providence, protection, inforceth them to love him, though a wrong way to adore him. But for us regenerate, that are his adopted sons, illuminated by eys of our hearts and understandings opened; how fair expose himself! *Ambit nos Deus* (Austin saith) *doni* wooes us by his beauty, gifts, promises, to come un *scripture is a message, an exhortation, a love letter to t* us, and invite us; [p] Gods Epistle, as Gregory cals it, *t* sets out his son and his church in that epithalamium Solomon, to enamor us the more; comparing his head *t curled and black as a raven*, Cant. 5. 10. *his eys lik waters, washed with milk; his lippes as lillies, droppi his hands as rings of gold set with chrysolite: and his c a garden inclosed, a fountaine of living waters, an orch with sweet sents of saffron, spike, calamus and cinam of incense, as the chief spices, the fairest amongst w* [q] *his sister, his spouse, undefiled, the onely daughter unto her, faire as the moone, pure as the sun, looking* That by these figures, that glasse, these spiritual eys might perceive some resemblance of his beauty, the lo and him. And so in the 45 Psalm, this beauty of his ch a *Queen in a vesture of gold of Ophir, embroidred rai that the king might take pleasure in her beauty.* To i [r] John in his Apocalypse, makes a description of that the beauty of it, and in it the maker of it; *likening it to like unto cleer glasse, shining and garnished with all stones, having no need of sun or moone: for the lambe glory of God doth illuminate it: to give us to understa beauty and happiness of it.* Not that it is no fairer th which it is compared, but that this vision of his, thi majesty, cannot otherwise be expressed to our apprehe *tell, no heart can conceive it*, as Paul saith. Moses h when he desired to see God in his glory, was answere endure it, no man could see his face and live. *Sen sensum*, a strong object overcometh the sight, accordi philosophy: *fulgorem solis ferre non potes, multo ma* canst not endure the sun beames, how canst thou en brightness of him that made the sun? The sun it self imagine, are but shadowes of it; 'tis *visio præcellens*, a quintessence of beauty this, *which far exceeds the bea and moone, stars, angels, gold and silver, woods, faire j is pleasant to behold.* All those other beauties fail, corruption, to loathing; [t] *but this is an immortall visi an immortall love, an indefatigable love and beauty*, w shall never be tired, nor wearied, but still the more we s covet him. [u] *For as one saith, where this vision is, ther*

[o] In Psal. 64. Misit ad nos epistolas et totam scripturam, quibus nobis
[p] Epist. 48. l. 4. Quid est tota scriptura nisi epistola omnipotentis Dei ad creat
[r] Cap. 21. 11. [s] In Psal. 85. Omnes pulchritudines terrenas auri, arg pulchritudinem solis et lunæ, stellarum, omnia pulchra superans. [t] Imm amor, indefessus amor et visio. [u] Osorius. Ubicunque visio et [illegible] luptas ex eadem fonte omnisque beatitudo, nec ab ejus aspectu vo parari potest.

and where is that beauty, from the same fountaine comes all pleasure and happiness; neither can beauty, pleasure, happiness, be separated from his vision or sight, or his vision from beauty, pleasure, happiness. In this life we have but a glimpse of this beauty and happiness; we shall hereafter, as John saith, see him as he is: thine eys, as Isay promiseth, 33. 17. *shall behold the King in his glory:* then shall we be perfectly enamored, have a full fruition of it, desire, [v] behold and love him alone, as the most amiable and fairest object, or *summum bonum*, the chiefest good.

This likewise should we now have done, had not our will been corrupted; and as we are enjoyned to love God with all our heart, and all our soule: for to that end were we born, to love this object, as [w] Melancthon discourseth, and to enjoye it. *And him our will would have loved and sought alone as our* summum bonum, *or principall good, and all other good things for Gods sake: and nature as she proceeded from it would have sought this fountaine; but in this infirmity of humane nature this order is disturbed, our love is corrupt:* and a man is like that monster in [x] Plato, composed of a Scylla, a lyon and a man. We are carried away headlong with the torrent of our affections: the world, and that infinite variety of pleasing objects in it, do so allure and enamour us, that we cannot so much as look towards God, seeke him, or think on him as we should: we cannot, saith Austin, *rempub. cœlestem cogitare*, we cannot contain our selves from them, their sweetness is so pleasing to us. Marriage, saith [y] Gualter, detains many; *a thing in itself laudable, good and necessary, but many deceived and carried away with the blinde love of it, have quite laid aside the love of God, and desire of his glory. Meat and drinke hath overcome as many, whilest they rather strive to please, satisfie their guts and belly, then to serve God and nature.* Some are so busied about merchandise, to get mony, they loose their own soules, whiles covetously carried; and with an unsatiable desire of gain, they forget God. As much we may say of honour, leagues, friendships, health, wealth, and all other profits or pleasures in this life, whatsoever. [z] *In this world there be so many beautiful objects, splendors and brightness of gold, majesty of glory, assistance of friends, faire promises, smooth words, victories, triumphs, and such an infinite company of pleasing beauties to allure us, and drawe us from God, that we cannot look after him.* And this is it which Christ himself, those prophets and apostles so much thundred against, 1 John 2. 15. dehort us from. *Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world: if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him*, 16. *For all that is in the world, as lust of the fleshe, the lust of the eys, and pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world: and the world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for ever. No man*, saith our Saviour, *can serve two masters, but he must love the one and hate the other, &c. bonos vel malos mores boni vel mali faciunt amores*, Austin well infers: and this is that which all the fathers inculcate. He cannot ([a] Austin admonisheth) bee Gods friend, that is delighted with the pleasures of the world: *make clean thine heart, purifie thine heart, if thou wilt see this beauty, prepare thy self for it. It is the eye of contemplation by which we must behold it; the wing of meditation which lifts us up and rears our soules with the motion of our hearts, and sweetnesse of contemplation.* So saith

[v] Leon. Helræus. Dubitatur an humana felicitas Deo cognoscendo an amando terminetur. [w] Lib. de animâ. Ad hoc objectum amandum et fruendum nati sumus; et hunc expetisset, unicum hunc amasset, humana voluntas, ut summum bonum, et cæteras res omnes eo ordine. [x] 9. de Repub. [y] Hom. 9. in epist. Johannis cap. 2. Multos conjugium decepit, res alioqui salutaris et necessaria, eo quod cæco ejus amore decepti, divini amoris et gloriæ studium in universum abjecerunt; plurimos cibus et potus perdit. [z] In mundo splendor opum, gloriæ majestas, amicitiarum præsidia, verborum blanditiæ, voluptatum omnis generis illecebræ, victoriæ, triumphi, et infinita alia ab amore Dei nos abstrahunt, &c. [a] In Psal. 32. Dei amicus esse non potest, qui mundi studiis delectatur: ut hanc formam videas, munda cor, serena cor, &c.

Gregory, cited by [b] Bonaventure. And as [c] Philo Judæ
that loves God, will soare aloft and take him wings; a
flye up to heaven, wander with sun and moone, stars, and
God himself being his guide. If we desire to see him,
vain objects, which detain us, and dazel our eys; and
us, *get us solar eys, spectacles as they that look on*
divine beauty, lay aside all material objects, all sense,
see him as he is. Thou covetous wretch, as [e] Austin ex
thou stand gaping on this dross, muckhils, filthy excre
fairer object; God himself wooes thee; behold him, en
love. Cant. 5. He invites thee to his sight, to come into h
and drink with him, to be merry with him, to enjoye h
[f] Wisdome cryes out in the streets, besides the gates, in the
fore the city, at the entry of the door, and bids them give
which is better then gold or precious stones; no pleasure
it: leave all then, and follow her, *vos exhortor, ô amici,*
nus words, I exhort and beseech you, *that you would em*
divine love with all your hearts and abilities, by all o
make this so loving God propitious unto you. For who
nus, *we must forsake the kingdomes and empires of the*
and ayr, if we desire to be ingrafted into him, leave all

Now, forasmuch, as this love of God is an *habit infus*
holds, 1. 2. *quæst.* 23. *by which a man is inclined to lo*
his neighbour as himself, we must pray to God that
make cleer our hearts, that we may be capable of his
performe those duties that he requires of us. Deut. 6
love God above all, and our neighbour as our self, to kee
In this we know, saith John, *c.* 5. 2. *we love the childre*
God and keep his commandements. This is the love of
commandements; he that loveth not, knoweth not God,
4. 16. *and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God,*
love presupposeth knowledge, faith, hope, and unites
[j] Leon Hebræus delivereth unto us; and is accompanied
humility, meekness, patience, all those vertues, and charit
God, we shall love our neighbour, and performe the dut
at our hands; to which we are exhorted, 1 Cor. 13. 4. &
Rom. 12. We shall not be envious or puffed up, or
evil, or be provoked to anger, but suffer all things; *e*
unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Forbear on
another, cloath the naked, visit the sick, and perfor
mercy, which [k] Clemens Alexandrinus cals *amoris et a*
extentionem, the extent and complement of love; and
worldly respects, but *ordine ad Deum*, for the love of G
shall do if we be truly enamored; but we come short i
God nor our neighbour as we should. Our love in spir
fective, in worldly things too excessive, there is a jar
the world too much; God too little; our neighbour

[b] Contemplationis pluma nos sublevat, atque inde erigimur intentione cor
distinct. 6. de 7. Itineribus. [c] Lib. de victimis. Amans Deum, sublimia
recte volat, relictâ terrâ, cupidus aberrandi cum sole, lunâ, stellarumque sacrâ
com. Plat. cap. 7. Ut solem videas oculis, fieri debes solaris: ut divinam
materiam, demitte sensum, et Deum qualis sit videbis. [e] Avare, quid inhi
ambit ipsum visurus, ipsum habiturus. [f] Prov. 8. [g] Cap. 18. Rom. Ame
amplexamini; Deum vobis omni officiorum genere propitium facite.
Regna et imperia totius terræ et maris et cœli oportet abjicere, si ad ipsum c
bitus a Deo infusus, per quem inclinatur homo ad diligendum Deum super o
convertit amor in ipsius pulchri naturam. [k] Stromatum lib. 2.

owne ends. *Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.* The chiefe thing we respect is our commodity: and what we do is for fear of worldly punishment, for vain-glory, praise of men, fashion, and such by-respects; not for Gods sake. We neither know God aright, nor seek, love or worship him as we should. And for these defects, we involve our selves into a multitude of errours, we swerve from this true love and worship of God: which is a cause unto us of unspeakable miseries; running into both extreams, we become fooles, madmen, without sense, as now in the next place I will shew you.

The parties affected are innumerable almost, and scattered over the face of the earth, far and neer, and so have been in all precedent ages, from the beginning of the world to these times, of all sorts and conditions. For methods sake, I will reduce them to a twofold division, according to those two extreams of *excess* and *defect*, impiety and superstition, idolatry and atheisme. Not that there is any excess of divine worship or love of God; that cannot be; we cannot love God too much, or do our duty as we ought, as papists hold, or have any perfection in this life, much less supererogate; when we have all done, we are *unprofitable servants.* But because we do *aliud agere*, zealous without knowledge, and too solicitous about that which is not necessary, busying our selves about impertinent, needless, idle, and vaine ceremonies, *populo ut placerent*, as the Jewes did about sacrifices, oblations, offerings, incense, new moones, feasts, &c. but as Isay taxeth them 1. 12. *Who required this at your hands?* We have too great opinion of our owne worth, that we can satisfie the lawe; and do more then is required at our hands, by performing those evangelical counsells, and such works of supererogation, merit for others, which Bellarmine, Gregory de Valentia, all their Jesuites and champions defend, that if God should deal in rigour with them, some of their Franciscans and Dominicans are so pure, that nothing could be objected to them. Some of us again are too dear, as we thinke, more divine and sanctified then others, of a better mettle, greater gifts, and with that proude Pharisee, contemn others in respect of our selves, we are better Christians, better learned, choyce spirits, inspired, know more, have special revelation, perceive Gods secrets, and thereupon presume, say and do many times, what is not befitting to be said or done. Of this number are all superstitious idolaters, ethnicks, Mahometans, Jewes, heretiques, [m]enthusiasts, divinators, prophets, sectaries, and schismatiques. Zanchius reduceth such infidels to four chiefe sectes; but I will insist and follow mine own intended method: all which with many other curious persons, monkes, heremits, &c. may be ranged in this extream, and fight, under this superstitious banner, with those rude idiots, and infinite swarms of people that are seduced by them. In the other extream or in defect, march those impious epicures, libertines, atheists, hypocrites, infidels, worldly, secure, impenitent, unthankful, and carnal-minded men, that attribute all to natural causes, that will acknowledge no supream power; that have cauterized consciences, or live in a reprobate sense: or such desperate persons as are too distrustful of his mercies. Of these there be many subdivisions, divers degrees of madness and folly, some more then other, as shall be shewed in the symptomes: and yet all miserably out, perplexed, doting, and besides themselves for religions sake. For [n]as Zanchy well distinguished, and all the world knowes, religion is twofold, true or false; false is that vain superstition of idolaters, such as were of old, Greekes, Romans, present Mahometans, &c. *Timorem Deorum inanem*, [o]Tully could terme it; or as Zanchy defines it, *ubi falsi Dii, aut falso cultu colitur Deus*, when false gods, or that God is falsely worshipped. And 'tis a miserable plague, a torture of the soule, a meer madness, *religiosa insania*, [p]Meteran cals it, or *insanus error*, as [q]Seneca, a frantick errour; or as Austin, *insanus animi morbus*, a furious

[m] De primo præcepto. [n] De relig. l. 2. Thes. 1. [o] 2 De nat. Deorum. [p] Hist. Belgic. [q] Superstitio error insanus est. epist. 123.

disease of the soule; *insania omnium insanissima*, a qui
[r]for he that is superstitious, can never be quiet. 'Tis
uni superbia, avaritia, superstitio, saith Plin. *lib. 7.*
post sævit de futuro, which wrings his soule for the pres
greatest miserie belongs to mankinde, a perpetual ser
timore timor, an heavie yoak, the seal of damnation, a
They that are superstitious, are still fearing, suspecting,
auguries, prodigies, false tales, dreams, idle, vain worke
as [t]Boterus observes, *curâ mentis ancipite versantur*:
to themselves. In a word, as Seneca concludes, *Reli*
stitio destruit. Superstition destroyes, but true religio
religion, *ubi verus Deus vere colitur*, where the true Go
is the way to heaven, the mother of all vertues, love,
dience, knowledge, &c. It rears the dejected soule o
many cares, miseries, persecutions, which this world a
an unspeakable comforte, a sweet reposal, *jugum suav*
an anchor, and an haven. It addes courage, boldness
spirits: although tyrants rage, persecute, and that bl
be ready to martyr them, *aut lita, aut morere*, (as i
the primitive church, it was put in practice, as you r
and others) though enemies be now ready to invade,
[u]*Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidos ferient ruinæ*,
fall on his head, he would not be dismaid. But as a
once made answer to a menacing Turke, *facile scel*
contemnit, qui Dei præsidio tutus est: or as [v]Phalar
a wrong cause, he nor any other enemie could terrifie l
in God. *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* In all
whatsoever, as David did, 2 Sam. 22. 2. he will sin
is my rock, my fortresse, my strength, my refuge, the
salvation, &c. In all troubles and adversities, Psal. 4
and helpe, still ready to be founde, I will not therefo
expelling feare; he hath peace of conscience, and is
(saith [w]Austin) *vita vitæ mortalis*, the life of this our
mortality, the sole comfort of our miserie: otherwise
others *were most wretched*; but this makes us happ
hearts in all miserie; superstition torments, and is from
of lyes; but this is from God himself, as Lucian that
his divine confession in [x]Eusebius, *Auctor nobis de*
the author of our religion himself; his word is our r
dictated by the Holy Ghost, he playes upon our hea
strings, and we are his temples, he dwelleth in us, and

The part affected of superstition, is the braine, hear
soule itself, and all the faculties of it, *totum compositum*
Now for the extent, as I say, the world it self is the
that grand sin of atheisme) all times have been miss
there is not one that doth good, no not one, from the
&c. A lamentable thing it is to consider, how many
idolatrie and superstition (for that comprehends all) hath
besotted by this blind zeale, which is religions ape, reli
shadow, false glasse. For where God hath a temple,
chappel: where God hath sacrifices, the divel will hav
God hath ceremonies, the divel will have his tradition
religion, the divel will plant superstition; and 'tis a
and reade, what tortures, miseries it hath procured

[r] Nam qui superstitione l
[t] Hor. [u] Epist. Phalar
[x] Lib

it hath made; how it raged amongst those old Persians, Syrians, Ægyptians, Greekes, Romans, Tuscans, Gaules, Germanes, Britaines, &c. *Britannia jam hodie celebrat tam attonite*, saith [y] Pliny, *tantis ceremoniis*, (speaking of superstition) *ut dedisse Persis videri possit.* The Britaines are so stupendly superstitious in their ceremonies, that they go beyond those Persians. He that shall but reade in Pausanias alone, those gods, temples, altars, idols, statues, so curiously made with such infinite cost and charge, amongst those old Greekes, such multitudes of them, and frequent varieties, as [z] Gerbelius truely observes, may stand amazed, and never enough wonder at it: and thank God withall, that by the light of the Gospel, we are so happily freed from that slavish idolatrie in these our dayes. But heretofore, almost in all countries, in all places superstition hath blinded the hearts of men. In all ages, what a small portion hath the true church ever been! *Divisum imperium cum Jove Dæmon habet.* The Patriarchs and their families, the Israelites a handfull in respect, Christ and his Apostles, and not all of them neither. Into what straights hath it been compinged, a little flocke! how hath superstition on the other side dilated her self, errour, ignorance, barbarisme, folly, madness, deceived, triumphed, and insulted over the most wise, discreet and understanding men, philosophers, dynastes, monarches, all were involved and over-shadowed in this mist, in more then Cymmerian darkness. [a]*Adeo ignara superstitio mentes hominum depravat, et nonnumquam sapientûm animos transversos agit.* At this present, *quota pars!* How small a part is truely religious! How little in respect! Divide the world into six parts, and one, or not so much, is Christians. Idolaters and Mahometans possesse almost Asia, Africke, America, Magellanica. The kings of China, great Cham, Siam and Bornaye, Pegu, Decan, Narsinga, Japan, &c. are gentiles, idolaters, and many other pettie princes in Asia, Monomotopa, Congo, and I knowe not how many Negro princes in Africke, all Terra Australis incognita, most of America, Pagans, differing all in their severall superstitions; and yet all idolaters. The Mahometans extend themselves over the great Turkes dominions in Europe, Africke, Asia, to the Xeriffes in Barbary, and his territories in Fez, Sus, Morocco, &c. The Tartar, the great Mogor, the Sophy of Persia, with most of her dominions and subjects, are at this day Mahometans. See how the divel rageth. Those at oddes, or differing among themselves, some for [b]Alli, some for Enbocar, for Aomar, and Ozimen, those foure doctours, Mahomets successours, and are subdivided into 72 inferior sectes, as [c]Leo Afer reports. The Jewes, as a company of vagabonds are scattered over all parts; whose story, present estate, progresse from time to time, is fully set down by [d]Mr. Thomas Jackson, doctor of divinity, in his comment on the Creed. A fift part of the world, and hardly that, now professeth CHRIST; but so inlarded and interlaced with several superstitions, that there is scarse a sound part to be founde, or any agreement amongst them. Presbyter John in Africke, lord of those Abyssines, or Æthiopians, is by his profession a Christian, but so different from us, with such new absurdities and ceremonies, such liberty, such a mixture of idolatry and paganisme, [e]that they keep little more then a bare title of Christianitie. They suffer polygamy, circumcision, stupend fastings, divorce as they will themselves, &c. and as the Papists call on the Virgin Mary, so do they on Thomas Didymus before Christ. [f]The Greeke or Eastern Church, is rent from this of the West, and as they have foure chief Patriarchs so have they foure subdivisions, besides those Nestorians, Jacobines, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, &c. scattered over Asia Minor, Syria, Ægypt, &c. Greece, Valachia, Circassia, Bulgary, Bosnia, Albania,

[y] Lib. 3. cap. [z] Lib. 6. descrip. Græc. Nulla est via quâ non innumeris idolis est referta. Tantum tunc emporii in miserrimos mortales potentiæ et crudelis tyrannidis Satan exercuit. [a] Alex. ab Alex. lib. 6. ap. 26. [b] Purchas Pilgrim. lib. 1. c. 3. [c] Lib. 3. [d] 2 part. sec. 3. lib. 1. cap. et deinceps. [e] *Thelmanus. Maginus. Bredenbachius.* Fr. Aluaresius Itin. de Abyssinis. *Rerbis solum vescuntur volucris, quia mento tenus dormiunt, &c.* [f] Bredenbachius Jod. a Meggen.

Illyricum, Sclavonia, Croatia, Thrace, Servia, Ras
amongst the Tartars. The Russians, Muscovites, ar
dukes subjects, are part of the Greeke church, and s
[g] one saith, *temporis successu multas illi addiderunt*
cesse of time, they have added so many superstition
Christians, then otherwise. That which remaines i
with us in Europe; but so eclipsed with severall
superstitions, that one knows not where to finde it.
Spaine, Savoy, part of Germany, France, Poland, ar
rest of Europe. In America, they hold all that wh
Hispania Nova, Castella Aurea, Peru, &c. In the I
pinæ, some small holds about Goa, Malacha, Zelan,
Portugall got not long since, and those land-leaping J
China, Japan, as appears by their yeerly letters; in Afri
Quiloa, Mombaza, &c. and some fewe towns, they di
with another. Poland is a receptacle of all religio
Socinians, Photinians (now protected in Transilvania
Anabaptists are to be found, as well as in some Ger
Christian, but as [h] Damianus A-Goes the Portugall
mixt with magick, pagan rites, and ceremonies, they
idolaters. What Tacitus formerly said of a like natio
[i] *a people subject to superstition, contrary to religion*
as about Lapland and the Pilapians, the divels possessi
hæc gens (saith mine [j] authour) *Satanæ hactenus poss*
mirandum et dolendum, and which is to be admired an
be baptized, which the kings of Sweden much labour,
dayes after; and for that cause they will hardly be l
but worship still the divel, who daily appears to the
courses, *gaudentibus Diis patriis, quos, religiose col*
very superstitious, like our wilde Irish. Though they
kings of Denmark and Sweden themselves, that gove
the remnant are Calvinists, Lutherans; in Germany
the emperour himself, dukes of Loraine, Bavaria, and
most part professed papists. And though some part
Great Britaine, half the cantos in Suitzerland, and
Calvinists, more defecate then the rest, yet at oddes a
free from superstition. And which [k] Brochard the m
of the holy land, after he had censured the Greeke ch
errours, concluded at last, *Faxit Deus ne Latinis mult*
I say, God grant there be no fopperies in our church.
stopt in one place breaks out into another, so dot
nothing of Anabaptists, Socinians, Brownists, Barr
There is superstition in our prayers; often in our hea
contentions, invectives, persecutions, strange conceit
opinions, schismes, factions, &c. But as the Lord (Job
the Temanite, and his two friends, *his wrath was kin*
they had not spoken of him things that were right:
schismatiques, and heretiques, how wise soever in their
de Deo, they speak not, they think not, they
[illegible] aright. And therefore, *Quid quæso,*
Dorpius, *hisce theologis fasciamus,*
qui cerebro medeatur? Wh
and a good physician? But mo

[illegible] Martin. D. Fletcher, Jovius. Haclult,
[illegible] tional obnoxi
[illegible] mortuntur.

paradoxes, opinions, mad prankes, in the symptomes: I now hasten to the causes.

SUBSECT. II.—*Causes of Religious Melancholy. From the Divel; by miracles, apparitions, oracles. His instruments or factors; polititians, priests, impostors, heretiques, blinde guides. In them, simplicity, fear, blinde zeal, ignorance, solitariness, curiosity, pride, vain-glory, presumption, &c. his engins; fasting, solitariness, hope, fear, &c.*

WE are taught in holy Scripture, that the *divel rangeth abroad like a roaring lyon, still seeking whom he may devour:* and as in severall shapes, so by severall engins and devices he goeth about to seduce us. Sometimes he transforms himself into an angel of light; and is so cunning, that he is able, if it were possible, to deceive the very elect. He will be worshipped as [l] God himself; and is so adored by the heathen, and esteemed. And in imitation of that divine power, [m] as Eusebius observes, [n] to abuse or emulate Gods glory, as Dandinus addes, he will have all homage, sacrifices, oblations, and whatsoever else belongs to the worship of God, to be done likewise unto him, *similis erit altissimo*, and by this meanes infatuates the world, deludes, intraps, and destroys many a thousand soules. Sometimes by dreams, visions (as God to Moses by familiar conference) the divel in severall shapes talks with them. In the [o] Indies, it is common; and in China nothing so familiar as apparitions, inspirations, oracles, by terrifying them with false prodigies, counterfeit miracles, sending storms, tempests, diseases, plagues (as of old in Athens there was Apollo Alexicacus, Apollo λοιμιος, *pestifer et malorum depulsor*) raising wars, seditions by spectrums, troubling their consciences, driving them to despair, terrours of minde, intolerable pains; by promises, rewards, benefits, and faire meanes, he raiseth such an opinion of his deity and greatness, that they dare not do otherwise then adore him; do as he will have them; they dare not offend him. And to compel them more to stand in awe of him, [p] *he sends and cures diseases, disquiets their spirits,* (as Cyprian saith) *torments and terrifies their soules, to make them adore him: and all his study, all his endeavour is to divert them from true religion to superstition: and because he is damned himself, and in an errour, he would have all the world participate of his errours, and be damned with him.* The *primum mobile* therefore, and first mover of all superstition, is the divel, that great enemy of mankind, the principal agent, who in a thousand several shapes, after divers fashions, with several engins, illusions, and by several names, hath deceived the inhabitants of the earth, in several places and countries, still rejoycing at their fals. *All the world over, before Christs time, he freely domineered, and held the soules of men in most slavish subjection,* saith [q] Eusebius, *in divers formes, ceremonies, and sacrifices, till Christs coming;* as if those divels of the ayr had shared the earth amongst them; which the Platonists held for Gods ([r] *Ludus Deorum sumus*) and were our governours and keepers. In several places, they had several rites, orders, names, of which read *Wierus de præstigiis dæmonum lib. 1. cap. 5.* [s] Strozius, Cicogna, and others. Adonided amongst the Syrians; Adramelech amongst

[l] Plato in Crit. Dæmones custodes sunt hominum et eorum domini, ut nos animalium; nec hominibus, sed et regionibus imperant, vaticiniis, auguriis, somniis, oraculis, nos regunt. Idem fere Max. Tyrius ser. 1. et 26. 27. Medios vult dæmones inter Deos et homines Deorum ministros, præsides hominum, a cœlo ad homines descendentes. [m] De præparat. Evangel. [n] Vel in abusum Dei vel in æmulationem. Dandinus com. in lib. 2. Arist. de An. Text. 29. [o] Dæmones consulunt, et familiares habent dæmones plerique sacerdotes. Riccius lib. 1. cap. 10. expedit. Sinar. [p] Vitam turbant, somnos inquietant, irrepentes etiam in corpora mentes terrent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos lacessunt, ut ad cultum sui cogant, nec aliud his studium, quam ut a verâ religione ad superstitionem vertant; cum sint ipsi pœnales, quærunt sibi ad pœnas comites, ut habeant erroris participes. [q] Lib. 4. præparat. Evangel. Tantamque victoriam amentiâ hominum consequuti sunt, ut si colligere in unum velis, universum orbem istis scelestibus spiritibus subjectum falsos invenies. Usque ad Salvatoris adventum, hominum cæde perniciosissimos dæmones placabant, &c. [r] Plato. [s] Strozius, Cicogna omnif. mag. lib. 3 cap. 7. Ezek. 8. 10. Reg. 11. 4. Reg. 3. et 17. 14. Jer. 49. Num. 21. 3. Reg. 13.

the Capernaites; Asiniæ amongst the Emathites; Astartes with the Sydonians; Asteroth with the Palestines; Dagon with the Philistines; Tartari with the Hanæi; Melchonis amongst the Ammonites; Beli the Babylonian; Beelzebub and Baal with the Samaritans and Moabites; Apis, Isis and Osyris amongst the Ægyptians; Apollo Pythius at Delphos, Colophon, Ancyra, Cuma, Erythra; Jupiter in Crete; Venus at Cyprus; Juno at Carthage; Æsculapius at Epidaurus; Diana at Ephesus; Pallas at Athens, &c. And even in these our dayes, both in the East and West Indies, in Tartary, China, Japan, &c. what strange idols, in what prodigious formes, with what absurd ceremonies are they adored! What strange Sacraments, like ours of Baptisme and the Lords Supper; what goodly temples, priests, sacrifices they had in America, when the Spaniards first landed there, let Acosta the Jesuite relate, *lib. 5. cap.* 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. and how the divel imitated the ark, and the children of Israel coming out of Egypt: with many such. For as Lipsius well discourseth out of the doctrine of the Stoicks, *maxime cupiunt adorationem hominum*, now and of olde, they still and most especially, desire to be adored by men. See but what Vertomannus, *l. 5. c. 2.* Marcus Polus, Lerius, Benzo, P. Martyr in his Ocean Decades, Acosta, and Mat. Riccius *expedit. Christ. in Sinas lib.* 1. relate. [t] Eusebius wonders how that wise city of Athens, and flourishing kingdomes of Greece should be so besotted; and we, in our times, how those witty Chinese, so perspicacious in all other things, should be so gulled, so tortured with superstition, so blinde as to worship stockes and stones. But it is no marvel, when we see all out as great effects amongst Christians themselves: how are those Anabaptists, Arrians, and Papists above the rest miserably infatuated! Mars, Jupiter, Apollo, and Æsculapius, have resigned their interest, names and offices to Saint George,

[u] (Maxime bellorum rector, quem nostra juventus
Pro Mavorte colit.)

S[t]. Christopher, and a company of fictitious saints; Venus to the lady of Lauretta. And as those old Romans had several distinct gods, for divers offices, persons, places, so have they saints, as [v] Lavater well observes out of Lactantius, *mutato nomine tantum*, 'tis the same spirit or divel that deludes them still. The manner, how, as I say, is by rewards, promises, terrours, affrights, punishments. In a word, faire and foule meanes, hope and feare. How often hath Jupiter, Apollo, Bacchus, and the rest, sent plagues in [w] Greece and Italy, because their sacrifices were neglected!

[x] Dii multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiæ mala luctuosæ,

to terrifie them, to rouse them up, and the like: see but Livy, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Philostratus, [y] Polybius, before the battel of Cannas, *prodigiis, signis, ostentis, templa cuncta, privatæ etiam ædes scatebant.* Oeneus raigned in Ætolia, and because he did not sacrifice to Diana with his other gods (see more in Libanius his Diana) she sent a wilde bore, *insolitæ magnitudinis, qui terras et homines misere depascebatur*, to spoile both men and country, which was afterwards killed by Meleager. So Plutarch in the life of Lucullus relates, how Mithridates, king of Pontus, at the siege of Cizicum, with all his navy was overthrown by Proserpina, for neglecting of her holy daye. She appeared in a vision to Aristagoras in the night, *Cras, inquit, tibicinem Libycum cum tibicine Pontico committam*, and the daye following this ænigma was understood; for with a great south winde which came from Libya, she quite overwhelmed Mithridates army. What prodigies and miracles, dreams, visions, predictions, apparitions, oracles, have been of olde at Delphos, Dodona, Trophonius denne, at Thebes, and Lebaudia, of Jupiter Ammon in Ægypt, Amphiareus in Attica, &c. what strange

[t] *Lib. 4. cap. 8. prepar.* [u] *Bapt. Mant. 4. Fast. de Sancto Georgio.* [v] *Part. 1. cap. 1. et lib. 2. cap. 2.*
[w] *Polyd. Virg. lib. 1. de prodig.* [x] *Hor. l. 3. od. 6.* [y] *Lib. 3. hist.*

cures performed by Apollo and Æsculapius; Junos image; and that of [a] Fortune spake? [a] Castor and Pollux fought in person for the Romans, against Hannibals army, as Pallas, Mars, Juno, Venus, for Greekes and Trojans, &c. Amongst our pseudocatholiques, nothing so familiar as such miracles. How many cures done by our lady of Lauretta, at Sichem! of olde, at our S^t^ Thomas shrine, &c. [b] S^t^ Sabine was seen to fight for Arnulphus duke of Spoleto; [c] S^t^ George fought in person for John the bastard of Portugal, against the Castilians; S^t^ James for the Spaniards in America. In the battel of Bannoxburn, where Edward the seconde, our English king, was foyled by the Scots, S^t^ Philanus arm was seen to fight (if [d] Hector Boëthius doth not impose) that was before shut up in a silver capcase: Another time in the same authour, S^t^ Magnus fought for them. Now for visions, revelations, miracles, not onely out of the Legend, out of purgatory, but every daye comes newes from the Indies, and at home, read the Jesuites letters, Ribadineira, Thurselinus, Acosta, Lippomanus, Xaverius, Ignatius lives, &c. and tell me what difference?

His ordinary instruments or factors, which he useth, as God himself did good kings, lawful magistrates, patriarchs, prophets, to the establishing of his church, [e] are polititians, statesmen, priests, heretiques, blinde guides, impostours, pseudoprophets, to propagate his superstition. And first to begin with polititians: it hath ever been a principal axiome with them, to maintain religion, or superstition, which they determine of, alter and vary upon all occasions, as to them seems best. They make religion meer policie, a cloak, a humane invention; *nihil æque valet ad regendos vulgi animos ac superstitio*, as [f] Tacitus and [g] Tully holde. Austin *l.* 4. *de civitat. Dei c.* 9. censures Scævola saying and acknowledging, *expedire civitates religione falli*, that it was a fit thing cities should be deceived by religion, according to the diverbe, *Si mundus vult decipi, decipiatur*, if the world will be gulled, let it be gulled; 'tis good howsoever to keep it in subjection. 'Tis that [h] Aristotle and [i] Plato inculcate in their politiques; *Religion neglected, brings plagues to the citie, opens a gap to all naughtiness.* 'Tis that which all our late politicians ingeminate. Cromerus *l.* 2. *pol. hist.* Boterus, *l.* 3. *de incrementis urbium*, Clapmarius *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *Arcanis rerump.* Arnisæus *cap.* 4. *lib.* 2. *polit.* Captain Machiavel will have a prince, by all meanes to counterfeit religion, to be superstitious in shew, at least; to seem to be devoute, frequent holy exercises, honour divines, love the church, affect priests, as Numa, Lycurgus, and such law-makers were, and did; *non ut his fidem habeant, sed ut subditos religionis metu facilius in officio contineant*, to keep people in obedience. [j] *Nam naturaliter* (as Cardan writes) *lex Christiana lex est pietatis, justitiæ, fidei, simplicitatis, &c.* But this errour of his, Innocentius Jentilettus a French lawyer, *Theorem.* 9. *comment.* 1. *de Relig.* and Thomas Bozius, in his book *de ruinis gentium et regnorum*, have copiously confuted. Many polititians, I dare not denye, maintain religion as a true meanes, and sincerely speake of it without hypocrisie; are truely zealous and religious themselves. Justice and religion are the two chief props and supporters of a well governed commonwealth: but most of them are but Machiavellians; counterfeits only for politicall ends; for, *Solus Rex* (which Campanella *cap.* 18. *Atheismi Triumphati* observes) as amongst our modern Turkes, Reipub. Finis, as knowing [k] *magnum ejus in animos imperium*; and that as [l] Sabellicus delivers, *a man without religion is like an horse without a bridle.* No

[a] Gratâ lege me dicâstis, mulieres, Dion Halicarn. [a] Tully de nat. Deorum lib. 2. Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit. [b] Jo. Molanus lib. 3. cap. 59. [c] Pet. Oliver. De Johanne primo Portugalliæ rege strenue pugnans, et adversæ partis ictus clypeo excipiens. [d] L. 14. Loculos sponte aperuisse et pro iis pugnâsse. [e] Religion, as they holde, is policie, invented alone to keep men in awe. [f] 1. Annal. [g] Omnes religione moventur. 5. in Verrem. [h] Zeleucus, præfat. legis. Qui urbem aut regionem inhabitant, persuasos esse oportet esse Deos. [i] 10. de legibus. Religio neglecta maximam postea in civitatem infert, omnium scelerum fenestram aperit. [j] Cardanus Com. in Ptolomæum quadripart. [k] Lipsius l. 1. c. 3. [l] Homo sine religione, sicut equus sine fræno.

way better to curb then superstition, to terrifie mens consciences, and to keep them in awe: they make new lawes, statutes, invent new religions, ceremonies, as so many stalking horses, to their owne ends. [m] *Hæc enim (religio) si falsa sit, dummodo vera credatur, animorum ferociam domat, libidines coercet, subditos principi obsequentes efficit. Therefore* (saith [n] Polybius of Lycurgus) *did he maintain ceremonies, not that he was superstitious himselfe, but that he perceived mortal men more apt to embrace paradoxes, then ought else, and durst attempt no evil things for feare of the gods.* This was Zamolcus stratagem amongst the Thracians; Numas plot, when he said he had conference with the nymph Ægeria; and that of Sertorius with an hart; to get more credit to their decrees, by deriving them from the gods; or else they did all by divine instinct, which Nicholas Damascen well observes of Lycurgus, Solon, and Minos, they had their lawes dictated, *monte sacro*, by Jupiter himself. So Mahomet referred his new lawes to the [o] Angel Gabriel, by whose direction, he gave out, they were made. Caligula, in Dion, fained himself to be familiar with Castor and Pollux, and many such, which kept those Romans under, (who, as Machiavel proves, *lib.* 1. *disput. cap.* 11 *et* 12. were *religione maxime moti*, most superstitious:) and did curb the people more by this meanes, then by force of armes, or severity of humane lawes. *Sola plebecula eam agnoscebat* (saith Vaninus *dial.* 1. *lib.* 4. *de admirandis naturæ arcanis*) speaking of religion, *quæ facile decipitur, magnates vero et philosophi nequaquam;* your grandies and philosophers had no such conceit, *sed ad imperii conformationem et amplificationem, quam sine prætextu religionis tueri non poterant;* and many thousands in all ages have ever held as much, philosophers especially, *animadvertebant hi semper hæc esse fabellas, attamen ob metum publicæ potestatis silere cogebantur*, they were still silent for fear of lawes, &c. To this end, that Syrian Phyresides, Pythagoras his master, broached in the East amongst the heathens, first the immortality of the soule, as Trismegistus did in Ægypt, with a many of fained Gods. Those French and Britain druides in the west, first taught, saith [p] Cæsar, *non interire animas, but after death to go from one to another, that so they might encourage them to vertue.* 'Twas for a politique end; and to this purpose the old poets fained those [q] Elysian fields, their Æacus, Minos, and Rhadamantus, their infernal judges, and those Stygian lakes, fiery Phlegetons, Plutos kingdome, and variety of torments after death. Those that had done well, went to the Elysian fields; but evil doers to Cocytus, and to that burning lake of [r] hell, with fire and brimstone for ever to be tormented. 'Tis this which [s] Plato labors for in his Phædon, *et* 9. *de rep.* The Turkes in their Alcoran, when they set down rewards, and severall punishments for every particular vertue aud vice; [t] when they perswade men, that they that dye in battle, shall go directly to heaven; but wicked livers to eternal torment, and all of all sortes (much like our papistical purgatory) for a set time shall be tortured in their graves, as appears by that tract which John Baptista Alfaqui that Mauritanian priest, now turned Christian, hath written in his confutation of the Alcoran. After a mans death two black angels, Nunquir and Nequir (so they call them) come to him to his grave, and punish him for his precedent sins; if he lived well they torture him the less; if ill, *per indesinentes cruciatus ad diem judicii*, they incessantly punish him to the daye of judgement. *Nemo viventium qui ad horum mentionem non totus horret et contremiscit*, the thought of this cruc fies them all

[m] Vaninus dial. 52. de oraculis. [n] Lib. 10. Ideo Lycurgus, &c. non quod ipse superstitiosus, sed quod videret mortales paradoxa facilius amplecti, nec res graves audere sine periculo Deorum. [o] Cleonardus *epist.* 1. Novas leges suas ad Angelum Gabrielem referebat, quo monitore, mentiebatur omnia se gerere. [p] *Lib.* 16. belli Gallici. Ut metu mortis neglecto, ad virtutem incitarent. [q] De his lege Lucianum de luctu Tom. 1. Homer. Odyss. 11. Virg. Æn. 6. [r] Barathro sulfure et flammâ stagnante æternum demergebantur. [s] Et 3. de repub. Omnis institutio adolescentium eo referenda, ut de Deo bene sentiant, ob commune bonum. [t] Boterus.

their lives long, and makes them spende their dayes in fasting and prayer, *ne mala hæc contingant, &c.* A Tartar prince, saith Marcus Polus, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 28. called Senex de montibus, the better to establish his government amongst his subjects, and to keepe them in awe, found a convenient place in a pleasant valley, environed with hils, in [u] *which he made a delitious park, full of odoriferous flowres and fruits, and a palace full of all worldly contents,* that could possibly be devised, musick, pictures, variety of meats, &c. and chose out a certain yong man, whom with a [v] *soporiferous potion* he so benummed, that he perceived nothing: *and so, fast asleep as he was, caused him to be conveyed into this faire garden.* Where after he had lived a while in all such pleasures a sensual man could desire, [w] *he cast him into a sleep againe, and brought him forth, that when he awaked he might tell others he had been in paradise.* The like he did for hell, and by this meanes brought his people to subjection. Because heaven and hell are mentioned in the scriptures, and to be beleeved necessary by Christians: so cunningly can the divel and his ministers, in imitation of true religion, counterfeit and forge the like, to circumvent and delude his superstitious followers. Many such trickes and impostures are acted by polititians, in China especially, but with what effect I will discourse in the symptomes.

Next to polititians, if I may distinguish them, are some of our priests, (who make religion policy) if not far beyond them, for they domineer over princes and statesmen themselves. *Carnificinam exercent,* one saith, they tyrannize over mens consciences more then any other tormentors whatsoever, partly for their commodity and gaine; *religionum enim omnium abusûs* (as [x] Postellus holds) *quæstus scilicet sacrificûm in causâ est:* for soveraignty, credit, to maintain their state and reputation, out of ambition and avarice, which are their chiefe supporters. What have they not made the common people beleeve? Impossibilities in nature, incredible things; what devices, traditions, ceremonies, have they not invented in all ages, to keep men in obedience, to enrich themselves? *Quibus quæstui sunt capti superstitione animi,* as [y] Livy saith. Those Ægyptian priests of old, got all the soveraignty into their hands, and knowing, [z] as Curtius insinuates, *nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit quam superstitio; melius vatibus quam ducibus parent, vanâ religione capti, etiam impotentes fœminæ;* the common people will sooner obey priests then captains, and nothing so forcible as superstition, or better then blind zeale to rule a multitude; have so terrified and gulled them, that it is incredible to relate. All nations almost, have been besotted in this kinde. Amongst our Brittaines and old Gaules the Druides; Magi in Persia; Philosophers in Greece; Chaldeans amongst the Orientall; Brachmanni in India; Gymnosophists in Æthiopia; the Turditanes in Spaine; Augures in Rome, have insulted; Apollos priests in Greece, Phœbades and Pythonissæ, by their oracles and phantasmes; Amphiaraus and his companions; now Mahometan and Pagan priests, what can they not effect? How doe they not infatuate the world? *Adeo ubique* (as [a] Scaliger writes of the Mahometan priests) *tum gentium tum locorum, gens ista sacrorum ministra, vulgi secat spes, ad ea quæ ipsi fingunt somnia,* so cunningly can they gull the commons in all places and countries. But above all others, that high priest of Rome, the dam of that monstrous and superstitious brood, the bull-bellowing pope, which now rageth in the west, that three-headed Cerberus hath plaid his part. [b] *Whose religion at this day is meer policie, a state wholly composed of superstition and wit, and needs nothing but wit and superstition to maintain it: that useth colledges and*

[u] Citra aquam, viridarium plantavit maximum et pulcherrimum, floribus odoriferis et suavibus fructibus plenum, &c. [v] Potum quendam dedit, quo inescatus, et gravi sopore oppressus, in viridarium interim deportatur, &c. [w] Atque iterum memoratum potum bibendum exhibuit, et sic extra Paradisum reduxit, ut cum evigilaret, sopore soluto, &c. [x] Lib. 1. de orb. Concord. cap. 7. [y] Lib. 4. [z] Lib. 4. [a] Exerc. 220. [b] Sir Ed. Sands.

religious houses to as good purpose as forts and castl this day by a company of scribling parasites, fiery s anchorites, hypocritical confessours, and those pretoria sary Jesuites, (that dissociable society, as [c] Langius term ***conatus, et sæculi excrementum***, that now stand in the fc will have a monopoly of, and ingrosse all other learn divinity; [d] ***Excipiunt soli totius vulnera belli***, and figh rest are but his dromedaries and asses) then ever he cou sons and armies. What power of prince, or pœnal law could enforce men to doe that which for conscience sak undergo? As to fast from all fleshe, abstain from marriag at midnight, whip themselves, with stupend fasting and p world, wilfull poverty, perform canonical and blinde o their goods, fortunes, bodies, lives, and offer up themsel feet, at his command? What so powerful an engin as su right well perceiving, are of no religion at all themselv Calvin rightly suspects, the tenor and practice of the ***illius theologiæ, quod apud eos regnat, caput est, nu*** hold there is no God, as Leo 10 did, Hildebrand the r Julius 2. meer atheists, and which the common prov proves; [e] ***The worst Christians of Italy are the Roma priests are wildest, the lewdest priests are preferred to buddest man amongst the cardinals is chosen to be pc*** as most part the popes are, infidels and Lucianists, for leeve; and what is said of Christ, to be fables and imp hell, day of judgement, paradise, immortality of the so

[f] Rumores vani, verbaque inania,
Et par sollicito fabula somnio,

Dreams, toyes, and old wives tales. Yet as so many other tools cut, but cut not themselves, though they they will make others most devout and superstitious, b compel, enforce from, and lead them by the nose like s when as their end is not to propagate the church, ad seeke his glory or common good; but to enrich them territories, to domineer and compel them to stand in tion to the see of Rome. For what otherwise care t ***decipi, decipiatur;*** 'tis fit it should be so. And wl Varro to maintain his Roman religion, we may better ***vera, quæ vulgus scire non est utile; pleraque falsa, timare populum expedit;*** some things are true, som owne ends they will not have the gullish commonalty t may witness their intolerable covetousness, strang fooleries, unrighteous subtleties, impostures, illusions doxes, traditions, false miracles, which they have still cumvent and subjugate them, to maintain their own e buls, pardons, indulgences, and their doctrine of go meritorious; hope of heaven by that meanes, they h monalty, and spurred on this free superstitious horse blinde, and is an asse to carry burdens. They have trimony, that from a poor bishop, he is become ***rex nantium***, a demi-god, as his canonists make him (Feli God himselfe. And for his wealth and [j] temporalties,

[c] In consult. de princ. inter provinc. Europ. [d] Lucian. [e] Sir Ed. Sa
[f] Vice cotis, acutum Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.
[j] *Seeking* their own, saith Paul, not Christs. [j] He hath the dutchy of *of Ancona*, beside Rome, and the territories adjacent, Bologna, Ferrara, &c.

kings; [k]his cardinals, princes companions; and in every kingdome almost, abbots, priors, monkes, friers, &c. and his cleargy have ingrossed a [l]third part, half, in some places all, into their hands. Three prince electors in Germany, bishops; besides Magdeburge, Spire, Saltsburge, Breme, Bamberge, &c. In France, as Bodine, *lib. de repub.* gives us to understand, their revenues are twelve millions, and three hundred thousand livres; and of twelve parts of the revenues in France, the church possesseth seven. The Jesuites, a new sect begun in this age, have, as [m]Middendorpius and [n]Pelargus reckon up, three or foure hundred colledges in Europe, and more revenues then many princes. In France, as Arnoldus proves, in thirty yeares they have got *bis centum librarum millia annua*, 200000*l.* I say nothing of the rest of their orders. We have had in England, as Armachanus demonstrates, above thirty thousand friers at once, and as [o]Speed collects out of Lelande and others, almost 600 religious houses, and neer two hundred thousand pound, in revenues of the old rent, belonging to them; besides images of gold, silver, plate, furniture, goods and ornaments, as [p]Weever calculates, and esteems them at the dissolution of abbies, worth a million of gold. How many towns in every kingdome hath superstition enriched! What a deal of mony by musty reliques, images, idolatry, have their mass-priests ingrossed, and what sums have they scraped by their other tricks! Lauretum in Italy, Walsingham in England, in those dayes, *ubi omnia auro nitent*, saith Erasmus, S[t]. Thomas shrine, &c. may witness. [q]Delphos so renowned of old in Greece, for Apollos oracle, *Delos commune conciliabulum et emporium sol[i] religione munitum;* Dodona, whose fame and wealth were sustained by religion, were not so rich, so famous. If they can get but a relique of some saint, the Virgin Maries picture, idols or the like, that city is for ever made, it needs no other maintenance. Now if any of these their impostures, or jugling tricks be controverted, or called in question: If a magnanimous or zealous Luther, an heroical Luther, as [r]Dithmarus cals him, dare touch the monkes bellies, all is in a combustion, all is in an uprore. Demetrius and his associates are ready to pull him in pieces, to keep up their trades, [s] *Great is Diana of the Ephesians:* With a mighty shout of two houres long they will roare and not be pacified.

Now for their authority: what by auricular confession, satisfaction, penance, Peters keyes, thundrings, excommunications, &c. roaring buls, this high priest of Rome, shaking his Gorgons head, hath so terrified the soule of many a silly man, insulted over Majesty it self, and swaggered generally over all Europe for many ages, and still doth to some, holding them as yet in slavish subjection, as never tyrannizing Spaniards did by their poor Negroes, or Turkes by their gally-slaves. [t] *The Bishop of Rome* (saith Stapleton, a parasite of his, *de mag. Eccles. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.) *hath done that without armes, which those Roman emperours could never atchieve with forty legions of souldiers;* deposed kings, and crowned them again with his foot; made friends and corrected at his pleasure, &c. [u]*'Tis a wonder*, saith Machiavel, *Florentinæ hist. lib.* 1. *what slavery king Henry the second endured for the death of Tho. a Becket, what things he was enjoyned by the Pope, and how he submitted himself to doe that which in our times, a private man would not endure*, and all through superstition. [v]Henry the fourth, deposed of his empire, stood bare-footed with his wife at the gates of Canossus. [w]Fredericke

[k] Estote fratres mei, et principes hujus mundi. [l] The laity suspect their greatness, witness those statutes of mortmain. [m] Lib. 8. de Academ. [n] Præfat. lib. de paradox. Jesuit. Rom. provincia habet Col. 26. Neapol. 23. Veneta 13. Lusit. 15. India orient. 27. Brasil. 20, &c. [o] In his Chronic. vit. Hen. 8. [p] 15 cap. of his funeral Monuments. [q] Pausanias in Laconicis lib. 3. Idem de Achaicis lib. 3. Cujus summæ opes, et valde inclyta fama. [r] Exercit. Eth. Colleg. 3. disp. 3. [s] Act. 19. 28. [t] Pontifex Romanus prorsus inermis regibus terræ jura dat, ad regna evehit, ad pacem cogit, et peccantes castigat, &c. quod imperatores Romani 40 legionibus armati non effecerunt. [u] Mirum quanta passus sit H. 2. *quomodo se submisit, ea se facturum pollicitus, quorum hodie ne privatus quidem partem faceret.* [v] Sigonius 9. hist. Ital. [w] Curio lib. 4. Fox Martyrol.

the emperour was trodden on by Alexander the third. stirrup; king John kissed the knees of Pandulphos What made so many thousand Christians travel from into the holy land, spend such huge summs of mony, g hasty to Jerusalem, to creep and crouch, but slavish makes them so freely venture their lives, to leave their seek martyrdome in the Indies, but superstition? to b death, murder kings, but a false perswasion of merit, obedience which they instill into them, and animate the hope of being martyrs and saints? Such pretty feats priests; and so well for their own advantage can they if it were not yet enough, by priests and politicians t crucifie the soules of men, he hath more actors in his t the fire, another sceane of heretiques, factious, ambitio schismaticks, impostors, false prophets, blind guides; gularity, vainglory, blind zeale, cause much more ma uprore by their new doctrines, paradoxes, figments, divisions, subdivisions, new sects, oppose one super kingdome to another, commit prince and subjects, b father against son, to the ruine and destruction of a disturbance of peace, and to make a generall confusio did those Arrians rage of old! How many did th Pelagians, Manichees, &c. their names alone would m many silly soules have impostors still deluded, drawn ated from Christ! Lucians Alexander, Simon Magus, seen and adored in Rome, saith Justine Martyr, S after his decease. [1]Apollonius Tianæus, Cynops, E feiting some new ceremonies and juggling tricks of that fire, and the like, got an army together of forty thous harm: with *Eudo de stellis*, of whom Nubrigensis s that in king Stephens daves imitated most of Christs r how many people in the wilderness, and built castle seducing of multitudes of poor soules. In Franconi fellow took upon him to be a prophet, and preach, J neatherd at Nicholhausen; he seduced 30000 person commonalty to be a most holy man, come from hea *their shops, women their distaves, servants ran from from their parents, schollers left their tutors, all novelty, some for zeale. He was burnt at last by burge, and so he and his heresie vanished together.* tours, false prophets, have lived in every kings raig not afford such examples! that as so many *ignes fat* the way, terrified some, deluded others, that are apt t the blast of every winde, a rude inconstant multitude, soules, that follow all, and are cluttered together li tide. What prodigious follies, madness, vexations, impossibilities, these impostours, heretiques, &c. hav what strange effects, shall be shewed in the symptom

Now the meanes by which, or advantages the divel ters take, so to delude and disquiet the world with su doctrines, superstitious fopperies, are from themselves, simplicity, hope and feare, those two battering canno

[1] Hierocles contends Apollonius to have been as great a prophet as C
[2] *Munster* Cosmog. l. 3. c. 86. Artifices ex officinis, fœminæ e colo, *nescils* parentibus et dominis, recta adeunt, &c. Combustus demum *evanuit*

A

with their objects, reward and punishment, purgatory, *Limbus Patrum, &c.* which now more then ever tyrannize; [z] *for what province is free from atheisme, superstition, idolatry, schisme, heresie, impiety, their factours and followers?* thence they proceed, and from that same decayed image of God, which is yet remaining in us.

Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Jussit, ———

our own conscience doth dictate so much unto us; we know there is a God, and nature doth informe us; [a] *Nulla gens tam barbara* (saith Tully) *cui non insideat hæc persuasio Deum esse; sed nec Scytha, nec Græcus, nec Persa, nec Hyperboreus dissentiet* (as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist ser. 1. farther addes) *nec continentis nec insularum habitator*, let him dwell where he will, in what coast soever, there is no nation so barbarous that is not perswaded there is a God. It is a wonder to reade of that infinite superstition amongst the Indians in this kinde, of their tenents in America, *pro suo quisque libitu varias res venerabantur superstitiose, plantas, animalia, montes, &c. omne quod amabant aut horrebant* (some few places excepted, as he grants, that had no God at all.) *So the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament declareth his handie-work, Psalm* 19. Every creature will evince it; *Præsentemque refert quælibet herba Deum. Nolentes sciunt, fatentur inviti*, as the said Tyrius proceeds, will or nill, they must acknowledge it. The philosophers, Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, Pythagoras, Trismegistus, Seneca, Epictetus, those Magi, Druides, &c. went as far as they could by the light of Nature; [b] *multa præclara de naturâ Dei scripta reliquerunt, writ many things well of the nature of God, but they had but a confused light, a glimpse;*

[c] Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in sylvis, ———

as he that walkes by moonshine in a wood, they groped in the darke. They had a gross knowledge, as he in Euripides, *O Deus, quicquid es, sive cœlum, sive terra, sive aliud quid;* and that of Aristotle, *Ens entium miserere mei.* And so of the immortality of the soule, and future happiness. *Immortalitatem animæ* (saith Hierome) *Pythagoras somniavit, Democritus non credidit, in consolationem damnationis suæ Socrates in carcere disputavit; Indus, Persa, Gothus, &c. philosophantur.* So some said this, some that, as they conceived themselves; which the divel perceiving, led them farther out (as [d] Lemnius observes) and made them worship him as their God, with stockes and stones; and torture themselves to their owne destruction, as he thought fit himself; inspired his priests and ministers with lies and fictions to prosecute the same; which they for their owne ends were as willing to undergoe, taking advantage of their simplicitie, feare and ignorance. For the common people are as a flocke of sheep, a rude illiterate rout, void many times of common sense, a meer beast, *bellua multorum capitum*, will go whithersoever they are led: as you lead a ram over a gap by the hornes, all the rest will follow; [e] *non quâ eundum, sed quâ itur*, they will doe as they see others doe, and as their prince will have them; let him be of what religion he will, they are for him. Now for those idolaters, Maxentius and Licinius; then, for Constantine a Christian. [f] *Qui Christum negant male pereant, acclamatum est decies*, for two houres space; *qui Christum non colunt, Augusti inimici sunt, acclamatum est ter decies;* and by and by idolaters again under that Apostate Julianus; all Arrians under Constantius; good Catholiques again under Jovinianus *And little difference there is betwixt the discretion of men and children in this case; especially of old*

[z] Nulla non provincia hæresibus, atheismis, &c. plena. Nullus orbis angulus ab hisce belluis immunis. [a] Lib. 1. de nat. Deorum. [b] Zanchius. [c] Virg. 6. Æn. [d] Superstitio ex ignorantiâ divinitatis emersit, ex vitiosâ æmulatione, et dæmonis illecebris, inconstans, timens, fluctuans, et cui se addicat incertus, quem imploret, cui se committat, a dæmone facile decepta. Lemnius, lib. 3. c. 8. [e] Seneca. [f] Vide Baronium 3. Annalium, ad annum 324. vit. Constantin.

folkes and women, as [g] Cardan discourseth, *when as the feare and superstition, and with other mens folly and di* I may say their ignorance is a cause of their superstition, madness it self; *Supplicii causa est, suppliciumque sui.* folly, stupidity, to be deplored lethargy, is that which giv other, and puls these miseries on their own heads. For in and superstitions, amongst our idolaters, you shall still fin first affected, are silly, rude, ignorant people, old folkes prone to superstition, weak women, or some poor rude that are apt to be wrought upon, and gulled in this kin either examination or due consideration (for they take up at mercers they do their wares) to beleeve any thing. Al they have to broach first, or to maintain it when they ha them still in ignorance: for *Ignorance is the mother of* world knowes, and these times can amply witness. This l practice, and his infernall ministers in all ages; not as ou silly fishermen, to confound the wisdome of the world, to sinners, but to make advantage of their ignorance, to their associates; and that they may better effect wha begin, as I say, with poor [h] stupid, illiterate persons. when he published his Alcoran, which is a piece of wo bachius) *full of non-sense, barbarisme, confusion, wit or any good composition; first published to a company hog-rubbers, that had no discretion, judgement, art, and is so still maintained.* For it is a part of the man comment; dare to dispute or call in question, to of it, be it never so absurd, incredible, ridiculous; fabu be beleeved *implicite;* upon pain of death no man must it, *God and the Emperour, &c.* What else do our Pap the people in ignorance, vent and broach all their new ditions, when they conceal the Scripture, reade it in L few alone, feeding the slavish people, in the mean time Legends, and such like fabulous narrations? Whom but collapsed ladies, some few tradesmen, superstitious persons, weak women, discontent, rude, silly companion vent? So doe all our schismaticks and heretiques. Mar heretiques in [j] Irenæus, seduced first, I know not how made them beleeve they were prophets. [k] Frier Cornel a company of silly women. What are all our Anabapti rowists, Familists, but a company of rude, illiterate, capt What are most of our Papists, but stupid, ignorant, a how should they otherwise be, when as they are bu still in darkness? [l] *If their pastors* (saith Lavater) *ha and instructed their flockes as they ought, in the princip religion, or had not forbidden them the reading of the S not been as they are.* But being so mis-led all their lives carried hood-winked like hawkes, how can they prove o ideots, and superstitious asses? what shall we expect Neither is it sufficient to keep them blinde, and in C

[g] De rerum varietate l. 3. c. 38. Parum vero distat sapientia virorum a pue mulierum, cum metu et superstitione et alienâ stultitiâ et improbitate simplices stition, wise men follow fools. Bacon's Essayes. [i] Peregrin. Hieros. cap. 5. sine ordine vel colore, absque sensu et ratione ad rusticissimos idem dedit, rud qui nullius erant discretionis, ut dijudicare possent. [j] Lib. 1. cap. 9. Val ranus li. 8. hist. Belg. [k] Si doctores suum fecissent officium, et ple *instituissent* de doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus, nec sacris scripturis interdixis *recte sensissent.*

but withall, as a schoolmaster doth by his boyes, to make them follow their books, sometimes by good hope, promises and encouragements; but most of all by feare, strict discipline, severity, threats and punishment, do they collogue and sooth up their silly auditors, and so bring them into a fools paradise. *Rex eris, aiunt, si recte facies,* do well, thou shalt be crowned; but for the most part by threats, terrours and affrights, they tyrannize and terrifie their distressed soules; knowing that feare alone is the sole and onely means to keep men in obedience, according to that Hemistichium of Petronius, *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor,* the feare of some divine and supreme powers, keeps men in obedience, makes the people do their duties; they play upon their consciences; [m] which was practised of old in Ægypt by their priests. When there was an eclipse, they made the people beleeve God was angry, great miseries were to come; they take all opportunities of naturall causes, to delude the peoples senses, and with fearfull tales of purgatory, fained apparitions, earth quakes in Japonia or China, tragicall examples of divels, possessions, obsessions, false miracles, counterfeit visions, &c. they doe so insult over, and restrain them, never Hoby so dared a larke, that they will not [n] offend the least tradition, tread, or scarse look awry. *Deus bone,* ([o] Lavater exclaimes) *quot hoc commentum de purgatorio misere afflixit!* good God, how many men have been miserably afflicted by this fiction of purgatory!

To these advantages of hope and feare, ignorance and simplicity, he hath severall engins, traps, devices, to batter and enthrall; omitting no opportunities, according to mens severall inclinations, abilities, to circumvent and humour them; to maintain his superstition; sometimes to stupifie, besot them; sometimes again by oppositions, factions, to set all at oddes and in an uprore; sometimes he infects one man, and makes him a principall agent; sometimes whole cities, countries. If of meaner sort, by stupidity, canonicall obedience, blind zeale, &c. If of better note, by pride, ambition, popularity, vain glory. If of the cleargy and more eminent, of better parts then the rest, more learned, eloquent, he puffes them up with a vain conceit of their own worth, *scientiâ inflati,* they begin to swell and scorn all the world in respect of themselves, and thereupon turn heretiques, schismatickes, broach new doctrines, frame new crotchets and the like; or else out of too much learning become mad; or out of curiosity, they will search into Gods secrets, and eat of the forbidden fruit; or out of presumption of their holiness and good gifts, inspirations, become prophets, *enthusiasts,* and what not? Or else, if they be displeased, discontent, and have not (as they suppose) preferment to their worth, have some disgrace, repulse, neglected, or not esteemed as they fondly value themselves, or out of emulation they begin presently to rage and rave, *cœlum terræ miscent,* they become so impatient in an instant, that a whole kingdome cannot contain them; they will set all in a combustion, all at variance, to be revenged of their adversaries. [p] Donatus, when he saw Cecilianus preferred before him in the bishoprick of Carthage, turned heretique; and so did Arian, because Alexander was advanced: we have examples at home, and too many experiments of such persons. If they be lay-men of better note, the same engins of pride, ambition, emulation and jealousie take place; they will be gods themselves. [q] Alexander in India after his victories became so insolent, he would be adored for a god: and those Roman emperours came to that height of madness, they must have temples built to them; sacrifices to their deities; Divus Augustus, D. Claudius, D. Adrianus: [r] *Heliogabalus put out*

[m] Curtius li. 4. [n] See more in Kemnisius Examen Concil. Trident. de Purgatorio. [o] Part. 1. c. 16. part. 3. cap. 18. et 14. [p] Austin. [q] Curtius lib. 8. [r] Lampridius vitâ ejus. Virgines vestales, et sacrum ignem Romæ exstinxit, et omnes ubique per orbem terræ religiones, unum hoc studens ut solus Deus coleretur.

that Vestall fire at Rome, expelled the virgins, and religions all over the world, and would be the sole god him China kings, great Chams, and Mogors do little less; a bombast titles to themselves; the meaner sort are too with blinde zeale, blinde obedience, to prosecute and n their sottish leaders shall propose: what they in pride and vain glory, ambition, spleen, for gaine, shall rashly mainta disciples make a matter of conscience, of hell and damn not; and will rather forsake wives, children, house and fortunes, life it self, then omit or abjure the least tittle of the common cause, undergo any miseries, turn traytors, martyrs, with full assurance and hope of reward in that ot shall certainly merit by it, win heaven, be canonized for s

Now when they are truly possessed with blinde zeal superstition, he hath many other baits to inveagle and in yet; to make them quite mortified and mad; and that fection, to merit by penance, going wollward, whipping, An. 1320. there was a sect of [a]whippers in Germany, t ment of the beholders, lashed, and cruelly tortured t give many other instances of each particular. But the meritorious, *ex opere operato*, *ex condigno*, for thems make them macerate and consume their bodies, *speci* those evangelicall counsells are propounded, as our p them; canonicall obedience, wilfull poverty, [b]vowes of ch a solitary life, which extend almost to all religions Turkes, Chinese, Gentiles, Abyssines, Greekes, Latine Amongst the rest, fasting, contemplation, solitariness an rams by which the divel doth batter and work upon t tions. *Nonnulli* (saith Peter Forestus) *ob longas inedi tiones cœlestes, de rebus sacris et religione semper agi* much, and divine meditations, are overcome. Not that it selfe to be discommended; for it is an excellent mea in subjection, a preparative to devotion, the physick of chast thoughts are ingendred, true zeale, a divine spirit counsells do proceed, concupiscence is restrained, vicio lusts and humours are expelled. The fathers are very tion of it, and as Calvin notes, *sometimes immoderat health, key of heaven, a spirituall wing to ereare us, Holy Ghost, banner of faith, &c.* And 'tis true th moderately and seasonably used, by such parties as CHRIST, and as his [c]apostles made use of it: but when will supererogate, and as [d]Erasmus well taxeth, *cœlum suis meritis*, heaven is too small a reward for it; they and meats, buy and sell their merits, attribute more to commandements; and count it a greater sin to eat kill a man; and as one saith, *Plus respiciunt assum pis crucifixum; plus salmonem quam Salomonem; quib Epicurus in corde*, when some counterfeit, and some a workes of theirs then to Christs death and passion; th strangely deludes them, and by that meanes makes th temperature of their bodies, and hazard their soules. illusions of divels amongst hermites, anchorites, neve

[a] Flagellatorum secta. Munster. lib. 3. Cosmog. cap. 19. [b] Votum cœlib sanitatis, clavis cœlorum, ala animæ quæ leves pennas producat, ut in sublime vexillum fidei, porta paradisi, vita angelorum, &c. [c] Castigo corpus me

apparitions, enthusiasmes, prophets, any revelations, but immoderate bad diet, sickness, melancholy, solitariness, or some such things were edent causes, the forerunners, or concomitants of them. The best nity and sole occasion the divel takes to delude them. Marcilius is, *lib.* 1. *cont. cap.* 7. hath many stories to this purpose, of such as ig fasting have been seduced by divels: and [x] *'tis a miraculous thing e* (as Cardan writes) *what strange accidents proceed from fast-eames, superstition, contempt of torments, desire of death, prophe-adoxes, madness; fasting naturally prepares men to these things.* , anchorites, and the like, after much emptiness become melancholy, ous; they think they hear strange noises, confer with hobgoblins, ivell up their bodies, *et dum hostem insequimur*, saith Gregory, *civem iligimus trucidamus*, they become bare skeletons, skin and bones: *s abstinentes proprias carnes devorant, ut nil præter cutem et ossa uum.* Hilarion, as [y] Hierome reports in his life, Athanasius of Anto- is so bare with fasting, *that his skin did scarse stick to the bones;* t of vapours he could not sleepe, and for want of sleepe, became idle *heard every night infants crye, oxen lowe, wolves howl, lions roare hought) clattering of chaines, strange voyces, and the like illusions s.* Such symptomes are common to those that fast long, are solitary, contemplation, over much solitariness and meditation. Not that these as I said of fasting) are to be discommended of themselves, but very ull, in some cases, and good: sobriety and contemplation joyn our o God, as that heathen [z] Porphyrie can tell us. [a] *Extasis is a taste re happiness, by which we are united unto God; a divine melancholy, uall wing*, Bonaventure termes it, to lift us up to heaven: but as it d, a meer dotage, madness, a cause and symptome of *religious me-y.* [b] *If you shall at any time see* (saith Guatinerius) *a religious ver superstitious, too solitary or much given to fasting, that man tainly be melancholy; thou maist boldly say it, he will be so.* P. s hath almost the same words, and [c] Cardan *subtil. lib.* 18. *et cap.* 8. *de rerum varietate; solitariness, fasting, and that melancholy , are the causes of all hermites illusions.* Lavater, *de spect. part.* 1. . *and* 19. puts solitariness a main cause of such spectrums and appa- none, saith he, so melancholy as monkes and hermites, the divels elancholy; [d] *none so subject to visions and dotage in this kinde, as live solitary lives; they hear and act strange things in their dotage.* ore Virgil *lib.* 2. *de prodigiis*, holds, *that those prophesies and monkes ons, nunnes dreams, which they suppose come from God, do proceed* ab instinctu dæmonum, *by the divels meanes: and so those enthu-anabaptists*, pseudo-prophets from the same cause. [f] Fracastorius *de intellect.* will have all your Pythonissæ, Sibyls, and pseudo- s to be meer melancholy; so doth Wierus prove, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *et l.* 3. and Arculanus *in* 9. *Rhasis*, that melancholy is a sole cause, and the gether, with fasting and solitariness, of such Sibylline prophesies, if ere ever such; which with [g] Causabon and others I justly except at;

cap. 10. de rerum varietate. Admiratione digna sunt quæ per jejunium hoc modo contingunt: iperstitio, contemptus tormentorum, mortis desiderium, obstinata opinio, insania: jejunium præparat ad hæc omnia. [y] Epist. 1. 3. Ita attenuatus fuit jejunio et vigiliis, in tantum ore ut ossibus vix hærebat, unde nocte infantum vagitus, balatus pecorum, mugitus boum, voces dæmonum, &c. [z] Lib. de abstinentiâ. Sobrietas et continentia mentem Deo conjungunt. ihil est aliud quam gustus futuræ beatitudinis, in quâ toti absorbemur in Deum. Erasmus epist. n. [b] Si religiosum nimis jejunia videris observantem, audacter melancholicum pronunciabis. ap. 5. [c] Solitudo ipsa, mens ægra laboribus anxiis et jejuniis, tum temperatura cibis mutata et humor melancholicus, heremitis illusionum causæ sunt. [d] Solitudo est causa apparitionum; ibus et huic delirio magis obnoxii sunt quam qui collegiis et eremo soli vivunt monachi; tales melancholici ob victum, et solitudinem. [e] Monachi sæpe putant prophetare ex Deo, et qui agunt vitam, quum sit instinctu dæmonum; et sic falluntur fatidicæ; a malo genio habent, quæ eo, et sic enthusiastæ. [f] Sibyllæ, Pythii, et prophetæ qui divinare solent, omnes phanatici cholici. [g] Exercit. c. 1.

for it is not likely that the spirit of God should ever reveal such manifest revelations and predictions of Christ, to those Pythonissæ, witches, Apollos priests, the divels ministers, (they were no better) and conceal them from his own prophets. For these Sibyls set down all particular circumstances of Christs coming, and many other future accidents, far more perspicuous and plain then ever any prophet did. But howsoever there be no Phœbades or Sibyls, I am assured, there be other enthusiasts, prophets, *Dii Fatidici*, *Magi*, (of which read Jo. Boissardus, who hath laboriously collected them into a great [h] volume of late, with elegant pictures, and epitomized their lives) &c. ever have been in all ages, and still proceeding from those causes, [i] *qui visiones suas enarrant, somniant futura, prophetisant, et ejusmodi deliriis agitati, Spiritum Sanctum sibi communicari putant.* That which is written of St. Francis five wounds, and other such monasticall effects, of him and others, may justly be referred to this our melancholy. And that which Matthew Paris relates of the [j] monke of Evesham, who saw heaven and hell in a vision: of [k] Sir Owen, that went down into Saint Patrickes purgatory in king Stephens dayes, and saw as much: Walsingham of him that was shewed as much by Saint Julian. Beda *lib.* 5. *cap.* 13. 14. 15 *et* 20. reports of king Sebba, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 11. *eccles hist.* that saw strange [l] visions: and Stumphius Helvet. Cornic. a cobler of Basil, 1520, that beheld rare apparitions at Ausborough [m] in Germany. Alexander ab Alexandro, *gen. dier. lib.* 6. *cap.* 21. of an enthusiasticall prisoner, (all out as probable as that of Eris Armenius, in Platos tenth dialogue *de Repub.* that revived again ten dayes after he was killed in a battell, and told strange wonders, like those tales Ulysses related to Alcinoüs, in Homer; or Lucians *vera historia* it self) was still after much solitariness, fasting, or long sickness, when their brains were addle, and their bellies as empty of meat as their heads of wit. Florilegus hath many such examples, *fol.* 191. one of Saint Gultlake of Crowalde that fought with divels, but still after long fasting, overmuch solitariness, [n] the divel perswaded him therefore to fast, as Moses and Elias did, the better to delude him. [o] In the same authour is recorded Carolus Magnus vision *an.* 885. or extasis, wherein he saw heaven and hell after much fasting and meditation. So did the divel of old with Apollos priests. Amphiaraus and his fellowes, those Ægyptians, still enjoyn long fasting before he would give any oracles, *triduum a cibo et vino abstinerent*, [p] before they gave any answers; as Volateran *lib.* 13. *cap.* 4. records, and Strabo Geog. *lib.* 14. describes Charons den, in the way betwixt Tralles and Nisum, whither the priests led sicke and fanaticke men: but nothing performed without long fasting, no good to be done. That scoffing [q] Lucian conducts his Menippus to hell, by the directions of that Chaldæan Mitrobarzanes, but after long fasting, and such like idle preparation. Which the Jesuits right well perceiving of what force this fasting and solitary meditation is, to alter mens mindes, when they would make a man mad, ravish him, improve him beyond himself, to undertake some great business of moment, to kill a king, or the like, [r] they bring him into a melancholy dark chamber, where he shall see no light for many dayes together, no company, little meat, ghastly pictures of divels all about him, and leave him to lye as he will himself, on the bare floor in this chamber of meditation, as they call it, on his back, side, belly, till by his strange usage they make him quite mad and beside himself. And then after some ten dayes, as they find him animated and resolved, they make use of him. The

[h] De divinatione et magicis præstigiis. [i] Idem. [j] Post 15 dierum preces et jejunia, mirabiles videbat visiones. [k] Fol. 84. vita Stephani et fol. 177. Post trium mensium inediam et languorem per 9 dies nihil comedens aut bibens. [l] After contemplation in an extasis; so Hierome was whipped for reading Tully; see millions of examples in our Annals. [m] Bede, Gregory, Jacobus de Voragine, Lippomanus, Hieronymus, John Major de vitis Patrum, &c. [n] Fol. 199. Post abstinentiæ curas miras illusiones dæmonum audivit. [o] Fol. 255. Post seriam meditationem in vigiliis diei dominicæ visionem habuit de purgatorio. [p] Ubi multos dies manent jejuni, consilio sacerdotum, auxilia invocantes. [q] In necromant. Et cibus quidem glandes erant, potus aqua, lectus sub dio, &c. [r] John Everardus Belhamo-Roomanus lib. edit. 1611. describes all the manner of it.

divel hath many such factours, many such engins, which, what effect they produce, you shall hear in these following symptomes.

SUBSECT. III.—*Symptomes generall. Love to their own sect; hate of all other religions; obstinacie; peevishness; ready to undergo any danger or crosse for it. Martyrs: blinde zeal, blinde obedience, fastings, vowes, belief of incredibilities, impossibilities: Particular of Gentiles, Mahometans, Jewes, Christians; and in them, heretiques old and new, schismaticks, schoolmen, prophets, enthusiasts, &c.*

Fleat Heraclitus, an rideat Democritus? in attempting to speak of these symptomes, shall I laugh with Democritus, or weep with Heraclitus? they are so ridiculous and absurd on the one side, so lamentable and tragicall on the other; a mixt scene offers it self, so full of errours, and a promiscuous variety of objects, that I know not in what straine to represent it. When I think of that Turkish paradise, those Jewish fables, and pontificiall rites; those pagan superstitions, their sacrifices and ceremonies, as to make images of all matter, and adore them when they have done; to see them kiss the pyx, creep to the crosse, &c. I cannot choose but laugh with Democritus. But, when I see them whip and torture themselves, grind their soules for toyes and trifles, desperate, and now ready to dye, I cannot choose but weep with Heraclitus. When I see a priest say masse, with all those apish gestures, murmurings, &c. read the customes of the Jewes synagogue, or Mahometan meskites, I must needs [s] laugh at their folly, *risum teneatis, amici?* but when I see them make matters of conscience of such toyes and trifles, to adore the divel, to endanger their soules, to offer their children to their idols, &c. I must needs condole their misery. When I see two superstitious orders contend *pro aris et focis*, with such have and hold, *de lanâ caprinâ*, some write such great volumes to no purpose, take so much pains to so small effect, their satyres, invectives, apologies, dul and grosse fictions; when I see grave learned men rail and scold like butter-women, methinks 'tis pretty sport, and fit [t] for Calphurnius and Democritus to laugh at. But when I see so much blood spilt, so many murders and massacres, so many cruel battels fought, &c. 'tis a fitter subject for Heraclitus to lament. [u] As Merlin when he sate by the lake side with Vortiger, and had seen the white and red dragon fight, before he began to interpret or to speak, *in fletum prorupit*, fell a weeping, and then proceeded to declare to the king what it meant—I should first pitty and bewaile this misery of humane kinde with some passionate preface, wishing mine eys a fountain of tears, as Jeremy did, and then to my task. For it is that great torture, that infernal plague of mortal men, *omnium pestium pestilentissima superstitio*, and able of it self alone to stand in opposition to all other plagues, miseries, and calamities whatsoever; far more cruell, more pestiferous, more grievous, more generall, more violent, of a greater extent. Other feares and sorrows, grievances of body and minde are troublesome for the time; but this is for ever, eternal damnation, hell it self, a plague, a fire. An inundation hurts one province alone, and the loss may be recovered; but this superstition involves all the world almost, and can never be remedied. Sickness and sorrows come and go, but a superstitious soule hath no rest: [v] *superstitione imbutus animus nunquam quietus esse potest*, no peace, no quietness. True religion and superstition are quite opposite, *longe diversa carnificina et pietas*, as Lactantius describes, the one ereares, the other dejects; *illorum pietas, mera impietas*; the one is an easie yoak, the other an intolerable burden, an absolute tyranny; the one a sure anchor, an haven; the other a tempestuous ocean; the one makes, the other marrs; the one is wisdome, the other is

[s] Varius mappâ componere risum vix poterit. [t] Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore. Hor. [u] Alanus de Insulis. [v] Cicero 1. de finibus.

folly, madness, indiscretion; the one unfained, the othe one a diligent observer, the other an ape; one leades to hell. But these differences will more evidently appear symptomes. What religion is, and of what parts it doth co will tell you, what symptomes it hath, and what effects it their superstitions, no tongue can tell them, no pen expre so diverse, so uncertaine, so unconstant, and so differe *Tot mundo superstitiones, quot cœlo stellæ*, one saith, t perstitions in the world, as there be stars in heaven, or d are the first founders of them: with such ridiculous, ab signes, so many severall rites, ceremonies, torments and nying, as may well expresse and beseeme the divel to maintainer of them. I will only point at some of them, *ea* at the rest, and those of the chief kindes of superstition, w tians now domineer and crucifie the world, Gentiles, Mal

Of these symptomes some be generall, some partic sect. Generall to all, are, an extraordinary love and af shew to such as are of their own secte, and more then as are opposite in religion, as they call it; or disagree superstitious rites, blinde zeale, (which is as much a sy vain feares, blind obedience, needless works, incredib monstrous rites and ceremonies, wilfulness, blindness, the first, which is love and hate, as [w] Montanus saith, *n quam quæ contrahitur hinc; nulla discordia major, q fit;* no greater concord, no greater discord then that religion. It is incredible to relate, did not our dayly what factions, *quam teterrimæ factiones*, (as [x] Rich. been of late, for matters of religion in France, and what Europe, for these many years. *Nihil est quod tam impo quam suscepta de salute opinio; siquidem pro eâ om animas devovere solent, et arctissimo necessitudinis vin gare.* We are all brethren in Christ, servants of one l body, and therefore are or should be at least dearly allied in the greatest bond of love and familiarity, unit of the same crosse, but coadjutors, comforters, helpers, occasions: as they did in the primitive church, *Acts* patrimonies, and laid them at the apostles feet, and r examples of mutual love we have had under the ten many since. Examples on the other side of discord no saith, he came therefore into the world to set father [illegible] whom the divel, belike (*nam superstitio i* [illegible], superstition is still religions ape, as in all ot doth so combine and glew together his superstitious affection, that they will live and dye together: and what he [illegible] to any other superstition opposite! H were affected, those ten persecutions may be a witness, [illegible] Eusebius, *aut lita aut morere*, sacrifice or d [illegible] bitter faction, wars, persecution in a [illegible] religion; no such ferall opposition, father agains [illegible], husband against wife, city against city, kingdo [illegible] at Ventura and Combos:

[illegible] odium, et nunquam sanat ile vulnus,	Immortal hate it bri
[illegible] quod minima vicinorum	And fury to the com
[illegible] quam solum credit habendos	Because one city t'o
[illegible] Deos quos ipse colat.	Deride, and his alor

[w] In Micah c [illegible] [x] Gall. hist. [illegible]

The Turkes at this day, count no better of us then of dogs; so they commonly call us *gaures*, infidels, miscreants, make that their main quarrel and cause of Christian persecution. If he will turn Turke, he shall be entertained as a brother, and had in good esteem, a Muselman or a beleever, which is a greater tye to them then any affinity or consanguinity. The Jewes stick together like so many burrs, but as for the rest whom they call Gentiles, they do hate and abhor, they cannot endure their Messias should be a common Saviour to us all, and rather, as [a] Luther writes, *then they that now scoffe at them, curse them, persecute and revile them, shall be coheires and brethren with them, or have any part or fellowship with their Messias, they would crucifie their Messias ten times over, and God himself, his angels, and all his creatures, if it were possible, though they endure a thousand hels for it.* Such is their malice towards us. Now for Papists, what in a common cause for the advancement of their religion they will endure, our traytors and pseudocatholicks will declare unto us; and how bitter on the other side to their adversaries, how violently bent, let those Marian times record, as those miserable slaughters at Merindol and Cabriers, the Spanish inquisition, the duke of Alvas tyranny in the Low-countries, the French massacres and civil wars. [b] *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.* Not there only, but all over Europe, we read of bloudy battels, racks and wheels, seditions, factions, oppositions,

> —— [c] obvia signis
> Signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis,

Invectives and contentions. They had rather shake hands with a Jewe, Turke, or as the Spaniards do, suffer Moores to live amongst them, and Jewes then Protestants; *My name*, (saith [d] Luther) *is more odious to them then any thief or murderer.* So it is with all heretiques and schismaticks whatsoever: And none so passionate, violent in their tenents, opinions, obstinate, wilful, refractory, peevish, factious, singular and stiffe in defence of them; they do not only persecute and hate, but pitty all other religions, account them damned, blinde; as if they alone were the true church, they are the true heires, have the feesimple of heaven by a peculiar donation, 'tis entailed on them and their posterities, their doctrine sound, *per funem aureum de cœlo delapsa doctrina;* they alone are to be saved. The Jewes at this day are so *incomprehensibly proud and churlish*, saith [e] Luther, that *soli salvari, soli domini terrarum salutari volunt.* And, as [f] Buxtorfius adds, *so ignorant and self-willed withall, that amongst their most understanding rabbines you shall find nought but gross dotage, horrible hardness of heart, and stupend obstinacy, in all their actions, opinions, conversations: and yet so zealous withall, that no man living can be more, and vindicate themselves for the elect people of GOD.* 'Tis so with all other superstitious sects, Mahometans, Gentiles in China, and Tartary; our igorant Papists, Anabaptists, Separatists, and peculiar churches of Amsterdam, they alone, and none but they, can be saved. [g] Zealous (as Paul saith, Rom. 10. 2.) *without knowledge*, they will endure any misery, any trouble, suffer and doe that which the sun beams will not endure to see, *Religionis acti Furiis*, all extremities, losses and dangers, take any pains, fast, pray, vow chastity, wilful poverty, forsake all and follow their idols, dye a thousand deaths, as some Jewes did to Pilats souldiers, in like case, *exsertos præbentes jugulos, et manifeste præ se ferentes*, (as Josephus hath it) *chariorem esse vitâ sibi legis patriæ observationem;* rather then abjure, or deny the least particle of that

[a] Comment. in Micah. Ferre non possunt ut illorum Messias communis servator sit, nostrum gaudium, &c. Messias vel decem decies crucifixuri essent, ipsumque Deum, si id fieri posset, una cum angelis et creaturis omnibus, nec absterrerentur ab hoc facto, etsi mille inferna subeunda forent. [b] Lucret. [c] Lucan. [d] Ad Galat. comment. Nomen odiosius meum quam ullus homicida aut fur. [e] In comment. Micah. Adeo incomprehensibilis et aspera eorum superbia, &c. [f] Synagog. Judæorum ca. 1. Inter eorum intelligentissimos Rabbinos nil præter ignorantiam et insipientiam grandem invenies, horrendam indurationem, et obstinationem, &c. [g] Great is Diana of the Ephesians, Acts 19.

religion which their fathers profess, and they themselves h
in, be it never so absurd, ridiculous, they will embrace it
enquiry or examination of the truth, though it be prodig
beleeve it: they will take much more pains to goe to h
to heaven. Single out the most ignorant of them, convinc
shew him his errours, grossness, and absurdities of his s
etiamsi persuaseris, he will not be persuaded. As those
suites in Japona, [h] they would doe as their fore-fathers
Ratholde the Frisian prince, goe to hell for company, if
went thither: they will not be moved, no perswasion, no
So that Papists cannot brag of their vowes, poverty, obed
martyrdomes, fastings, almes, good works, pilgrimages:
all this, I shall shew you, is, and hath been done by these
Pagans, Idolaters and Jewes: their blind zeale and idol
all kindes is much at one; little or no difference, and it
is the greatest, which is the grossest. For if a man shal
superstitious rites amongst the Ethnicks in Japan, the Ba
Chinese idolaters, [i] Americans of old, (in Mexico esp
priests, he shall find the same government almost, the s
monies, or so like, that they may seem all apparently to
heathen spirit, and the Roman hierarchy no better then
this is common to all superstition, there is nothing so m
diculous, impossible, incredible, which they will not b
diligently perform as much as in them lies; nothing so
or intolerable to put in practice, so cruel to suffer, which
undertake. So powerful a thing is superstition, [j] *O A*
tus exclaims) *thy religion is fables, and such as poste*
I know that in true religion it self, many mysteries are
by faith, as that of the Trinity, which Turkes especially
nation, resurrection of the body at the last day, *quod i*
Tertullian) *quod incredibile, &c.* many miracles not to b
puted of. *Mirari non rimari sapientia vera est*, saith [k]
rinis (as a good father informs us) *quædam credenda*,
&c. some things are to be beleeved, embraced, followed w
obedience, some again admired. Though Julian the ap
tians in this point, *quod captivemus intellectum in obs*
that the Christian Creed is like the *Pythagorean Ips*
will and understanding too slavishly subject to our
examination of the truth; yet as Saint Gregory truly
altioris præstantiæ, and much more divine: and as Tho
ranti semper suppetunt rationes, ostendentes credibi
supernaturalibus, we do absolutely beleeve it, and upo
as Gregory well informeth us; *fides non habet meritu*
quærit experimentum; that faith hath no merit, is n
faith, that will not apprehend without a certain demons
will beleeve Gods word; and if we be mistaken or erre
as [l] *Richardus de sancto Victore*, vowes he will say to
day of judgement; *Lord, if we be deceived, thou alon*
thus we plead. But for the rest, I will not justifie th
stantiation, that which [m] Mahometans and Jewes justly
nella confesseth: *Atheismi triumphat. cap.* 12. *fol.*
dogma esse, nec aliud subjectum magis hæreticorum l

[h] Malunt cum illis insanire, quam cum aliis bene sentire. [i] Acosta. l. 5
tuæ solæ supersunt fabulæ, easque incredibiles posteris tuis. [k] Meditat. 19
de Trin. cap. 2. Si decenti summus, &c. [m] Vide Samsatis Isphocus
Milesium.

rrisionibus politicorum reperiri. They hold it impossible, *Deum in pane sanducari;* and besides they scoffe at it, *vide gentem comedentem Deum uum, inquit quidam Maurus.* [n] *Hunc Deum muscæ et vermes irrident, uum ipsum polluunt et devorant; subditus est igni, aquæ, et latrones urantur; pixidem auream humi prosternunt, et se tamen non defendit hic Deus. Qui fieri potest, ut sit integer in singulis hostiæ particulis, idem orpus numero, tam multis locis, cælo, terrâ? &c.* But he that shall read he [o] Turkes Alcoran, the Jewes Talmud, and Papists Golden Legend, in the nean time will swear that such gross fictions, fables, vain traditions, prodigious paradoxes and ceremonies, could never proceed from any other spirit, then hat of the divel himselfe, who is the authour of confusion and lies; and vonder withall, how such wise men as have been of the Jewes, such learned nderstanding men as Averröes, Avicenna, or those heathen philosophers, ould ever be perswaded to beleeve, or to subscribe to the least part of them: *ut fraudem non detegere:* but that, as [p] Vanninus answers, *ob publicæ otestatis formidinem allatrare philosophi non audebant,* they durst not speak or feare of the lawe. But I will descend to particulars: read their severall ymptomes, and then guess.

Of such symptomes as properly belong to superstition, or that irreligious eligion, I may say as of the rest, some are ridiculous, some again ferall to elate. Of those ridiculous, there can be no better testimony then the multiude of their gods, those absurd names, actions, offices they put upon them, heir feasts, holy dayes, sacrifices, adorations, and the like. The Ægyptians hat pretended so great antiquity, 300 kings before Amasis: and as Mela rites, 13000 yeers from the beginning of their chronicles, that brag'd so nuch of their knowledge of old, for they invented arithmetick, astronomy, eometry: of their wealth and power, that vaunted of 20000 cities: yet at he same time their idolatry and superstition was most gross. They worhipped, as Diodorus Siculus records, sun and moone under the name of Isis nd Osyris; and after, such men as were beneficial to them, or any creature hat did them good. In the city of Bubasti they adored a cat, saith Herolotus; Ibis and storks, an oxe (saith Pliny); [q] leekes and onions, Macrobius;

> [r] Porrum et cæpe Deos imponere nubibus ausi,
> Hos tu, Nile, Deos colis.——

Scoffing [s] Lucian, in his *vera Historia,* which as he confesseth himself, was ıot perswasively written as a truth, but in comical fashion to glaunce at the nonstrous fictions, and gross absurdities of writers and nations, to deride, vithout doubt, this prodigious Ægyptian idolatry, fains this story of himself; hat when he had seen the Elisian fields, and was now comming away, Rhalamanthus gave him a mallow-root, and bade him pray to that when he was n any peril or extremity; which he did accordingly; for when he came to Hydamordia in the island of treacherous women, he made his prayers to his oot, and was instantly delivered. The Syrians, Chaldeans, had as many proper gods of their owne invention; see the said Lucian *de Deâ Syriâ,* Morny *ap.* 22. *de veritat. relig.* Guliel. Stuckius [t] *Sacrorum Sacrificiorumque Gentil. lescript.* Peter Faber Semester. *l.* 3. *c.* 1, 2, 3. Selden *de Diis Syris;* Purhas Pilgrimage; [u] Rosinus of the Romans, and Lilius Giraldus of the Greekes. The Romans borrowed from all, besides their own gods, which were *majorum* nd *minorum gentium,* as Varro holds, certain and uncertain; some cœlestiall, elect and great ones; others *Indigetes* and *Semi-Dei, Lares, Lemures, Diosuri, Soteres,* and *Parastatæ, Dii tutelares* amongst the Greekes: gods of all orts, for all functions; some for the land, some for sea; some for heaven, some

[n] Lege Hoffman. Mus exenteratus. [o] As true as Homer's Iliads, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Æsop's ables. [p] Dial. 52. de oraculis. [q] O sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in horto Numina! Juven. at. 15. [r] Prudentius. [s] Præfat. ver. hist. [t] Tiguri fol. 1494. [u] Rosin. antiq. Rom. 1. 2. c. 1. et deinceps.

for hell; some for passions, diseases, some for birth, some bandry, woods, waters, gardens, orchards, &c. All actio Quies, Salus, Libertas, Fœlicitas, Strenua, Stimula, Ho Priapus, Flora, Cloacina, Stercutius, Febris, Pallor, Invid Angerona, Volupia, Vacuna, Viriplaca, Veneranda, Pal Kings, emperours, valiant men that had done any good o did likewise canonize and adore for gods; and it was usu *apud antiquos*, as [x] Jo. Boissardus well observes, *deificare h mortales juvarent*, and the divel was still ready to second *se ingessit illorum sepulchris, statuis, templis, aris, &* temples, statues, tombes, altars, and was ready to give o doe miracles, &c. as by Jupiter, Æsculapius, Tiresias, Apol raus, &c. *Dii et Semi-Dei.* For so they were *Semi-I medii inter Deos et homines*, as Max. [w] Tyrius, the Plat maintains and justifies in many words. *When a good mandy but his soule* ex homine dæmon evadit, *becomes forthwith disparaged with malignity of ayr, or variety of forme and sees that peerfct beautye with his eys. Now being c tion he helpes his poor friends here on earth, his kindred a cours, &c. punisheth those that are bad, and do amiss, as a and govern mortal men appointed by the gods; so they w some for provinces, some for private men, some for one of* Hector and Achilles *assist souldiers to this day;* Æscula Dioscuri seafaring men, &c. and sometimes upon occa selves. The Dioscuri, Hercules and Æsculapius, he sa in his likenesse) *non somnians sed vigilans ipse vidi:* Sc good men only do they thus adore, but tyrants, monster inveighs) Neros, Domitians, Heliogables, beastly wom amongst the rest. For all intents, places, creatures, th

Et domibus, tectis, thermis, et equis soleatis
Assignare solent genios ——

saith Prudentius. Cuna for cradles; Diverra for swe knots; Prema, Premunda, Hymen, Hymeneus, for god of good fellows; gods of silence, of comfort; He *Mena menstruarum, &c.* male and female gods of all a sions, with beards, without beards, married, unmarried, but as Minerva start out of Jupiters head. Hesiodu 30000 gods; Varro 300 Jupiters. As Jeremy told th he multitude of cities.

Quicquid humus, pelagus, cœlum miserabile gignit, | What ever heaven
Id dixere Deos, colles, freta, flumina, flammas. | Hils, seas and rive

And which was most absurd, they made gods upon such as *children make babies* (so saith [y] Morneus) *their poe obscœnæ in templis ludunt in theatris*, as Lactantius sc gelded himself, did eat his own children, a cruell tyrant done by his son Jupiter, as good a god as himself, a wi king of Crete, of whose rapes, lusts, murders, villanies, hard to relate. Venus, a notorious strumpet, as comm Mars. Adonis, Anchises whore, is a great she-goddess much renowned by their poets; with many such. An

[x] ... et magicis præstigiis in Mopso. [w] Cosmo Paccio t ... meram pulchritudinem meruit, exultans e ... tuetur, errantibus succurrit, &c. Deus ... [y] Sacro ... et tyrannos pro Dys colunt, qui genus humanum horren ... fædas meretrices, &c. [z] Cap. 22. de ver. rel. I

lously and foolishly made, *ceremoniis, hymnis, et canticis celebrant;* their errours, *luctus et gaudia, amores, iras, nuptias et liberorum procreationes,* ([a]as Eusebius well taxeth) weddings, mirth and mournings, loves, angers, and quarrelling they did celebrate in hymns, and sing of in their ordinary songs, as it were publishing their villanies. But see more of their originals. When Romulus was made away by the sedition of the senators, to pacifie the people, [a]Julius Proculus gave out that Romulus was taken up by Jupiter into heaven; and therefore, to be ever after adored for a God amongst the Romans. Syrophanes of Ægypt, had one onely son, whom he dearly loved; he erected his statue in his house, which his servants did adorn with crownes and garlandes, to pacifie their masters wrath when he was angry, so by little and little he was adored for a god. This did Semiramis for her husband Belus; and Adrian the Emperour by his minion Antinoüs. Flora was a rich harlot in Rome, and for that she made the common-wealth her heir, her birth day was solemnized long after; and to make it a more plausible holyday, they made her goddess of flowres, and sacrificed to her amongst the rest. The matrons of Rome, as Dionysius Halicarnassæus relates, because at their entreaty, Coriolanus desisted from his wars, consecrated a church *Fortunæ muliebri:* and [b]Venus Barbata had a temple erected, for that somewhat was amiss about hair; and so the rest. The citizens [c]of Alabanda, a small town in Asia Minor, to curry favor with the Romans, (who then warred in Greece with Perseus of Macedon, and were formidable to these parts) consecrated a temple to the city of Rome, and made her a goddess, with annual games and sacrifices. So a town of houses was deified, with shameful flattery of the one side to give, and intolerable arrogance on the other to accept, upon so vile and absurd an occasion. Tully writes to Atticus, that his daughter Tulliola might be made a goddess, and adored as Juno and Minerva, and as well she deserved it. Their holydayes and adorations were all out as ridiculous. Those Lupercals of Pan, Florales of Flora, Bona Dea, Anna Perenna, Saturnals, &c. as how they were celebrated, with what lascivious and wanton gestures, bald ceremonies, [d]by what bawdy priests, how they hang their noses over the smoke of sacrifices, saith [e]Lucian, and lick bloud that was spilled about the altars, like flies. Their carved idols, gilt images of wood, iron, ivory, silver, brass, stone, *olim truncus eram, &c.* were most absurd, as being their own workmanship; for as Seneca notes, *adorant ligneos Deos, et fabros interim qui fecerunt, contemnunt,* they adore work, contemn the workman; and as Tertullian follows it, *si homines non essent Diis propitii, non essent Dii,* had it not been for men, they had never been gods, but blocks still, and stupid statues, in which mice, swallowes, birds made their nests, spiders their webbes, and in their very mouths laid their excrements. Those images, I say, were all out as gross, as the shapes in which they did represent them: Jupiter with a rams head; Mercury a dogges, Pan like a goat, Hecate with three heads, one with a beard, another without; see more in Carterius and [f]Verdurius of their monstrous formes and ugly pictures: and which was absurder yet, they told them these images came from heaven; as that of Minerva in her temple at Athens, *quod e cœlo cecidisse credebant accolæ,* saith Pausanias. They formed some like storkes, apes, buls, and yet seriously beleeved; and that which was impious, and abominable, they made their gods notorious whore-masters, incestuous sodomites, (as commonly they were all, as well as Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Neptune, &c.) theeves, slaves, drudges, (for Apollo and Neptune made tiles in Phrygia,) kept sheep, Hercules empty'd stables, Vulcan

[a]Procem. lib. contra. philos. [a]Livius lib. 1. Deus vobis in posterum propitius, Quirites. [b]Anth. Verdure Imag. Deorum. [c]Mulieres candido splendentes amicimine varioque lætantes gestimine, verno florentes conamine, solum sternentes, &c. Apulcius lib. 11. de asino aureo. [d]Magnâ religione quæritur quæ possit adulteria plura numerare. Minut. [e]Lib. de sacrificiis. Fumo inhiantes, et muscarum in morem sanguinem exsugentes circum aras effusum. [f]Imagines Deorum lib. sic. inscript.

a black-smith, unfit to dwell upon the earth for their villanies, much less in heaven, as [g] Mornay well saith, and yet they gave them out to be such; so weak and brutish, some to whine, lament, and roare, as Isis for her son and Cenocephalus, as also all her weeping priests. Mars in Homer to be wounded, vexed; Venus run away crying, and the like; then which, what can be more ridiculous? *Nonne ridiculum lugere quod colas, vel colere quod lugeas?* (which [h] Minutius objects) *Si Dii, cur plangitis? si mortui, cur adoratis?* that it is no marvel if [i] Lucian, that adamantine persecutor of superstition, and Pliny could so scoffe at them and their horrible idolatry as they did. Diagoras took Hercules image, and put it under his pot to seeth his pottage, which was, as he said, his 13th labour. But see more of their fopperies in Cypr. 4. *tract. de Idol. varietat.* Chrysostome *advers. Gentil.* Arnobius *adv. Gentes.* Austin. *de civ. Dei.* Theodoret. *de curat. Græc. affect.* Clemens Alexandrinus, Minutius Fœlix, Eusebius, Lactantius, Stuckius, &c. Lamentable, tragicall, and fearful those symptomes are, that they should be so far forth affrighted with their fictitious gods, as to spend the goods, lives, fortunes, pretious time, best dayes in their honour, to [j] sacrifice unto them, to their inestimable loss, such hecatombes, so many thousand sheep, oxen with gilded horns, goats, as [k] Crœsus king of Lydia, [l] Marcus Julianus, surnamed *ob crebras hostias, Victimarius et Tauricremus;* and the rest of the Roman emperours usually did with such labour and cost: and not emperours onely, and great ones, *pro communi bono,* were at this charge, but private men for their ordinary occasions. Pythagoras offered an hundred oxen for the invention of a geometrical probleme, and it was an ordinary thing to sacrifice in [m] Lucians time, *a heifer for their good health, four oxen for wealth, an hundred for a kingdome, nine buls for their safe return from Troja to Pylus, &c.* Every god almost had a peculiar sacrifice: the Sun horses, Vulcan fire, Diana a white hart, Venus a turtle, Ceres an hog, Proserpine a black lamb, Neptune a bull, (read more in [n] Stuckius at large) besides sheep, cockes, corals, frankincense, to their undoings, as if their gods were affected with blood or smoke. *And surely* ([o] saith he) *if one should but repeat the fopperies of mortall men, in their sacrifices, feasts, worshipping their gods, their rites and ceremonies, what they think of them, of their diet, houses, orders, &c. what prayers and vowes they make; if one should but observe their absurdities and madnesse, he would burst out a laughing, and pitty their folly.* For what can be more absurd then their ordinary prayers, petitions, [p] requests, sacrifices, oracles, devotions? of which we have a taste in Maximus Tyrius, *serm.* 1. Platos *Alcibiades Secundus,* Persius *Sat.* 2. Juvenal. *Sat.* 10. there likewise exploded, *Mactant opimas et pingues hostias Deo quasi esurienti, profundunt vina tanquam sitienti, lumina accendunt velut in tenebris agenti* (Lactantius *lib.* 2. *cap.* 6.) as if their gods were an hungrie, a thirst, in the darke, they light candles, offer meat and drink. And what so base as to reveal their counsels and give oracles *e viscerum sterquiliniis,* out of the bowels and excrementall parts of beasts? *sordidos Deos* Varro truely cals them therefore, and well he might. I say nothing of their magnificent and sumptuous temples, those majestical structures. To the roof of Apollo Didymeus temple, *ad Branchidas,* as [q] Strabo writes, a thousand oakes did not suffice. Who can relate the glorious splendor, and stupend magnificence, the sumptuous building of Diana at Ephesus, Jupiter

[g] De ver. relig. cap. 22. Indigni qui terram calcent, &c. [h] Octaviano. [i] Jupiter Tragœdus, de sacrificiis, et passim alias. [j] 666 severall kindes of sacrifices in Ægypt Major reckons up, Tom. 2. coll. of which reade more in cap. 1. of Laurentius Pignorius his Ægypt characters, a cause of which, Sanubius gives subcis. lib. 3. cap. 1. [k] Herod. Clio. Immolavit lecta pecora ter mille Delphis, una cum lectis phialis tribus. [l] Superstitiosus Julianus innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactavit. Ammianus. 25. Boves alii M. Cæsari salutem. Si tu viceris perimus. lib. 3. Romani observantissimi sunt ceremoniarum, bello præsertim. [m] De sacrificiis. Buculam pro bona valetudine, boves quatuor pro divitiis, centum tauros pro sospite a Troja reditu, &c. [n] De sacris Gentil. et sacrific. Tyg. 1596. [o] Enimvero si quis recenseret quæ stulti mortales in festis, sacrificiis, Diis adorandis, &c. quæ vota faciant, quid de iis statuant, &c. haud scio an risurus, &c. [p] Max. Tyrius ser. 1. Crœsus regum omnium stultissimus de lebete vociferatus, alius de numero arenarum, dimensione maris, &c. [q] Lib. 4.

Ammons temple in Africke, the Pantheon at Rome, the Capitoll, the Serapium at Alexandria, Apollos temple at Daphne in the suburbs of Antioch. The great temple at Mexico so richly adorned, and so capacious (for 10000 men might stand in it at once) that faire pantheon of Cusco, described by Acosta in his Indian History, which ecclipses both Jewes and Christians. There were in old Jerusalem as some write, 408 synagogues; but new Cairo reckons up (if [r]Radzivilus may be beleeved) 6800 meskites. Fessa 400, whereof 50 are most magnificent, like Saint Pauls in London. Helena built 300 faire churches in the holy land, but one Bassa hath built 400 meskites. The Mahometans have 1000 monkes in a monastery; the like saith Acosta of Americans; Riccius of the Chineses, for men and women, fairly built, and more richly endowed some of them, then Arras in Artois, Fulda in Germany, or Saint Edmunds-Bury in England with us. Who can describe those curious and costlie statues, idols, images, so frequently mentioned in Pausanias? I conceal their donaries, pendants, other offerings, presents, to these their fictitious gods daily consecrated. [s]Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, sent two statues of pure gold to Apollo at Delphos. [t]Crœsus, king of Lydia, dedicated an hundred golden tiles in the same place, with a golden altar. No man came empty-handed to their shrines. But these are base offerings in respect; they offered men themselves alive. The Leucadians, as Strabo writes, sacrificed every yeer a man, *averruncandæ Deorum iræ causâ*, to pacifie their gods; *de montis præcipitio dejecerunt, &c.* and they did voluntarily undergoe it. The Decii did so sacrifice *Diis manibus;* Curtius did leap into the gulfe. Were they not all strangely deluded to go so far to their oracles, to be so gulled by them, both in war and peace, as Polybius relates, (which their augures, priests, vestall virgins can witness) to be so superstitious, that they would rather lose goods and lives, then omit any ceremonies or offend their heathen gods? Nicias, that generous and valiant captain of the Greekes, overthrew the Athenian navy, by reason of his too much superstition, [u]because the augures told him it was ominous to set sail from the haven of Syracuse whilest the moone was ecclipsed, he tarried so long till his enemies besieged him, he and all his army was overthrown. The [v]Parthians of old were so sottish in this kinde, they would rather lose a victorie, nay lose their own lives, then fight in the night; 'twas against their religion. The Jewes would make no resistance on the sabbath, when Pompeius besieged Jerusalem; and some Jewish Christians in Africke, set upon by the Gothes, suffered themselves, upon the same occasion, to be utterly vanquished. The superstition of the Dibrenses, a bordering town in Epirus, besieged by the Turkes, is miraculous almost to report. Because a dead dog was flung into the only fountain which the citie had, they would dye of thirst all, rather then drink of that [w]unclean water, and yeeld up the citie upon any conditions. Though the prætor and chief citizens began to drink first, using all good perswasions, their superstition was such, no saying would serve, they must all forthwith dye or yeeld up the citie. *Vix ausim ipse credere* (saith [x]Barletius) *tantam superstitionem, vel affirmare levissimam hanc causam tantæ rei, vel magis ridiculam, quum non dubitem risum potius quam admirationem posteris excitaturam.* The story was too ridiculous, he was ashamed to report it, because he thought nobody would beleeve it. It is stupend to relate what strange effects this idolatry and superstition hath brought forth of the latter yeers in the Indies and those bordering parts: [y]in what ferall shapes the [z]divel is adored, *ne quid mali intentet,* as they say; for in the mountains

[r] Peregr. Hierosol. [s] Solinus. [t] Herodotus. [u] Boterus polit. lib. 2. cap. 16. [v] Plutarch. vit. Crassi. [w] They were of the Greek church. [x] Lib. 5. de gestis Scanderbegis. [y] In templis immania idolorum monstra conspiciuntur, marmorea, lignea, lutea, &c. Riccius. [z] Deum enim placare non est opus, quia non nocet ed demonem sacrificiis placant, &c.

betwixt Scanderone and Aleppo, at this day, there are
kinde of people called Coordes, coming of the race of th
who worship the divel, and alledge this reason in so d
man and will do no harm, but the divel is bad and must
hurt them. It is wonderful to tell how the divel deludes
fies them, how they offer men and women sacrifices unto
once, as they did infants in Crete to Saturne of old, the fine
memnons Iphigenia, &c. At [a]Mexico, when the Span
them, they daily sacrificed *viva hominum corda e viven
tracta*, the hearts of men yet living, 20000 in a yeer (Ac
to their idols made of flowre and mens bloud; and eve
infants of both sexes: and, as prodigious to relate [b]how t
with husbands deceased, 'tis fearfull to report, and harde

[a] Nam certamen habent lethi quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori.

and burn them alive, best goods, servants, horses, w
[d]12000 at once amongst the Tartars, when a great
emperour in America: how they plague themselves, w
that hath life, like those old Pythagoreans; with immod
Bannians about Surat; they of China, that for superst
flesh nor fish all their lives, never marry, but live in d
and some pray to their idols 24 hours together, with
biting of their tongues when they have done, for devotio
are brought to that madness by their superstitious priest
vain stories of immortality, and the joyes of heaven i
many thousands voluntarily break their own neckes, as
ciatus' auditors of old, precipitate themselves, that th
that unspeakable happiness in the other world. O
strangleth himself; and the king of China had done as m
vaine hope, had he not been detained by his servant.
ently tell of their severall superstitions, vexations, folli
conclude with [g]Possevinus, *Religio facit asperos mi
superstitio ex hominibus feras*, Religion makes wilde be
makes wise men beasts and fools; and the discreetest
way to it, are no better than dizards; nay more, if tha
is unus religionis scopus, ut ei quem colimus similes fia
religion to make us like him whom we worship; what sl
laters, but to degenerate into stockes and stones? of
heathen Gods, (for *Dii gentium dæmonia*) [h]but to beco
'Tis therefore *exitiosus error, et maxime periculosus*, a
gerous errour of all others, as [i]Plutarch holds, *turbulent
sternans*, a pestilent, a troublesome passion, that utterl
happy superstition, [j]Pliny cals it, *morte non finitur*, dea
not superstition. Impious and ignorant men are far
which are superstitious, no torture like to it, none so c
so destructive, so violent.

In this superstitious row, Jewes for antiquitie may
what of old they have done, what idolatries they ha
groves and high places, what their Pharisees, Sadducee

[a] Fer. Cortesius. [b] M. Polus. Lod. Vertomannus navig. lib. 6. cap. P. M
pertius lib. 3. eleg. 12. [d] Matthias a Michou. [e] Epist. Jesuit. ann. 154
Riccius expedit. ad Sinas, l. 1. Jejunatores apud eos toto die carnibus absti
nocte et die idola colentes; nusquam egredientes. [f] Ad immortalitatem
tratus, &c. Et multi mortales hac insaniâ, et præpostero immortalitatis stud
rex ipse clam venenum hausisset, nisi a servo fulsset detentus. [g] Cantic
fol. 111. [h] Quin ipsius diaboli ut nequitiam referant. [i] Lib. de superst
mors, non autem superstitionis; profert hæc suos terminos ultra vitæ finem.

such sectaries have maintained, I will not so much as mention: for the present, I presume no nation under heaven can be more sottish, ignorant, blinde, superstitious, wilfull, obstinate, and peevish, tyring themselves with vaine ceremonies to no purpose; he that shall but reade their Rabbins ridiculous Comments, their strange interpretation of Scriptures, their absurd ceremonies, fables, childish tales, which they stedfastly beleeve, will think they be scarse rational creatures; their foolish [k] customes, when they rise in the morning; and how they prepare themselves to prayer, to meat, with what superstitious washings; how to their sabbath, to their other feasts, weddings, burials, &c. Last of all, the expectation of their Messias, and those figments, miracles, vaine pompe that shall attend him; as how he shall terrifie the gentiles, and overcome them by new diseases; how Michael the Archangel shall sound his trumpet, how he shall gather all the scattered Jewes into the holy land, and there make them a great banquet, [l] *wherein shall be all the birds, beasts, fishes, that ever God made; a cup of wine that grew in Paradise, and that hath been kept in Adam's cellar ever since.* At the first course shall be served in that great oxe in Psal. 50. 10. *that every day feeds on a thousand hils;* Job 41. that great Leviathan; and a great bird that laid an egge so big, [m] *that by chance tumbling out of the nest, it knockt down* 300 *tall cedars, and breaking as it fell, drowned* 160 *villages.* This bird stood up to the knees in the sea, and the sea was so deep, that a hatchet would not fall to the bottom in seven yeers. Of their Messias [n] wives and children; Adam and Eve, &c. and that one stupend fiction among the rest: When a Roman prince asked of Rabbi Jehosua ben Hanania, why the Jewes God was compared to a lion; he made answer, he compared himself to no ordinary lion, but to one in the wood Ela, which when he desired to see, the Rabbin pray'd to God he might, and forthwith the lion set forward; [o] *But when he was* 400 *miles from Rome, he so roared that all the great-bellied women in Rome made aborts; the citie walls fell down; and when he came an hundred miles nearer, and roared the second time, their teeth fell out of their heads, the emperour himself fell down dead, and so the lion went back.* With an infinite number of such lyes and forgeries, which they verily beleeve, feed themselves with vain hope, and in the mean time will by no perswasions be diverted, but still crucifie their soules with a company of idle ceremonies, live like slaves and vagabonds, will not be relieved or reconciled.

Mahometans are a compound of Gentiles, Jewes, and Christians; and so absurd in their ceremonies, as if they had taken that which is most sottish out of every one of them; full of idle fables in their superstitious law; their Alcoran it self a gallimaufrie of lyes, tales, ceremonies, traditions, precepts, stole from other sectes, and confusedly heaped up, to delude a company of rude and barbarous clownes. As how birds, beasts, stones, saluted Mahomet when he came from Mecha, the moone came downe from heaven to visit him; [p] how God sent for him, spake to him, &c. with a company of stupend figments of the angels, sun, moone, and stars, &c. Of the day of judgement, and three sounds to prepare to it, which must last 50000 yeers; of Paradise, which wholly consists in *coeundi et comedendi voluptate,* and *pecorinis hominibus scriptum, bestialis beatitudo,* is so ridiculous, that Virgil, Dantes, Lucian, nor any poet can be more fabulous. Their rites and ceremonies are most vaine and superstitious; wine and swines flesh are utter forbidden by

[k] Buxtorfius, Synagog. Jud. c. 4. Inter precandum nemo pediculos attingat, vel pulicem, aut per guttur inferius ventum emittas, &c. Id. c. 5. et seq. cap. 36. [l] Illic omnia animalia, pisces, aves, quos Deus unquam creavit mactabuntur, et vinum generosum, &c. [m] Cujus lapsu cedri altissimi 300 dejecti sunt, quumque lapsu ovum fuerat confractum, pagi 160 inde submersi, et alluvione inundati. [n] Every king in the world shall send him one of his daughters to be his wife, because it is written Psal. 45. 10. kings daughters shall attend on him, &c. [o] Quum quadringentis adhuc milliaribus ab imperatore leo hic abesset, tam fortiter rugiebat, ut mulieres Romanæ abortierint omnes, murique, &c. [p] Strozius Cicogna, omnif. mag. lib. 1. c. 1. Putida multa recenset ex Alcorano, de cælo, stellis, angelis, Lonicerus, c. 21, 22. l. 1.

their law; [t]they must pray five times a day; and still t
wash before and after, all their bodies over, with many
vowes, religious orders, peregrinations, they go far b
[r]They fast a month together many times, and must not eat
Their Kalenders, Dervises, and Torlachers, &c. are mor
of them, then Carthusians, Franciscans, Anchorites; forsa
fare hard, goe naked, &c. [t]Their pilgrimages are as
[u]Ganges (which the Gentiles of those tracts likewise do)
for that river, as they hold, hath a soveraign vertue to
sins, and no man can be saved that hath not been washe
reason they come far and near from the Indies; *Maxim
confluxus est*, and infinite numbers yeerly resort to it.
Mecha to Mahomets tombe, which journey is both miracul
The ceremonies of flinging stones to stone the divel; o
Cairo by the way; their fastings, their running till th
prayers, Mahomets temple, tombe, and building of it,
volume to dilate: and for their paines taken in this holy
sins are forgiven, and they reputed for so many saints.
with hot bricks, when they return, will put out their e
after see any prophane thing, bite out their tongues, &c.
prophet Mahomet as Jewes doe for their Messias. Rea
tomes, rites, ceremonies, in Lonicerus, *Turcic. hist. tom*
the 24th chapter. Bredenbachius, *cap.* 4, 5, 6. Leo A
quius, Sabellicus, Purchas, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. *et* 4, 5. Theod
Many foolish ceremonies you shall finde in them; and
lamented, the people are generally so curious in observin
least circumstance be omitted, they think they shall be
missible offence, and can hardly be forgiven. I kept in
my followers (saith [w]Busbequius, sometimes the Turke
tinople) a Turkey boye that by chance did eat shell-fish,
their law; but the next day when he knew what he had d
sick to cast and vomit, but very much troubled in min
[x]grieve many dayes after, torment himself for his foul
Turke being to drink a cup of wine in his cellar, first m
filthy faces, [y]*to warn his soule* (*as he said*) *that it sho
that foule fact which he was to commit.* With such to
kept in awe, and so cowed, that they dare not resist, o
cumstance of their law, for conscience sake misled by s
humane edict otherwise, no force of arms could have enfo

In the last place are Pseudo-Christians: in describin
tious symptomes, as a mixture of the rest, I may say th
once saw in a vision; one divel in the market place, but
because there was more work; in populous cities, the
forswear, lye, falsifie, deceive fast enough of themselves
cumvent a thousand; but in their religious houses a t
scarce tempt one silly monke. All the principal divels
selves in subverting Christians; Jewes, Gentiles, and M
caulam, out of the fold, and need no such attendanc
sistance; [z]*eos enim pulsare negligit, quos quieto jure*

[s] Quinquies in die orare Turcæ tenentur ad meridiem. Bredenbachius, cap.
mensem integrum jejunant luterdiu, nec comedentes nec bibentes, &c.
totam ætatem carnibus vescuntur. Leo Afer. [t] Lonicerus, tom. 1. cap. 17,
ca. 33. hist. orient. Indiæ. Opinio est expiatorium esse Gangem; et nec in
salvum fieri posse, qui non hoc flumine se abluat: quam ob causam ex totâ
volunt deinceps videre. [w] The German ambassador in Turkey.
facit. [y] Ut in aliquem angulum se reciperet, ne reus fieret ejus delic
[z] *Gregor.* Hom.

they are his own already; but Christians have that shield of faith, sword of the spirit to resist, and must have a great deal of battery before they can be overcome. That the divel is most busie amongst us that are of the true church, appears by those several oppositions, heresies, schismes, which in all ages he hath raised to subvert it, and in that of Rome especially, wherein Antichrist himself now sits and playes his prize. This mystery of iniquity began to work even in the Apostles time; many Antichrists and heretiques were abroad, many sprung up since, many now present, and will be to the worlds end, to dementate mens mindes, to seduce and captivate their soules. Their symptomes I know not how better to express, then in that twofold division, of such as lead, and are led, Such as lead are heretiques, schismatickes, false prophets, impostors, and their ministers: they have some common symptomes, some peculiar. Common; as madness, folly, pride, insolency, arrogancy, singularity, peevishness, obstinacy, impudence, scorn and contempt of all other sects: *Nullius addicti jurare in verba magistri;* They will approve of nought but what they first invent themselves, no interpretation good but what their infallible spirit dictates; none shall be *in secundis*, no not *in tertiis*, they are onely wise, onely learned in the truth; all damned but they and their followers; *cædem scripturarum faciunt ad materiam suam*, saith Tertullian: they make a slaughter of Scriptures, and turn it as a nose of wax to their own ends. So irrefragable, in the mean time, that what they have once said, they must and will maintain, in whole tomes, duplications, triplications, never yeeld to death, so self-conceited, say what you can. As [a] Bernard (erroneously some say) speaks of P. Aliardus, *omnes patres sic, atque ego sic.* Though all the fathers, councels, the whole world contradict it, they care not, they are all one: and as [b] Gregory well notes *of such as are vertiginous, they think all turns round and moves, all err; when as the errour is wholly in their own braines.* Magallianus the Jesuite in his Comment on the first of Timothy, *cap.* 6. *vers.* 20. and Alphonsus de Castro, *lib.* 1. *adversus hæreses*, gives two more eminent notes, or probable conjectures to know such men by, (they might have taken themselves by the noses when they said it) [c] *First they affect novelties and toyes, and prefer falsehood before truth. Secondly, they care not what they say; that which rashness and folly hath brought out, pride afterward, peevishness and contumacy shall maintain to the last gasp.* [d] Peculiar symptomes are prodigious paradoxes, new doctrines, vain phantasmes, which are many and divers as they themselves. [e] Nicholaites of old would have wives in common. Montanists would not marry at all, nor Tatians; forbidding all flesh, Severians, wine. Adamians go naked, [f] because Adam did so in Paradise; and some [g] barefoot all their lives, because God, Exod. 3. and Joshua 5. bid Moses so to doe; and Isay 20. was bid put off his shooes. Manichees hold that Pythagorian transmigration of soules from men to beasts. [h] The Circumcellions in Africke, *with a mad cruelty made away themselves, some by fire, water, breaking their neckes, and seduced others to doe the like, threatning some if they did not;* with a thousand such: as you may read in [i] Austin, (for there were fourscore and eleven heresies in his times, besides schismes and smaller factions) Epiphanius, Alphonsus de Castro, Danæus, Gab. Prateolus, &c. Of prophets, enthusiasts and impostors, our ecclesiastical stories afford many examples; of Elias and Christ, as our [j] Eudo de Stellis, a Brittain in King Stephens time, that went invisible, translated him-

[a] Epist. 190. [b] Orat. 8. Ut vertigine correptis videntur omnia moveri, omnia ils falsa sunt, quum error in ipsorum cerebro sit. [c] 1. Res novas affectant et inutiles, falsa veris præferunt. 2. Quod temeritas effutierit, id superbia post modum tuebitur et contumacia, &c. [d] See more in Vincent. Lyrin. [e] Aust. de hæres. Usus mulierum indifferens. [f] Quod ante peccavit Adam, nudus erat. [g] Alii nudis pedibus semper ambulant. [h] Insanâ feritate sibi non parcunt, nam per mortes varias præcipitiorum, aquarum, et ignium, seipsos necant, et in istum furorem alios cogunt, mortem minantes ni faciant. [i] Eleuch. hæret. ab orbe condito. [j] Nubrigensis, lib. 1. cap. 19.

self from one to another in a moment, fed thousands with
wilderness, and many such; nothing so common as miracl
tions, prophesies. Now what these brain-sick heretiques onc
postors set on foot, be it never so absurd, false, and prodig
people will follow and beleeve. It will run along like murra
sheep. *Nulla scabies*, [k] as he said, *superstitione scabiosior*:
with a mad dogg bites others, and all in the end become mad
affection of novelty, simplicity, blinde zeal, hope and feare,
multitude will embrace it, and without farther examination

Sed vetera querimur, these are old, *hæc prius fuêre*.
have a new scene of superstitious impostors and heretique
of actors, of Antichrists, that great Antichrist himself:
that by their greatness and authority bear down all before
that time they proclaimed themselves universal bishops, to
kingdome, soveraignty, greatness, and to enrich themselve
a company of humane traditions, purgatory, *Limbus Patru*
all that subterranean geography, masse, adoration of sain
buls, indulgences, orders, friers, images, shrines, musty r
nications, confessions, satisfactions, blinde obediences, v
peregrinations, with many such curious toyes, intricat
errours, obscure questions, to vindicate the better and set
that the light of the Gospel was quite eclipsed, darkness
tures concealed, legends brought in, religion banished,
stition exalted, and the church it self [l] obscured and
and his members crucified more, saith Benzo, by a
atheistical popes, then ever it was by [m] Julian the apost
platonist, Celsus the physician, Libanius the sophister;
emperours, Hunnes, Gothes, and Vandals. What each of
meanes, at what times, *quibus auxiliis*, superstition climb
traditions encreased, and Antichrist himself came to his est
genses, Kemnisius, Osiander, Bale, Mornay, Fox, Usher
relate. In the mean time, he that shall but see their propha
customes, how superstitiously kept, how strictly observed,
saints, images, that rabble of Romish deities, for trades, p
persons, offices, countries, places; St. George for Engl
France; Patrick, Ireland; Andrew, Scotland; Iago, Sp
for students; Luke for painters; Cosmus and Damian
Crispine, shooemakers; Katherine, spinners; &c. Anthon
geese: Wenceslaus, sheep; Pelagius, oxen; Sebastian, t
tine, falling sickness; Apollonia, tooth-ach; Petronella f
Virgin Mary for sea and land, for all parties, offices. He
these things, their shrines, images, oblations, pendant
grimages they make to them; what creeping to crosses, ou
rich [n] gownes, her donaries, the cost bestowed on imag
suiters: S[t] Nicholas Burge in France; our S[t] Thomas sh
terbury; those reliques at Rome, Jerusalem, Genoa, L
Denis; and how many thousands come yeerly to offer t
cost, trouble, anxiety, superstition, (for forty several ma
in some of their [o] churches, and they rise at all houres of t
come bare-foot, &c.) how they spend themselves, times, go
in such ridiculous observations; their tales and figme

[k] Aventin. Pont. Aret. Blal. [l] Cum per Paganos nomen ejus persequi non po
[m] Julianus voluerunt dispescebat. [n] That writ de professo against Christ
[o] scriptorum nugis plenam, &c. vide Cyrillum in Ju
[n] What image had one gown worth 400,000 crownes and more.

buying and selling of pardons, indulgences for 40000 yeers to come; their processions on set dayes, their strict fastings, monkes, anchorites, frier mendicants, Franciscans, Carthusians, &c. Their vigils and fasts, their ceremonies at Christmas, Shrovetide, Candlemas, Palme-sunday, Blase, S^t^. Martin, S^t^. Nicholas-day; their adorations, exorcismes, &c. will think all those Grecian, Pagan, Mahometan superstitions, gods, idols, and ceremonies, the name, time and place, habit onely altered, to have degenerated into christians. Whilst they prefer traditions before scriptures; those evangelical councels, poverty, obedience, vowes, almes, fasting, supererogations, before Gods commandements; their own ordinances in stead of his precepts, and keep them in ignorance, blindnesse; they have brought the common people into such a case, by their cunning conveiances, strict discipline and servile education, that upon pain of damnation they dare not break the least ceremony, tradition, edict: hold it a greater sin to eat a bit of meat in Lent, then kill a man: their consciences are so terrified, that they are ready to despair if a small ceremony be omitted; and will accuse their own father, mother, brother, sister, neerest and dearest friends of heresie, if they doe not as they doe; will be their chief executioners, and helpe first to bring a fagot to burn them. What mulct, what penance soever is enjoyned, they dare not but doe it; tumble with S^t^. Francis in the mire amongst hogs, if they be appointed; go wollward, whip themselves, build hospitals, abbies, &c. go to the East or West Indies, kill a king, or run upon a sword point: they performe all, without any muttering or hesitation, beleeve all.

[p] Ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia ahena
Vivere, et esse homines, et sic isti omnia ficta
Vera putant, credunt signis cor inesse ahenis.

As children thinke their babies live to be,
Doe they these brazen images they see.

And whilst the ruder sort are so carried headlong with blinde zeal, are so gulled and tortured by their superstitions, their own too credulous simplicity and ignorance, their Epicurean popes, and hypocritical cardinals laugh in their sleeves, and are merry in their chambers with their punkes; they do *indulgere genio*, and make much of themselves. The middle sort, some for private gain, hope of ecclesiasticall preferment, (*quis expedivit psittaco suum χαίρε*) popularity, base flattery, must and will beleeve all their paradoxes and absurd tenents without exception; and as obstinately maintain, and put in practice, all their traditions and idolatrous ceremonies (for their religion is halfe a trade) to the death; they will defend all, the golden legend it self, with all the lyes and tales in it: as that of S^t^. George, S^t^. Christopher, S^t^. Winifred, S^t^. Denis, &c. It is a wonder to see how Nic. Harpsfield that pharisaical impostor amongst the rest, *Ecclesiast. hist. cap.* 22. *sæc. prim. sex.* puzzles himself to vindicate that ridiculous fable of S^t^. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins; as, when they lived, how they came to Cullen, by whom martyred, &c. though he can say nothing for it, yet he must and will approve it: *nobilitavit* (inquit) *hoc* [q] *sæculum Ursula cum comitibus, cujus historia utinam tam mihi esset expedita et certa, quam in animo meo certum ac expeditum est, eam esse cum sodalibus beatam in cœlis virginem.* They must and will (I say) either out of blinde zeal beleeve, vary their compass with the rest, as the latitude of religion varies; apply themselves to the times and seasons, and for feare and flattery are content to subscribe and doe all that in them lies to maintain and defend their present government, and slavish religious schoolmen, canonists, jesuites, friers, priests, orators, sophisters, who either for that they had nothing else to doe, luxuriant wits knew not otherwise how to busie themselves in those idle times, (for the church then had few or no open adversaries) or better to defend their lyes, fictions, miracles, transubstantiations, traditions, popes, pardons, purgatories, masses, impossibilities, &c. with glorious shews, faire

[p] *Lucilius, lib. 1. cap. 22. de falsâ relig.* [q] An. 441.

pretences, big words, and plausible wits have coyned a t
tions, nice distinctions, subtleties, obs and sols, such tropo
expositions, to salve all appearances, objections, such quir
Quodlibetaries, as Bale saith of Ferribrigge and Strode,
tions, decrees, glosses, canons; that in stead of sound c
preachers, are come in a company of mad sophisters, *pri*
darii, sectaries, canonists, *Sorbonists*, *Minorites*, with a
troversies and questions, [r] *an Papa sit Deus, an quasi*
ticipet utramque Christi naturam? Whether it be as
be a humble bee, or a gourd, as a man? Whether he
without a foundation or terme, make a whore a virgin? f
from hell, and how? with a rabble of questions about h
be a greater sin to kill a man, or to clout shooes upon
ther God can make another God like unto himself? Suc
are most of your schoolmen, (meer alchymists) 200 com
Lambard; (*Pitsius, catal. scriptorum Anglic.* reckon
commentators alone, on the matter of the sentences)
Reals, Nominals, &c. and so perhaps that of Saint [s] Aust
Indocti rapiunt cœlum, docti interim descendunt ad inf
continued in such errour, blindness, decrees, sophismes
ceremonies and traditions were the sum of their new c
religion, and by these knaveries and stratagems they w
multitudes, to deceive the most sanctified soules, and if
very elect. In the mean time the true church, as wine an
and obscure to speak of, till Luthers time, who began upon
and as another sun, to drive away those foggy mists of
store it to that purity of the primitive church. And af
and godly men, divine spirits, have done their endeavors,

[r] And what their ignorance esteem'd so holy,
Our wiser ages do accompt as folly.

But see the divel, that will never suffer the church to
no garden so well tilled but some noxious weedes grow
but it hath some tares; we have a mad giddy company
maticks, and some heretiques even in our own bosomes
Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt; that o
in opposition to Antichrist, humane traditions, those
superstitions, will quite demolish all, they will admit of
no fasting dayes, no cross in baptism, kneeling at com
musick, &c. no bishops courts, no church governme
church discipline, will not hold their tongues, and all f
O Sion. No, not so much as degrees, some of th
universities: all humane learning, ('tis *cloaca diaboli*) h
surpless, such as are things indifferent in themselves,
ment, decency, or distinction sake, they abhor, hate,
stone horse when he meets a bear: they make matte
them, and will rather forsake their livings then subsc
will admit of no holydayes, or honest recreations, as o
&c. no churches, no bels, some of them, because p
discipline, no ceremonies, but what they invent themse
tions of scriptures, no comments of fathers, no councel
own phantastical spirits dictate, or *recta ratio*, as S
spirit misled, many times they broach as prodigious

[r] Hospinian. Osiander. An hæc propositio, Deus sit cucurbita vel scarabæus et homo? An possit respectum producere sine fundamento et termino? An quam die dominico calceum consuere? [s] De doct. Christian.

themselves. Some of them turn prophets, have secret revelations, will be of privy councel with God himself, and know all his secrets; [u]*Per capillos Spiritum Sanctum tenent, et omnia sciunt, cum sint asini omnium obstinatissimi.* A company of giddy heads will take upon them to define how many shall be saved, and who damned in a parish; where they shall sit in heaven, interpret apocalypses, (*commentatores præcipites et vertiginosos*, one cals them, as well he might) and those hidden mysteries to private persons, times, places, as their own spirit informs them, private revelations shall suggest; and precisely set down when the world shall come to an end, what yeer, what moneth, what day. Some of them again have such strong faith, so presumptuous, they will goe into infected houses, expel divels, and fast forty dayes, as Christ himself did. Some call God and his attributes into question, as Vorstius and Socinus; some princes, civil magistrates, and their authorities, as Anabaptists; will doe all their own private spirit dictates, and nothing else. Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, and those Amsterdamian sectes and sectaries, are led all by so many private spirits. It is a wonder to reveal what passages Sleidan relates in his Commentaries, of Cretinke, Knipperdoling, and their associates, those mad men of Munster in Germany; what strange enthusiasmes, sottish revelations they had, how absurdly they carried themselves, deluded others; and as prophane Machiavel in his political disputations holds of the christian religion, in general it doth enervate, debilitate, take away mens spirits and courage from them, *simpliciores reddit homines*, breeds nothing so couragious souldiers as that Roman; we may say of these peculiar sects, their religion takes away not spirits onely, but wit and judgement, and deprives them of their understanding. For some of them are so far gone with their private enthusiasmes and revelations, that they are quite mad, out of their wits. What greater madness can there be, then for a man to take upon him to be God, as some doe? to be the Holy Ghost, Elias, and what not? In [v]Poland, 1518, in the reign of king Sigismund, one said he was Christ, and got him 12 apostles, come to judge the world, and strangely deluded the commons. [w]One David George, an illiterate painter, not many yeers since, did as much in Holland, took upon him to be the Messias, and had many followers. Benedictus Victorinus Faventinus, *consil.* 15. writes as much of one Honorius, that thought he was not onely inspired as a prophet, but that he was a god himself, and had [x]familiar conference with God and his angels. Lavat. *de spect. c.* 2. *part.* 1. hath a story of one John Sartorius, that thought he was the prophet Elias, and *cap.* 7. of divers others that had conference with angels, were saints, prophets; Wierus, *lib.* 3. *de Lamiis, c.* 7. makes mention of a prophet of Groning that said he was God the Father; of an Italian and Spanish prophet that held as much. We need not rove so far abroad; we have familiar examples at home: Hacket that said he was Christ; Coppinger and Arthington his disciples: [y]Burchet and Hovatus burned at Norwich. We are never likely seven yeers together, without some such new prophets that have several inspirations, some to convert the Jewes; some fast forty dayes; go with Daniel to the lions den; some foretel strange things, some for one thing, some for another. Great precisians of mean conditions and very illiterate, most part by a preposterous zeale, fasting, meditation, melancholy, are brought into those gross errours and inconveniences. Of those men I may conclude generally, that howsoever they may seem to be discreet, and men of understanding in other matters, discourse well, *læsam habent imaginationem*, they are like comets, round in all places, but only where they blaze, *cætera sani*, they have impregnable

[u] Agrip. ep. 26. [v] Alex. Gaguin. 22. Discipulis sectis mirum in modum populum decepit. [w] Guicciard. descrip. Belg. com. Piures habuit sectarios ab iisdem honoratus. [x] Hen. Nicholas at Leiden 1580, such a one. [y] See Camden's Annals, f. 242. et 285.

wits many of them, and discreet otherwise, but in this their
breaks out beyond measure, *is infinitum erumpit stultit*
tainly far gone with melancholy, if not quite mad; and
physick then many a man that keeps his bed; more ne
those that are in bedlam.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Prognosticks of Religious Mel*

You may guess at the prognosticks, by the symptomes
signes foretel otherwise then folly, dotage, madness, gross
obstinacy, a reprobate sense, [a]a bad end? What else c
resie produce, but wars, tumults, uproares, torture of s
a desolate land, as Jeremy teacheth *cap.* 7. 34. when th
and walk after their own wayes? how should it be oth
What can they expect but *blasting, famine, dearth,* an
Ægypt, as Amos denounceth, *cap.* 4. *vers.* 9. 10. to be
If our hopes be frustrate, *we sowe much and bring in litt*
enough, drink and are not filled, clothe and be not warm
we look for much and it comes to little, whence is it? H
they came to their own houses, vers. 10. *therefore the h*
the earth his fruit. Because we are superstitious, irr
serve God as we ought, all these plagues and miseries c
can we look for else but mutual wars, slaughters, fearfull
in the life to come eternal damnation? What is it that h
feral battles to be fought, so much christian blood she
That Spanish inquisition, racks, wheels, tortures, torme
proceed? from superstition. Bodine the Frenchman i
accounts Englishmen barbarians, for their civil wars: bu
those Pharsalian fields [b]fought of late in France for relig
wherein, by their own relations in 24 yeers, I know no
have been consumed, whole families and cities, and he sh
been but velitations to theirs. But it hath ever been the c
and idolaters, when they are plagued for their sins, and G
come upon them, not to acknowledge any fault in themse
it unto others. In Cyprians time, it was much controver
Demetrius, an idolater, who should be the cause of tho
Demetrius laid all the fault on christians, (and so they c
tive church, as appears by the first book of [c]Arnobius) '
such ordinary showres in winter, the ripening heat in su
springs, fruitfull autumnes, no marble mines in the n
and silver then of old; that husbandmen, seamen, souldie
justice, friendship, skill in arts, all was decayed, and th
default, and all their other miseries from them, *quod D*
colantur, because they did not worship their gods. Bu
upon him again, as appears by his tract against him. "
miserably tormented and shaken with wars, dearth, fami
plagues, and many feral diseases rage amongst us, *sed*
ista accidunt quod Dii vestri a nobis non colantur, se
colatur Deus, a quibus nec quæritur, nec timetur. Not
that we do not worship your Gods, but because you are i
serve the true God, neither seeke him, nor feare him as

[a] Arius his bowels burst, Montanus hanged himself, &c. Eudo de Stellis,
quam ad vitam corrigi maluerunt; tanta vis infixi semel erroris, they died blas
lib. 1. Jer. 7. 23. Amos, 5. 5. [a] 5. cap. [b] Poplinerius Lerius, præf. hist.
gentes, lib. 1. Postquam in mundo Christiana gens cœpit, terrarum orbem pe
tum esse genus humanum videmus. [c] Quod nec hyeme, nec æstate tanta t
torrendis solita flagrantia, nec vernali temperie sata tam læta sint, nec arbore
minus de montibus marmor eruatur, minus aurum, &c.

pists object as much to us, and account us heretiques, we them; the Turkes esteem of both as infidels, and we them as a company of Pagans, Jewes against all; when indeed there is a generall fault in us all, and something in the very best, which may justly deserve Gods wrath, and pull these miseries upon our heads. I will say nothing here of those vaine cares, torments, needless works, pennance, pilgrimages, pseudomartyrdome, &c. We heap upon our selves unnecessary troubles, observations; we punish our bodies, as in Turkie (saith [e] Busbequius, *leg. Turcic. ep.* 3.) *one did, that was much affected with musicke, and to heare boyes sing, but very superstitious; an old sybil coming to his house or an holy woman* (as that place yeelds many) *took him downe for it, and told him, that in that other world he should suffer for it; thereupon he flung his riche and costly instruments which he had bedeckt with jewels, all at once into the fire. He was served in silver plate, and had goodly houshold stuffe: a little after, another religious man reprehended him in like sort, and from thenceforth he was served in earthen vessels. Last of all, a decree came forth because Turkes might not drink wine themselves, that neither Jewe nor Christian then living in Constantinople, might drinke any wine at all.* In like sort, amongst papists, fasting at first was generally proposed as a good thing; after, from such meats at set times, and then last of all so rigorously proposed, to binde the consciences upon pain of damnation. *First, Fryday,* saith Erasmus, *then Saturday, et nunc periclitatur dies Mercurii,* and Wednesday now is in danger of a fast. [f] *And for such like toyes, some so miserably afflict themselves, to despaire, and death it self, rather then offend; and think themselves good christians in it, when as indeed they are superstitious Jewes.* So saith Leonardus Fuchsius, a great physician in his time. [g] *We are so tortured in Germany with these popish edicts, our bodies so taken downe, our goods so diminished, that if God had not sent Luther, a worthy man, in time to redresse these mischiefes, we should have eaten hay with our horses before this.* [h] As in fasting, so in all other superstitious edicts, we crucifie one another without a cause, barring our selves of many good and lawful things, honest disports, pleasures and recreations: For wherefore did God create them but for our use? Feasts, mirth, musicke, hawking, hunting, singing, dancing, &c. *non tam necessitatibus nostris Deus inservit, sed in delicias amamur,* as Seneca notes, God would have it so. And as Plato, 2. *de legibus* gives out, *Deos laboriosam hominum vitam miseratos,* the gods, in commiseration of humane estate, sent Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses, *qui cum voluptate tripudia et saltationes nobis ducant,* to be merry with mortals, to sing and dance with us. So that he that will not rejoyce and enjoye himself, making good use of such things as are lawfully permitted, *non est temperatus,* as he will, *sed superstitiosus. There is nothing better for a man, then that he should eat and drinke, and that he should make his soule enjoye good in his labour, Eccles.* 2. 24. And as [i] one said of hawking and hunting, *tot solatia in hac ægri orbis calamitate mortalibus tædiis Deus objecit,* I say of all honest recreations; God hath therefore indulged them to refresh, ease, solace and comfort us. But we are some of us too stern, too rigid, too precise, too grossely superstitious; and whilst we make a conscience of every toye, with touch not, taste not, &c. as those Pythagorians of old, and some Indians now (the Bannians about Guzerat) that will eat no flesh, or suffer any living creature to be killed; we tyrannize over our brothers soule, lose the right

[e] Solitus erat oblectare se fidibus, et voce musicâ canentium; sed hoc omne sublatum Sibyllæ cujusdam interventu, &c. Inde quicquid erat instrumentorum symphoniacorum, auro gemmisque egregio opere distinctorum, comminuit, et in ignem injecit, &c. [f] Ob id genus observatiunculas videmus homines misere affligi, et denique mori, et sibi ipsis Christianos videri, quum revera sint Judæi. [g] Ita in corpora nostra fortunasque decretis suis sævit, ut parum abfuerit, nisi Deus Lutherum, virum perpetuâ memoriâ dignissimum, excitâsset, quin nobis fœno mox communi cum jumentis cibo utendum fuisset. [h] The Gentiles in India will eat no sensible creatures, or ought that hath bloud in it. [i] Vandermillius, de sumptu, cap. 27.

use of many good gifts; honest [j] sports, games and pl
[k] punish ourselves without a cause, lose our liberties, and s
Anno 1270, at [l] Magdeburge in Germany, a Jewe fell i
Saturday, and without helpe could not possibly get ou
fellowes for succour, but they denied it, because it was
licebat opus manuum exercere; the bishop hearing of it, t
him to be pulled out, because it was our Sunday: In
wretch died before Munday. We have myriades of exan
amongst those rigid sabbatarians; and therefore, not w
[m] *intolerabilem perturbationem* Seneca calls it, as well he
ble perturbation, that causeth such dire events, folly, mad
paire, death of body and soule, and hell it self.

SUBSECT. V.—*Cure of Religious Melanc*

To purge the world of idolatry and superstition, will re
taming Hercules, a divine Æsculapius, or CHRIST him
owne person, to raign a thousand yeers on earth before t
naries will have him. They are generally so refractory,
stinate, so firmely addicted to that religion in which th
and brought up, that no perswasion, no terrour, no pe
them. The consideration of which, hath induced man
suffer them to enjoye their consciences as they will then
of Jewes is in most provinces of Europe: In Asia they ha
Spaniards permit Moors to live amongst them: the M
the Turkes, all religions. In Europe, Poland and Amst
mon sanctuaries. Some are of opinion, that no man ou
for conscience sake, but let him be of what religion he wi
as Cornelius was formerly accepted, Jewe, Turke, Anab
an honest man, live soberly and civilly in his profession,
and the rest of the Socinians, that now nestle themselves
Rakowe in Poland, have renewed this opinion) and serv
that fear and reverence as he ought. *Sua cuique civita
nostra nobis*; Tully thought fit every city should be free
their own *custodes et topicos Deos*, tutelar and local g
cals them. Isocrates adviseth Demonicus, *when he cam
to* [n] *worship, by all meanes, the gods of the place, et un
Deum sic coli oportere, quomodo ipse præceperit:* which
labours, and would have every nation, *sacrorum ritu
Deos colere municipes*, keep their owne ceremonies, w
gods; which Pomponius Mela reports of the Africans, *D
venerantur*; they worship their owne gods according t
tion. For why should any one nation, as he there pl
universalitie of God, *Deum suum quem nec ostendunt, n
tem scilicet et ubique præsentem, in omnium mores, actu
tiones inquirentem*, &c. as Christians do? Let every p
libertie in this behalfe, worship one god, or all as they wi
The Romans built altars *Diis Asiæ, Europæ, Libyæ, Dii
others, otherwise, &c. Plinius Secundus, as appears
jan, would not have the Christians so persecuted, and

[j] Some explode all humane authors, arts and sciences, poets, histories, &c.
runs their wits; and so stupid, they oppose all humane learning, because they
illiterate; nothing must be read but scriptures. But these men deserve to be
Others are so strict, they will admit of no honest game and pleasure; no da
recreations and games, hawking, hunting, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, &c. b
another is the fruit of our rebellion against God, &c. [k] Nuda ac tremeb
et candida Jusserit Jo. Juvenalis, Sat. 6. [l] Munster Cosmog. lib. 3. cap.
se non posse exhimere; inv[illegible] sociorum, sed lili negant, &c. [m] D
[illegible] præsertim quod [illegible] [n] Oct[illegible]

raign of Maximinus, as we find it registred in Eusebius *lib.* 9. *cap.* 9. there was a decree made to this purpose, *nullus cogatur invitus ad hunc vel illum Deorum cultum;* and by Constantine in the 19 year of his raign, as [p] Baronius informeth us; *nemo alteri exhibeat molestiam, quod cujusque animus vult, hoc quisque transigat,* new gods, new lawgivers, new priests will have new ceremonies, customes and religions, to which every wise man, as a good formalist, should accommodate himself.

[q] Saturnus perlit, perierunt et sua jura;
Sub Jove nunc mundus, jussa sequare Jovis.

The said Constantine the emperour, as Eusebius writes, flung down and demolished all the heathen gods silver and gold statues, altars, images and temples, and turned them all to Christian churches, *infestus gentilium monumentis ludibrio exposuit.* The Turke now converts them again to Mahometan meskites. The like edict came forth in the raign of Arcadius and Honorius [r] Symmachus the orator in his dayes, to procure a generall toleration used this argument, [s] *because God is immense and infinite, and his nature cannot perfectly be knowne, it is convenient he should be as diversly worshipped, as every man shall conceive or understand.* It was impossible, he thought, for one religion to be universall: you see that one small province can hardly be ruled by one law civil or spirituall; and *how shall so many distinct and vast empires of the world be united into one? It never was, never will be.* Besides, if there be infinite planetary and firmamentall worlds, as [t] some will, there be infinite genii or commanding spirits belonging to each of them: and so *per consequens,* (for they will be all adored) infinite religions. And therefore, let every territory keep their proper rites and ceremonies, as their *Dii tutelares* will, so Tyrius cals them, *and according to the quarter they hold,* their own institutions, revelations, orders, oracles, which they dictate to from time to time, or teach their priests or ministers. This tenent was stiffely maintained in Turkie not long since, as you may reade in the third Epistle of Busbequius, [u] *that all those should participate of eternall happiness, that lived an holy and innocent life, what religion soever they professed:* Rustan Bassa was a great patron of it; though Mahomet himself was sent *virtute gladii,* to enforce all, as he writes in his Alcoran, to follow him. Some again will approve of this for Jewes, Gentiles, Infidels, that are out of the fold, they can be content to give them all respect and favour, but by no meanes to such as are within the precincts of our own church, and called Christians; to no heretiques, schismatickes, or the like; let the Spanish inquisition, that fourth Furie, speak for some of them, the civill wars and massacres in France, our Marian times. [v] Magallianus the Jesuite, will not admit of conference with an heretique, but severity and rigour to be used, *non illis verba reddere, sed furcas figere oportet;* and Theodosius is commended in Nicephorus *lib.* 12. *cap.* 15. [w] *that he put all heretiques to silence.* Bernard. *Epist.* 190. will have club law, fire and sword for heretiques, [x] *compell them, stop their mouthes not with disputations, or refute them with reasons, but with fists;* and this is their ordinary practice. Another companie are as milde on the other side: to avoid all heart-burning, and contentious wars and uprores, they would have a generall toleration in every kingdome; no mulct at all, no man for religion or conscience be put to death; which [y] Thuanus the French historian much favours: our late Socinians defend; Vaticanus against Calvin in a large

[p] Annal. tom. 3. ad annum 324. 1. [q] Ovid. [r] In epist. Sym. [s] Quia Deus immensum quiddam est, et infinitum, cujus natura perfecte cognosci non potest, æquum ergo est, ut diversâ ratione colatur quisque aliquid de Deo percipit aut intelligit. [t] Campanella Calcagninus, and others. [u] Æternæ beatitudinis consortes fore, qui sancte innocenterque hanc vitam traduxerint, quamcunque illi religionem secuti sunt. [v] Comment. in C. Tim. 6. ver. 20 et 21. Severitate cum hæreticis agendum, et non aliter. [w] Quod silentium hæreticis indixerit. [x] Igne et fuste potius agendum cum hæreticis quam cum disputationibusque so alia loquens, &c. [y] Præfat. hist.

treatise in behalfe of Servetus, vindicates; Castalio, &c. his companions maintained this opinion not long since errour is confuted by Beza in a just volume. The *medium* which Paul prescribes, Gal. 6. 1. *If any man shall fall store such a one with the spirit of meekness, by all fa admonitions:* but if that will not take place, *post unam tionem hæreticum devita*, he must be excommunicate, a menæus; delivered over to Satan. *Immedicabile vulnus* As Hippocrates said in physicke, I may well say in divin *curantur, ignis curat.* For the vulgar, restrain them by their bookes, forbid their conventicles: for when the ca the effect will soon cease. Now for prophets, dreamers fellowes, that through fasting, too much meditation, pre lancholy are distempered, the best meanes to reduce them is to alter their course of life, and with conference, threat sions, to intermixe physicke. Hercules de Saxoniâ committed to his charge in Venice, that thought he w fast as he did: he dressed a fellow in angels attire, tha heaven to bring him divine food, and by that meanes nistred his physicke; so by the mediation of this forged [z] Rhasis an Arabian, *cont. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. speakes of a fe complained to him, and desired his helpe: *I asked him matter was; he replyed, I am continually meditating and me thinkes I see and talk with fierie spirits, smell b so carried away with these conceits, that I can neither about my business: I cured him* (saith Rhasis) *partly b by physicke, and so I have done by many others.* We prophets and dreamers amongst us, whom we persecute I thinke the most compendious cure for some of them Bedlam. *Sed de his satis.*

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Religious Melancholy in defect; parties atheists, hypocrites, worldly secure, carnalists, all penitent sinners, &c.*

In that other extream, or defect of this love of God feare, hope, &c. are such as erre both in doctrine and Herodians, Libertines, polititians; all manner of athei that are secure, in a reprobate sense, fear not God at all trustfull and timorous, as desperate persons be. That or inpietie, [a] Melancthon cals it *monstrosam melancholi* choly; or *venenatam melancholiam*, poysoned melanc Cyclopes or giants, that war with the gods, as the poets Christians, that scoffe at all religion, at God himself, attributes, his wisdome, power, providence, his mercy a

[b] Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna, | Atque unâ transire vad
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras, | Nec pueri credunt, nisi

That there is either heaven or hell, resurrection of the or world to come, *credat Judæus Apella:* for their p as so many poets tales, bugbears Lucians Alexander, Christ are all as one in their creed. When those blou matters of religion, (saith [c] Richard Dinoth) were so vio

[a] Quidam conquestus est mihi de hoc morbo, et deprecatus est ut ego illu quid sentiret; respondit, semper imaginor et cogito de Deo et angelis, &c. e natione, ut nec edam, nec dormiam, nec negotiis, &c. Ego curavi medicinâ allos. [z] De animâ, c. de humoribus. [b] Juvenal. [c] Li. 5. Gal. 1 qui tot pericula subeuntes irridebant; et quæ de fide, religione, &c. dice eorum admittentes de futurâ vitâ.

genotes and Papists, there was a company of good fellowes laughed them to scorne, for being such superstitious fools, to loose their lives and fortunes, ounting faith, religion, immortality of the soule, meer fopperies and illusions. ɔh loose [d] atheisticall spirits are too predominant in all kingdomes. Let m contend, pray, tremble, trouble themselves that will, for their parts, they : neither God nor divel; but with that Cyclops in Euripides,

Haud ulla numina expavescunt Cælitûm,	They fear no god but one,
Sed victimas uni Deorum maximo,	They sacrifice to none,
Ventri offerunt, Deos ignorant cæteros.	But belly, and him adore,
	For gods they know no more.

eir god is their belly, as Paul saith, *Sancta mater saturitas;——quibus ɔolo vivendi causa paluto est.* The idol which they worship and adore, is ir mistress, with him in Plautus; *mallem hæc mulier me amet quam Dii*, y had rather have her favour then the gods. Satan is their guide, the flesh :heir instructor, hypocrisie their counsellour, vanity their fellow-souldier, ir will their law, ambition their captain, custome their rule, temerity, bold- s, impudence their art, toyes their trading, damnation their end. All their .eavours are to satisfy their lust and appetite, how to please their genius, l to be merry for the present; *Ede, lude, bibe, post mortem nulla voluptas. e same condition is of men and of beasts; as the one dieth, so dieth the er*, Eccles. 3. 19. the world goes round;

——— [e]truditur dies die,
Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ:

ey did eat and drinke of old; marry, bury, bought, sold, planted, built, l will doe still. [f] *Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man re is no recovery, neither was any man knowne that hath returned from grave: for we are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as ugh we had never been; for the breath is as smoke in our nostrils, &c. l the spirit vanisheth as the soft ayr.* [h] *Come let us enjoye the pleasures t are present, let us chearfully use the creatures as in youth, let us fill selves with costly wine and ointments, let not the flowre of our life passe us, let us crown our selves with rose buds before they are withered, &c. ivamus, mea Lesbia, et amemus, &c.* [j] *Come let us take our fill of love, l pleasure in dalliance, for this is our portion, this is our lot. Tempora untur tacitisque senescimus annis.* For the rest of heaven and hell, let ldren and superstitious fooles beleeve it: for their parts, they are so far n trembling at the dreadful day of judgement, that they wish with Nero, *vivo fiat*, let it come in their times: so secure, so desperate, so immoderate lust and pleasure, so prone to revenge, that as Paterculus said of some iffes in his time, in Rome, *quod nequiter ausi, fortiter executi:* it shall be so wickedly attempted, but as desperately performed, what ere they e in hand. Were it not for Gods restraining grace, feare and shame, ıporall punishment, and their own infamy, they would Lycaon-like exen- ıte, as so many canibals eat up, or Cadmus souldiers, consume one another. ɜse are most impious, and commonly professed atheists, that never use the ·d of God but to swear by it: that expresse naught else but epicurisme their carriage, or hypocrisie; with Pentheus, they neglect and contemn se rites and religious ceremonies of the gods; they will be gods themselves, at least *socii Deorum. Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.* royis an Ægyptian tyrant, grew, saith [k] Herodotus, to that height of pride, ɔlencie and impietie, to that contempt of God and men, that he helde his gdom so sure, *ut a nemine Deorum aut hominum sibi eripi posset*, neither d nor men could take it from him. [l] A certain blasphemous king of Spaine [m] Lansius reports) made an edict, that no subject of his for ten yeers

0,000 Atheists at this day in Paris, Marcennus thinkes. [d] Hor. l. 2. od. 18. [e] Luke 17. ɔd. 2. 2. [h] Vers. 6, 7, 8. [i] Catullus. [j] Prov. 7. 18. [k] Lib. 1. [l] M. Montan. lib. 1. 4. [m] Orat. cont. Hispan. Ne proximo decennio Deum adorarent, &c.

space, should beleeve in, call on, or worship any god. Ai lates of Mahomet the second, *that sacked Constantinople, l selfe, that he beleeved neither Christ nor Mahomet; ana passe, that he kept his word and promise no farther then fi neither did he care to commit any offence to satisfie his lus* like of many princes, many private men (our stories are full past, this present age, that love, feare, obey, and perform they shall finde them expedient or behoveful to their owne end *Deos, securi adversus homines, votis non est opus*, which ' some Germans: they need not pray, feare, hope, for they are se ing, both from God and men. Bulco Opiliensis, sometime was such a one to an haire, he lived (saith [q] Æneas Silviu *and was so mad to satisfie his lust, that he beleeved neithe or that the soule was immortall; but he married wives, a as he thought fit; did murder and mischiefe, and wha* This duke hath too many followers in our dayes: say wh exhort, perswade to the contrary, they are no more mov *dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*, then so many stocke them of heaven and hell, 'tis to no purpose; *laterem la* Ataliba, that Indian prince did frier Vincent, [p] *when he br and told him all the mysteries of salvation, heaven and h in it: he looked upon it, and said, he sawe no such matter; he knew it:* they will but scoffe at it, or wholly reject it. P when he was now by Neros command bleeding to death, *a referentes de immortalitate animæ, aut sapientúm placiti et faciles versus*, in stead of good counsell and divine medi friends sing him bawdy verses and scurrile songs. Let th radise, and that future happiness that will, *bonum est esse*, here. There is no talking to such; no hope of their con a reprobate sense, meer carnalists, fleshly minded men, wh may be applauded in this life, by some few parasites, and l men, [r] *they seem to me* (saith Melancthon) *to be as mad as he raved and killed his wife and children.* A milder sort spirits there are, that profess religion, but *timide et hæsita* unto out of that horrible consideration of diversitie of relig have been in the world, (which argument Campanella, *At cap.* 9. both urgeth and answers;) besides the covetous knavery of priests, *quæ faciunt* ([s] as Postellus observes) *u faciant fidem*; and those religions, some of them, so phan so violently maintained with equal constancie and assu infer, that if there be so many religious sectes, and deny may they not be all false? or why should this or that be rest? The scepticks urge this, and amongst others, it Sextus Empericus *lib.* 8. *advers. Mathematicos:* after arguments and reasons *pro* and *con* that there are gods, are no gods, he so concludes, *cum tot inter se pugnent potest esse vera*, as Tully likewise disputes: Christians ship the true God; pitty all other sectes, lament their old Greekes and Romans that worshipped the divel, as t

[q] Talem se exhibuit, ut nec in Christum, nec Mahometem crederet, unde quatenus in suum commodum cederent minime servaret, nec ullo scelere desideriis satisfaceret. [p] Lib. de mor. Germ. [p] Or Breslaw. [r] inferos nec superos esse dicat, animasque cum corporibus interire credat, &c. [s] Fratres a Bry. Amer. par. 6. Librum a Vincentio monacho datum abjecit, ni dicens, roganique unde hæc sciret, quum de cœlo et Tartaro contineri ibi dicer furent quam Hercules, qui conjugem et liberos interfecit; habet hæc ætas *monstra*. [t] De orbis con. lib. 1. cap. 7.

aut Deos topicos, their own gods; as Julian the apostate, [v] Cecilius in Minutius, Celsus and Porphyrius the philosopher object: and as Machiavel contends, were much more noble, generous, victorious, had a more flourishing commonwealth, better cities, better souldiers, better schollers, better wits. Their gods often overcame our gods; did as many miracles, &c. Saint Cyril, Arnobius, Minutius, with many other ancients; of late Lessius, Morneus, Grotius *de verit. Relig. Christianæ;* Savanarola *de verit. fidei Christianæ*, well defend; but Zanchius, [w] Campanella, Marinus Marcennus, Bozius, and Gentillettus answer all these atheisticall arguments at large. But this again troubles many as of old; wicked men generally thrive, professed atheists thrive,

[x] Nullos esse Deos, inane cœlum,	There are no gods, heavens are toyes,
Affirmat Sellius: probatque, quod se	Sellius in publique justifies;
Factum, dum negat hæc, videt beatum.	Because that whilst he thus denyes
	Their deities, he better thrives.

This is a prime argument: and most part your most sincere, upright, honest, and [y] good men are depressed; *The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong:* (Eccles. 9. 11.) *nor yet bread to the wise, favour nor riches to men of understanding; but time and chance comes to all.* There was a great plague in Athens (as Thucydides *lib.* 2 relates) in which at last, every man with great licentiousness, did what he list, not caring at all for Gods or mens lawes. *Neither the feare of God nor the lawes of men* (saith he) *awed any man; because the plague swept all away alike, good and bad; they thence concluded it was alike to worship or not worship the Gods, since they perished all alike.* Some cavil and make doubts of Scripture it self; it cannot stand with Gods mercy, that so many should be damned; so many bad, so few good; such have and hold about religions; all stiffe on their side, factious alike, thrive alike, and yet bitterly persecuting and damning each other. *It cannot stand with Gods goodness, protection and providence* (as [z] Saint Chrysostome, in the dialect of such discontented persons) *to see and suffer one man to be lame, another mad, a third poor and miserable all the dayes of his life, a fourth grievously tormented with sickness and aches, to his last hour. Are these signes and workes of Gods providence, to let one man be deafe, another dumb? A poor honest fellow lives in disgrace, wo and want, wretched he is; when as a wicked caitiffe abounds in superfluitie of wealth, keeps whores, parasites, and what he will himself. Audis, Jupiter, hæc? Talia multa connectentes, longum reprehensionis sermonem erga Dei providentiam contexunt.* Thus they mutter and objecte, (see the reste of their arguments in Marcennus *in Genesin*, and in Campanella, amply confuted) with many such vaine cavils, well known, not worthy the recapitulation or answering, whatsoever they pretend, they are *interim* of little or no religion.

Cosin-germanes to these men, are many of our great philosophers and deists; who though they be more temperate in this life, give many good moral precepts, honest, upright, and sober in their conversation, yet in effect they are the same, (accompting no man a good scholler that is not an atheist) *nimis altum sapiunt*, too much learning makes them mad. Whiles they attribute all to naturall causes, [a] contingence of all things, as Melancthon cals them, *pertinax hominum genus*, a peevish generation of men, that misled by philosophy, and the divels suggestion, their own innate blindness, denye God as much as the reste; hold all religion a fiction, opposite to reason and

[v] Nonne Romani sine Deo vestro regnant et fruuntur orbe toto, et vos et Deos vestros captivos tenent? &c. Minutius Octaviano. [w] Comment. in Genesin copiosus in hoc subjecto. [x] Ecce pars vestrùm et major et melior alget, fame laborat, et Deus patitur, dissimulat, non vult, non potest opitulari suis, et vel invalidus vel iniquus est. Cecilius in Minut. Dum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso; Sollicitor nullos esse putare Deos. Ovid. Vidi ego Dîis fretos, multos decipi. Plautus Casina act. 2. scen. 5. [y] Martial. l. 4. Epig. 21. [z] Ser. 30. in 3 cap. ad Ephes. Hic fractis est pedibus; alter furit; alius ad extremam senectam progressus, omnem vitam paupertate peragit; ille morbis gravissimis: sunt hæc providentiæ opera? hic surdus, ille mutus, &c. [a] Omnia contingenter fieri volunt. Melancthon in præcepta primum.

philosophy, though for feare of magistrates, saith [b]Vaninu publikely profess it. Ask one of them of what religion h replies, a philosopher, a Galenist, an [c]Averroist, and with Ra a Peripatetick, an Epicure. In spiritual things, God must sense, leave a pawne with them, or else seek some other cr acknowledge nature and fortune, yet not God: though i both: for as Scaliger defines, Nature signifies Gods ordin Calvin writes, Nature is Gods order, and so things extraordi unnaturall, Fortune his unrevealed will; and so we call thin are beside reason and expectation. To this purpose [d]M and [e]Seneca well discourseth with them, *lib.* 4. *de benef They doe not understand what they say; what is nature what thou wilt, Nature, Jupiter, he hath as many names all to one pass; God is the fountain of all, the first gi from whom all things depend,* [f] *a quo, et per quem omnia que vides Deus est, quocunque moveris;* God is all in all, in every place. And yet this Seneca that could confute all out as much to be blamed and confuted himselfe, as m holds *fatum Stoïcum*, that inevitable necessity in the oth Chaldean astrologers of old did, against whom the propl thunders; and those heathen mathematicians, Nigidius Figu Priscilianists, whom S[t]. Austin so eagerly confutes; thos aries, *Novem Judices*, Albumazer, Dorotheus, &c. an Estuidus[g]; that take upon them to define out of those of stars, (with Ptolomæus) the periods of kingdomes, future accidents, wars, plagues, schismes, heresies, and stars, and such things, saith Maginus, *quæ sibi et inte varit Deus*, which God hath reserved to himself and take upon them to foretell; as if stars were immediate, all future accidents. Cæsar Vaninus, in his book *de arcanis, dial.* 52. *de oraculis*, is more free, copious, and cation of this astrologicall tenent of Ptolomy, then writers, Cardan excepted; a true disciple of his maste cording to the doctrine of Peripateticks, he refers all a miracles, oracles, accidents, alterations of religions, which he is soundly lashed by Marinus Marcennus, as natural causes; (for spirits he will not acknowledge); t influences of heavens and stars, and to the intelligences t *Intelligentia quæ movet orbem, mediante cœlo, &c.* and after a long discourse of miracles done of old, *si h cur non et intelligentiæ cœlorum motrices?* And as t tions, aspectes of planets begin or end, vary, are vertic so have religions, rites, ceremonies, and kingdomes t gress, periods; *in urbibus, regibus, religionibus, ac in minibus hæc vera ac manifesta sunt, ut Aristoteles quotidiana docet experientia, ut historias perlegens vid Gentili lege Jove sanctius et illustrius? Quid nunc vi dum? Ita cœlestia corpora pro mortalium beneficio et cum cessat influxus, cessat lex, &c.* And because tenents, the world is eternal, intelligences eternal, influe kingdomes, religions, alterations shall be likewise eter after many ages. *Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus*

[b] Dial. 1. lib. 4. de admir. nat. arcanis. [c] Anima mea sit cum animis pl unum multis designant nominibus, &c. [d] Non intelligis te quum hæc dicis, quid enim est aliud natura quam Deus? &c. tot habet appellationes quot mus cipio Ephemer.

renascentur religiones, et ceremoniæ, res humanæ in idem recident, nihil nunc quod non olim fuit, et post sæculorum revolutiones alias est, erit, &c. idem specie, saith Vaninus, *non individuo quod Plato significavit*. These (saith mine [h] author) these are the decrees of Peripateticks, which though I recite, *in obsequium Christianæ fidei, detestor*, as I am a Christian, I detest and hate. Thus Peripateticks and astrologians held in former times; and to this effect of old in Rome, saith Dionysius Halicarnassæus, *lib.* 7. when those meteors and prodigies appeared in the ayr, after the banishment of Coriolanus, [i] *Men were diversly affected; some said, they were Gods just judgements for the execution of that good man; some referred all to naturall causes; some to stars; some thought they came by chance; some by necessity* decreed *ab initio*, and could not be altered. The two last opinions of chance and necessity, were, it seems, of greater note then the rest.

[i] Sunt qui in Fortunæ jam casibus omnia ponunt;
Et mundum credunt nullo rectore moveri;
Naturâ volvente vices, &c.

For the first of chance, as [k] Sallust likewise informeth us, those old Romans generally received. *They supposed fortune alone gave kingdomes and empires, wealth, honours, offices, and that for two causes; first, because every wicked, base, unworthy wretch was preferred, riche, potent, &c. Secondly, because of their uncertainty, though never so good, scarse any one enjoyed them long: but after, they began upon better advice, to think otherwise; that every man made his own fortune.* The last of necessity was Senecas tenent, that God was *alligatus causis secundis*, so tyed to second causes, to that inexorable necessity, that he could alter nothing of that which was once decreed, *sic erat in fatis*, it cannot be altered; *semel jussit, semper paret Deus, nulla vis rumpit, nullæ preces, nec ipsum fulmen;* God hath once said it, and it must for ever stand good; no prayers, no threats, nor power, nor thunder it selfe can alter it. Zeno, Chrysippus, and those other Stoicks, as you may reade in Tully 2. *de divinatione*, Gellius, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 2. *&c.* maintained as much. In all ages, there have been such, that either denye God in all, or in part; some deride him; they could have made a better world, and rule it more orderly themselves; blaspheme him, derogate at their pleasure from him. 'Twas so in [l] Platos time; *Some say there be no gods; others that they care not for men; a middle sort grant both. Si non sit Deus, unde bona? si sit Deus, unde mala?* So Cotta argues in Tully, why made he not all good; or at least tenders not the welfare of such as are good? As the woman told Alexander, if he be not at leasure to hear causes, and redress them, why doth he raign? [m] Sextus Empericus hath many such arguments. Thus perverse men cavil. So it will ever be, some of all sorts, good, bad, indifferent, true, false, zealous, ambodexters, neutralists, lukewarm, libertines, atheists, &c. They will see these religious sectaries agree amongst themselves, be reconciled all, before they will participate with, or beleeve any. They thinke in the mean time, (which [n] Celsus objects, and whom Origen confutes) *we Christians adore a person put to* [o] *death with no more reason then the barbarous Getes worshipped Zamolxis, the Cilicians Mopsus, the Thebans Amphiaraus, and the Lebadians Trophonius; one religion is as true as another; new fangled devices, all for humane respects;* great witted Aristotles works are as much authentical to them as scriptures; subtle Senecas epistles as canonical as

[h] Vaninus dial. 52. de oraculis. [i] Varie homines affecti; alii Dei judicium ad tam pii exsilium; alii ad naturam referebant; nec ab indignatione Dei, sed humanis causis, &c. 12. natural. quæst. 33. 39. [j] Juv. Sat. 13. [k] Epist. ad C. Cæsar. Romani olim putabant fortunam regna et imperia dare: credebant antea mortales fortunam solam opes et honores largiri, idque duabus de causis; primum, quod indignus quisque dives, honoratus, potens; alterum, vix quisquam perpetuo bonis iis frui visus. Postea prudentiores didicêre fortunam suam quemque fingere. [l] 10 de legib. Alii negant esse Deos; alii Deos non curare res humanas; alii utraque concedunt. [m] Lib. 8. ad mathem. [n] Origines contra Celsum l. 3. Hos immerito nobiscum conferri fuse declarat. [o] Crucifixum Deum ignominiose Lucianus, (vitâ peregrini) Christum vocat.

Saint Pauls; Pindarus Odes as good as the prophet Davi tus Enchiridion equivalent to wise Solomons Proverbs. T boldly speake this and more, some of them, in all plac [p] *Claudius the emperour was angry with heaven, becaus challenged Jupiter into the field: with what madnesse thought Jupiter could not hurt him, but he could hurt J* Demonax, Epicurus, Pliny, Lucian, Lucretius,——*contem zentius*, professed atheists all in their times: though not ther, as Cicogna proves, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. they scoffed on gods, their plurality, base and fictitious offices. Gilbertus much, and so doth Erasmus, to vindicate Lucian from sca those that apologize for Epicurus; but all in vain: Lu Epicurus he denys all; and Lucretius his scholler defends

[q] Humana ante oculos fœde cum vita jaceret, | Quæ caput a cœli regio
In terris oppressa gravi cum religione, | Horribili super aspectu

When humane kinde was drencht in superstition,
With ghastly lookes aloft, which frighted mortall men,

He alone as another Hercules, did vindicate the world Unkle [r] Pliny, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. *nat. hist. et. lib.* 7. *cap.* 5 denies the immortality of the soule. [s] Seneca doth litt 55. *ad Lucilium; et lib. de consol. ad Martiam*, or Greek commentators would put as much upon Job, th resurrection, &c. whom Pineda copiously confutes in c Aristotle is hardly censured of some, both divines an Justine *in Paræneticâ ad gentes*, Greg. Nazianzen, *in d* Theodoret. *cap.* 5. *de curat. Græc. affec.* Origen, *lib.* ponatius justifies him in his tract (so stiled at least) *De* Scaliger (who would forswear himself at any time, s fence of his great master Aristotle) and Dandinus, *li* knowledge as much. Averröes oppugnes all spirits a of late Brunus (*infœlix Brunus*, [t] Kepler cals him Vaninus lately burned at Tolouse in France, and Pet likely maintained such atheistical paradoxes, [u] with with his fable of three rings, &c. *ex quo infert haud sit verior religio, Judaica, Mahometana, an Christi signa, &c.* [x] Marinus Marcennus suspectes Cardan for panella, and Charrons book of Wisdome, with some o of [y] atheisme: but amongst the rest, that pestilent b *impostoribus, quem sine horrore (inquit) non legas; dialogis quatuor contentum, Anno* 1538, *auctore Peresi &c.* And as there have been in all ages such blasphe have not been wanting their patrons, protectors, dis Never so many atheists in Italy and Germany, saith [z] C the like complaint Marcennus makes in France, 500 Paris. Frederick the emperour, as [a] Matthew Paris *recitabile* (I use his owne words) is reported to have said *Moses, Christus, et Mahomet, uti mundo dominarent contemporaneum seduxisse.* (Henry the Lansgrave speake it;) *Si principes imperii institutioni meæ a meliorem modum credendi et vivendi ordinarem.*

[p] De irâ 16. 34. Iratus cœlo quod obstreperet, ad pugnam vocans Jovem; nocere non posse, et se nocere tamen Jovi posse. [q] Lib. 1. 1. [r] Ide antequam nasceremur: et Seneca; Idem erit post me quod ante me fuit. quum exstinguitur ac fuit antequam accenderetur; ita et hominis.
[s] Campanella cap. 18. Atheism. triumphat. [t] Comment. in Genes. ca may meet an atheist as soon in his study as in the street. [u] Sa *Craconiæ*, edit. 1588. Con[illegible] Ubi est, Ede itaque, bibe, lude, &c. Jam D *de Immortal. animæ.* [illegible]lib. an. 1258. ad finem Henrici tertii. [illegible]tat. suâ.

To these professed atheists we may well add that impious and carnal crew of worldly-minded men, impenitent sinners, that go to hell in a lethargy, or in a dream; who though they be professed Christians, yet they will *nullâ pallescere culpâ*, make a conscience of nothing they doe; they have cauterized consciences, and are indeed in a reprobate sense, *past all feeling, have given themselves over to wantonness, to work all manner of uncleanness even with greediness*, Ephes. 4. 19. They doe know there is a God, a day of judgement to come, and yet for all that, as Hugo saith, *ita comedunt ac dormiunt, ac si diem judicii evasissent; ita ludunt ac rident, ac in cœlis cum Deo regnarent;* they are as merry for all the sorrow, as if they had escaped all dangers, and were in heaven already:

——— [a] metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

Those rude idiots and ignorant persons, that neglect and contemne the meanes of their salvation, may march on with these; but, above all others, those Herodian temporizing statesmen, politick Machiavelians and hypocrites, that make a shew of religion, but in their hearts laugh at it. *Simulata sanctitas duplex iniquitas*; they are in a double fault, *that fashion themselves to this world*, which [b] Paul forbids, and like Mercury the planet, are good with good, bad with bad. When they are at Rome, they doe there as they see done; Puritans with Puritans, Papists with Papists; *omnium horarum homines*, Formalists, Ambodexters, lukewarm Laodiceans. [c] All their study is to please, and their god is their commodity, their labour to satisfie their lusts, and their endeavours to their owne ends. Whatsoever they pretend, or in publike seem to doe, [d] *With the foole, in their hearts they say there is no God. Heus tu——de Jove quid sentis?* Their words are as soft as oyl, but bitterness is in their hearts, like [e] Alexander the sixth so cunning dissemblers, that what they think they never speake. Many of them are so close you can hardly discern it, or take any just exceptions at them; they are not factious, oppressours as most are, no bribers, no simoniacal contracters, no such ambitious lascivious persons as some others are; no drunkards, *sobrii solem vident orientem, sobrii vident occidentem;* they rise sober and go sober to bed; plain dealing, upright honest men; they doe wrong to no man, and are so reputed (in the worlds esteem at least) very zealous in religion, very charitable, meek, humble, peace-makers, keep all duties, very devout, honest, well spoken of, beloved of all men; but he that knowes better how to judge, he that examines the heart, saith they are hypocrites; *cor dolo plenum; sonant vitium percussa maligne*, they are not sound within. As it is with writers [f] oftentimes, *plus sanctimoniæ in libello, quam libelli auctore*, more holiness is in the book then in the author of it: so 'tis with them; many come to church with great bibles, whom Cardan said he could not choose but laugh at; and will now and then *dare operam Augustino*, reade Austin, frequent sermons, and yet professed usurers, meer gripes, *tota vitæ ratio Epicurea est;* all their life is epicurisme and atheisme, come to church all day, and lye with a curtisan at night. *Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt*, They have Esaus hands, and Jacobs voyce. Yea, and many of those holy fryers, sanctified men; *cappam*, saith Hierome, *et cilicium induunt, sed intus latronem tegunt*. They are wolves in sheeps clothing, *Introrsum turpes, speciosi pelle decorâ*, Faire without, and most foule within. [g] *Latet plerumque sub tristi amictu lascivia, et deformis horror vili veste tegitur;* oft-times under a mourning weed lyes lust it self, and horrible vices under a poor coat. But who can examine all those kindes of hypocrites, or dive into their hearts? if we may guess at the tree by the fruit, never so many as in these dayes; shew me a plain dealing true honest man: *Et pudor, et probitas, et timor omnis abest.* He that shall but look into their lives, and see such enormous vices,

[a] Virg. [b] Rom. 12. 2. [c] Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res. [d] Psal. 14. 1.
[e] Guicciardine. [f] Erasmus. [g] Hierom.

men so immoderate in lust, unspeakable in malice, furious in their rage, flattering and dissembling (all for their owne ends) will surely think they are not truly religious, but of an obdurate heart, most part in a reprobate sense, as in this age. But let them carry it as they will for the present, dissemble as they can, a time will come when they shall be called to an account, their melancholy is at hand, they pull a plague and curse upon their heads, *thesaurisant iram Dei.* Besides, all such as are *in Deos contumeliosi*, blaspheme, contemne, neglect God, or scoffe at him, as the poets fain of Salmoneus, that would in derision imitate Jupiters thunder, he was precipitated for his pains, Jupiter *intonuit contra, &c.* so shall they certainly rue it in the end, ([h] *in se spuit, qui in cœlum spuit*) their doome's at hand, and hell is ready to receive them.

Some are of opinion, that it is in vaine to dispute with such atheistical spirits in the mean time; tis not the best way to reclaime them. Atheisme, idolatry, heresie, hypocrisie, though they have one common root, that is indulgence to corrupt affection, yet their growth is different; they have divers symptomes, occasions, and must have several cures and remedies. 'Tis true, some denye there is any God; some confess, yet beleeve it not; a third sort confess and beleeve, but will not live after his lawes, worship and obey him. Others allow God, and Gods subordinate, but not one God, no such general God, *non talem Deum*, but several topick gods for several places; and those, not to persecute one another for any differences, as Socinus will, but rather love and cherish.

To describe them in particular, to produce their arguments and reasons, would require a just volume; I refer them therefore, that expect a more ample satisfaction, to those subtile and elaborate treatises, devout and famous tracts of our learned divines (schoolmen amongst the rest, and casuists) that have abundance of reasons to prove there is a God, the immortality of the soule, &c. out of the strength of wit and philosophy bring irrefragable arguments to such as are ingenious and well disposed; at the least, answer all cavils and objections to confute their folly and madnesse, and to reduce them, *si fieri posset, ad sanam mentem*, to a better minde, though to small purpose many times. Amongst others, consult with Julius Cæsar Lagalla, professour of philosophy in Rome, who hath written a large volume of late, to confute atheists: of the immortality of the soule, Hierome: Montanus *de immortalitate animæ*: Lelius Vincentius of the same subject: Thomas Giaminus, and Franciscus Collius *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, a famous doctour of the Ambrosian colledge in Millain. Bishop Fotherby, in his Atheomastix, Doctor Dove, Doctor Jackson, Abernethy, Corderoy, have written well of this subject in our mother tongue: In Latine, Colerus, Zanchius, Paleareus, Illyricus, [i] Philippus, Faber Faventinus, &c. But *instar omnium*, the most copious confuter of atheists, is Marinus Marcennus in his Commentaries on Genesis, [j] with Campanellas *Atheismus Triumphatus.* He sets down at large the causes of this brutish passion (seventeen in number I take it) answers all their arguments and sophismes, which he reduceth to twenty six heads, proving withall his own assertion: *There is a God, such a God, the true and sole God*, by 35 reasons. His Colophon is how to resist and repress atheisme, and to that purpose he adds foure especial meanes or wayes, which who so will may profitably peruse.

Subsect. II.—*Despaires Æquivocations, Definitions, parties and parts affected.*

There be many kindes of desperation, whereof some be holy, some unholy, as [k] one distinguisheth; that unholy he defines out of Tully, to be *ægritudinem animi sine ullâ rerum expectatione meliore*, a sickness of the

[h] *Senec. consol. ad Polyb. ca. 21.* [i] *Disput. 4. philosophiæ adver. atheos. Venetiis 1601. quarto.*
[j] *Edit. Romæ fol. 1681.* [k] *Abernethy c. 24. of his physick of the soule.*

soule without any hope or expectation of amendment: which commonly succeeds feare; for whilst evil is expected, we fear; but when it is certain, we despair. According to *Thomas* 2. 2æ. *distinct.* 40. *art.* 4. it is *recessus a re desideratâ, propter impossibilitatem existimatam*, a restraint from the thing desired, for some impossibility supposed. Because they cannot obtain what they would, they become desperate, and many times either yeeld to the passion by death it selfe; or else attempt impossibilities, not to be performed by men. In some cases, this desperate humor is not much to be discommended, as in wars it is a cause, many times, of extraordinary valour; as Joseph. *lib.* 1. *de bello Jud. cap.* 14. *L. Danæus in Aphoris. polit. pag.* 226. and many politicians hold. It makes them improve their worth beyond it selfe, and of a forlorne impotent company become conquerors in a moment. *Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.* In such courses when they see no remedy, but that they must either kill or be killed, they take courage, and often times, *præter spem*, beyond all hope, vindicate themselves. Fifteen thousand Locrenses fought against a hundred thousand Crotonienses, and seeing now no way but one, they must all dye, [l] thought they would not depart unrevenged, and thereupon desperately giving an assault, conquered their enemies. *Nec alia causa victoriæ* (saith Justine mine authour) *quam quod desperaverant.* William the Conquerour, when he first landed in England, sent back his ships, that his souldiers might have no hope of retyring back. [m] Bodine excuseth his countrymens overthrow at that famous battel at Agencourt, in Henry the Fifth his time, (*cui simile*, saith Frossard, *tota historia producere non possit*, which no history can parallel almost, wherein one handful of Englishmen overthrew a royal army of Frenchmen) with this refuge of despair, *pauci desperati*, a few desperate fellowes being compassed in by their enemies, past all hope of life, fought like so many divels; and gives a caution, that no souldiers hereafter set upon desperate persons, which [n] after Frontinus and Vigetius, Guiccardine likewise admonisheth *Hypomnes. part.* 2. *pag.* 25. not to stop an enemy that is going his way. Many such kindes there are of desperation, when men are past hope of obtaining any suit, or in despair of better fortune; *desperatio facit monachum*, as the saying is, and desperation causeth death it selfe. How many thousands, in such distress, have made away themselves, and many others! For he that cares not for his owne! is master of another man's life. A Tuscan soothsayer, as [o] Paterculus tels the story, perceiving himself and Fulvius Flaccus his deare friend, now both carryed to prison by Opimius, and in despair of pardon, seeing the yong man weep, *quin tu potius hoc, inquit, facis*, doe as I doe; and with that knockt out his braines against the door cheek, as he was entring into prison; *protinusque illiso capite in carceris januam effuso cerebro exspiravit*, and so desperately died. But these are equivocall, unproper. *When I speake of despair*, saith [p] Zanchie, *I speake not of every kinde, but of that alone which concerns God. It is opposite to hope, and a most pernicious sin, wherewith the divel seeks to entrap men.* Musculus makes foure kindes of desperation; of God, our selves, our neighbour, or any thing to be done; but this division of his may be reduced easily to the former; all kindes are opposite to hope, that sweet moderator of passions, as Simonides cals it; I do not mean that vain hope which phantastical fellows fain to themselves, which according to Aristotle is *insomnium vigilantium*, a waking dream; but this divine hope which proceeds from confidence, and is an anchor to a floating soule; *spes alit agricolas*, even in our temporal affairs hope revives us, but in spiritual it farther animateth; and were it not for

[l] Omissâ spe victoriæ in destinatam mortem conspirant, tantusque ardor singulos cepit, ut victores se putarent, si non multi morerentur. Justin. l. 20. [m] Method. hist. cap. 5. [n] Hosti abire volenti iter minime interscindas, &c. [o] Poster. volum. [p] Super præceptum primum de Relig. et partibus ejus. *Non loquor de omni desperatione*, sed tantum de eâ quâ desperare solent homines de Deo; opponitur spei, *et est peccatum gravissimum*, &c.

hope, *we of all others were the most miserable*, as Paul s were it not for hope, the heart would breake; *for though t in the sight of men*, (Wisdom 3. 4.) yet is *their hope full* yet doth it not so reare, as despair doth deject; this violent of despair, is of all perturbations most grievous, as [q]Patrit divide it into finall and temporall; [r]finall is incurable, wh probates; temporall is a rejection of hope and comfort f may befal the best of Gods children; and it commonly *weakness of faith*, as in David, when he was oppressed he c *thou hast forsaken me*, but this for a time. This ebbes and and feare; it is a grievous sin howsoever: although some k not amiss, when, saith Zanchius, we despair of our own wholly upon God: but that species is not here meant. Thi of desperation is the subject of our discourse, *homicida ani* of the soule, as Austin terms it; a fearful passion, wherein th thinks he can get no ease but by death, and is fully resolve unto himself; so sensible of his burthen, and impatient of hopes by death alone to be freed of his calamity (though i and chuseth with Job. 6. 8. 9. & 7. 15. *rather to be stran to be in his bonds.* [t]The part affected is the whole soule, a of it; there is a privation of joye, hope, trust, confidence, of good, and in their place succeed feare, sorrow, &c. as in th be shewed. The heart is grieved, the conscience wounded, with black fumes arising from those perpetual terrours.

SUBSECT. III.—*Causes of Despair. The divel, melan distrust, weakness of faith, rigid ministers, misunderst guilty consciences, &c.*

THE principall agent and procurer of this mischief, is whom God forsakes, the divel by his permission layes hol he persecutes them with that worme of conscience, as he and others. The poets call it Nemesis; but it is indeed ment *sero sed serio*, he strikes home at last, and setteth up *in the night*, 1. Thes. 5. 2. [v]This temporary passion mac *Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me i pleasure; for thine arrowes have light upon mee, &c. sound in my flesh, because of thine anger.* Again, *I r grief of my heart;* and Psalme 22. *My God, my God, s saken mee, and art so far from my health, and the words I am like to water poured out, my bones are out of jo like waxe, that is molten in the midst of my bowels.* Sc 16 vers. and Psal. 102. *I am in misery at the point o youth I suffer thy terrours, doubting for my life; thine gone over mee, and thy feare hath cut mee off.* Job dotl this kinde; and those God doth not assist, the divel is re went, *still seeking whom he may devoure.* If he finde Gregory, *he tempts forthwith to some dissolute act; if pe desperate end. Aut suadendo blanditur, aut minando te* have meanes, sometimes again by foule, as he perceives mer His ordinary engin by which he produceth this effect, is t cast it self, which is *balneum diaboli*, the divels bath; an get in [w]as it were, and take possession of us.

[illegible] perturbationum deterrima. [illegible] ab [illegible] malli

shooing-horn, a bait to allure them, in so much that many writers make melancholy an ordinary cause, and a symptome of despair, for that such men are most apt (by reason of their ill-disposed temper) to distrust, feare, griefe; mistake, and amplifie whatsoever they preposterously conceive, or falsely apprehend. *Conscientia scrupulosa nascitur ex vitio naturali, complexione melancholicâ* (saith Navarrus *cap* 27. *num.* 282. *Tom.* 2. *cas. conscien.*) The body works upon the minde, by obfuscating the spirits and corrupted instruments, which [x] Perkins illustrates by simile of an artificer, that hath a bad toole, his skill is good, ability correspondent; by reason of ill tooles his work must needs be lame and imperfect. But melancholy and despair though often, doe not alwaies concur; there is much difference; melancholy fears without a cause, this upon great occasion; melancholy is caused by feare and griefe, but this torment procures them all extremity of bitterness; much melancholy is without affliction of conscience, as [y] Bright and Perkins illustrate by foure reasons; and yet melancholy alone again may be sometimes a sufficient cause of this terrour of conscience. [z] Felix Plater so found it in his observations, *e melancholicis alii damnatos se putant, Deo curæ non sunt, nec prædestinati, &c. They think they are not predestinate, God hath forsaken them;* and yet otherwise very zealous and religious; and 'tis common to be seen, *melancholy for feare of Gods judgement and hell fire, drives men to desperation; feare and sorrow, if they be immoderate, end often with it;* Intolerable pain and anguish, long sickness, captivity, misery, loss of goods, loss of friends, and those lesser griefs do sometimes effect it, or such dismal accidents. *Si non statim relevantur,* saith [a] Marcennus, *dubitant an sit Deus,* if they be not eased forthwith, they doubt whether there be any God; they rave, curse, *and are desperately mad, because good men are oppressed, wicked men flourish; they have not as they think to their desert,* and through impatience of calamities are so misaffected. Democritus put out his eys, *ne malorum civium prosperos videret successus,* because he could not abide to see wicked men prosper, and was therefore ready to make away himself, as [b] Agellius writes of him. Felix Plater hath a memorable example in this kinde, of a painters wife in Basil, that was melancholy for her sons death, and for melancholy became desperate, she thought God would not pardon her sins, [c] *and for foure mouths, still raved, that she was in hell-fire, already damned.* When the humour is stirred up, every small object aggravates and incenseth it, as the parties are addicted. [d] The same authour hath an example of a merchant man, that for the loss of a little wheat, which he had over long kept, was troubled in conscience, for that he had not sold it sooner, or given it to the poor; yet a good scholler and a great divine: no perswasion would serve to the contrary, but that for this fact he was damned; in other matters very judicious and discreet. Solitariness, much fasting, divine meditations, and contemplations of Gods judgements, most part accompany this melancholy, and are main causes, as [e] Navarrus holds; to converse with such kindes of persons so troubled, is sufficient occasion of trouble to some men. *Nonnulli ob longas inedias, studia et meditationes cœlestes, et rebus sacris et religione semper agitant, &c.* Many (saith P. Forestus) through long fasting, serious meditations of heavenly things, fall into such fits, and as Lemnius adds, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 21. [f] *If they be solitary given, superstitious, precise, or very devout: seldome shall you finde a mer-*

[x] Cases of conscience, l. 1. 16. [y] Tract. Melan. cap. 33 et 34. [z] C. 3. de mentis alien. Deo. minus se curæ esse, nec ad salutem prædestinatos esse. Ad desperationem sæpe ducit hæc melancholia, et est frequentissima ob supplicii metum æternumque judicium; mæror et metus in desperationem plerumque desinunt. [a] Comment. in 1. cap. gen. artic. 3. Quia impii florent, boni opprimuntur, &c. alias ex consideratione hujus seriâ desperabundus. [b] Lib. 20. c. 27. [c] Damnatum se putavit, et per quatuor menses gehennæ pœnam sentire. [d] 1566. Ob triticum diutius servatum conscientiæ stimulis agitatur, &c. [e] Tom. 2. c. 27. num. 282. Conversatio cum scrupulosis, vigiliæ, jejunia. [f] Solitarios et superstitiosos plerumque exagitat conscientia, non mercatores, lenones, caupones, fœneratores, &c. largiorem hi nacti sunt conscientiam. Juvenes plerumque conscientiam negligunt, senectutem, &c.

chant, a souldier, an inn-keeper, a bawde, an host, an usurer so troubled in minde; they have cheverel consciences that will stretch, they are seldome moved in this kinde or molested; yong men and middle age are more wild, and less apprehensive; but old folkes, most part, such as are timorous and religiously given. Pet. Forestus *observat. lib.* 10. *cap.* 12. *de morbis cerebri* hath a fearful example of a minister, that through precise fasting in Lent, and overmuch meditation contracted this mischief, and in the end became desperate, thought he saw divels in his chamber, and that he could not be saved; he smelled nothing, as he said, but fire and brimstone, was already in hell, and would ask them still, if they did not [g] smel as much. I told him he was melancholy; but he laughed me to scorn, and replied that he saw divels, talked with them in good earnest, would spit in my face, and ask me if I did not smel brimstone; but at last he was by him cured. Such another story I finde in Plater *observat. lib.* 1. A poor fellow had done some foule offence, and for fourteen dayes would eat no meat, in the end became desperate; the divines about him could not ease him, [h] but so he died. Continual meditation of Gods judgements troubles many, *Multi ob timorem futuri judicii,* saith Guatinerius, *cap.* 5. *tract.* 15. *et suspicionem desperabundi sunt:* David himself complains that Gods judgements terrified his soule, Psal. 119. part. 15. vers. 8. *My flesh trembleth for feare of thee, and I am affraid of thy judgements. Quoties diem illum cogito* (saith [i] Hierome) *toto corpore contremisco,* I tremble as often as I think of it. The terrible meditation of hell-fire and eternall punishment much torments a sinfull silly soule. What's a thousand yeers to eternity? *Ubi mœror, ubi fletus, ubi dolor sempiternus; mors sine morte, finis sine fine;* a finger burnt by chance we may not endure; the pain is so grievous, we may not abide an hour; a night is intolerable; and what shall this unspeakable fire then be that burns for ever, innumerable infinite millions of yeers, *in omne ævum, in æternum.* O eternity;

[j] Æternitas est illa vox,
Vox illa fulminatrix,
Tonitruis minacior,
Fragoribusque cœli.
Æternitas est illa vox,
——— metâ carens et ortu, &c.

Tormenta nulla territant,
Quæ finiuntur annis;
Æternitas, æternitas
Versat coquitque pectus.
Auget hæc pœnas indies,
Centuplicatque flammas, &c.

This meditation terrifies these poor distressed soules, especially if their bodies be predisposed by melancholy, they religiously given, and have tender consciences; every small object affrights them: the very inconsiderate reading of scripture it selfe, and mis-interpretation of some places of it, as, *Many are called, few are chosen. Not every one that saith Lord. Feare not little flocke. He that stands, let him take heed lest he fall. Work out your salvation with feare and trembling. That night two shall be in a bed, one received, the other left. Straight is the way that leads to heaven, and few there are that enter therein.* The parable of the seed and of the sower, *some fell on barren ground, some was choaked. Whom he hath predestinated he hath chosen. He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy. Non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei.* These and the like places terrifie the soules of many; election, predestination, reprobation, preposterously conceived offend divers, with a deal of foolish presumption, curiosity, needless speculation, contemplation, solicitude, wherein they trouble and puzle themselves about those questions of grace, free-will, perseverance, Gods secrets; they will know more then is revealed by God in his word, humane capacity, or ignorance can apprehend; and too importunate enquiry after that which is revealed; mysteries, ceremonies, observation of sabbaths, lawes,

[g] Annon sentis sulphur? inquit. [h] Desperabundus misere periit. [i] In 17. Johannis. Non pauci *se cruciant, et excarnificant in tantum, ut non parum absint ab insaniâ; neque tamen aliud hac mentis anxietate efficiunt, quam ut diabolo potestatem faciunt ipsos per desperationem ad inferos producendi.* [j] *Drexelius* Nicet. lib. 2. cap. 11.

duties, &c. with many such which the casuists discuss, and schoolmen broach; which divers mistake, misconstrue, misapply to themselves, to their own undoing, and so fall into this gulfe. *They doubt of their election, how they shall know it, by what signes. And so far forth*, saith Luther, *with such nice points, torture and crucifie themselves, that they are almost mad; and all they get by it is this, they lay open a gap to the divel by desperation to carry them to hell.* But the greatest harme of all proceeds from those thundering ministers; a most frequent cause they are of this malady; [k] *and do more harme in the church* (saith Erasmus) *then they that flatter; great danger on both sides, the one lulls them asleep in carnal security, the other drives them to despair.* Whereas [l] S^t^. Bernard well adviseth, *We should not meddle with the one without the other, nor speake of judgement without mercy; the one alone brings desperation, the other security.* But these men are wholly for judgement: of a rigid disposition themselves, there is no mercy with them; no salvation, no balsome for their diseased soules; they can speake of nothing but reprobation, hell fire, and damnation, as they did Luke 11. 46. lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, which they themselves touch not with a finger. 'Tis familiar with our Papists to terrifie mens soules with purgatory, tales, visions, apparitions, to daunt even the most generous spirits, to [m] *require charity*, as Brentius observes, *of others, bounty, meekness, love, patience, when they themselves breath nought but lust, envy, covetousness.* They teach others to fast, give almes, do penance, and crucifie their minde with superstitious observations, bread and water, hair-clothes, whips, and the like, when they themselves have all the dainties the world can afforde; lye on a down bed with a curtisan in their armes. *Heu quantum patimur pro Christo!* as [n] he said. What a cruel tyranny is this, so to insult over, and terrifie mens soules! Our indiscreet pastors, many of them come not far behind; whilst in their ordinary sermons they speake so much of election, predestination, reprobation *ab æterno*, subtraction of grace, præterition, voluntary permission, &c. by what signes and tokens they shall discern and try themselves; whether they be Gods true children elect, *an sint reprobi, prædestinati, &c.* with such scrupulous points, they still aggravate sin, thunder out Gods judgements without respect; intempestively raile at and pronounce them damned in all auditories, for giving so much to sports and honest recreations; making every smal fault and thing indifferent an irremissible offence, they so rent, tear and wound mens consciences, that they are almost mad, and at their wits ends.

These bitter potions (saith [o] Erasmus) *are still in their mouths nothing but gall and horrour, and a mad noyse: they make all their auditors desperate:* many are wounded by this meanes, and they commonly that are most devout and precise, have been formerly presumptuous, and certain of their salvation; they that have tender consciences, that follow sermons, frequent lectures, that have indeed least cause, they are most apt to mistake, and fall into these miseries. I have heard some complain of Parsons Resolution, and other books of like nature (good otherwise;) they are too tragicall, too much dejecting men, aggravating offences; great care and choyce, much discretion is required in this kinde.

The last and greatest cause of this malady, is our owne conscience, sense of our sins, and Gods anger justly deserved: a guilty conscience for some foule offence formerly committed. [p] *O miser Oreste, quid morbi te perdit?* Or: *Conscientia, sum enim mihi conscius de malis perpetratis. A good*

[k] Ecclesiast. l. 1. Haud scio an majus discrimen ab his qui blandiuntur, an ab his qui territant: ingens utrinque periculum: alii ad securitatem ducunt, alii afflictionum magnitudine mentem absorbent, et in desperationem trahunt. [l] Bern. sup. 16. cant. 1. Alterum sine altero proferre non expedit; recordandum nobis judicii in desperationem præcipitat, et misericordiæ fallax ostentatio pessimam generat securitatem. [m] In Luc. hom. 103. Exigunt ab aliis caritatem, beneficentiam, cum ipsi nil spectent præter [illegible], invidiam, avaritiam. [n] Leo decimus. [o] De futuro judicio, de damnatione horrendum, et amaras illas potiones in ore semper habent, ut multos inde in desperationem cogant [illegible].

conscience is a continuall feast, but a galled conscience is as great a torment as can possibly happen, a still baking oven, (so Pierius in his Hieroglyph. compares it) another hell. Our conscience, which is a great ledgier book, wherein are written all our offences, a register to lay them up, (which those [q] Ægyptians in their Hieroglyphicks expressed by a mill, as well for the continuance, as for the torture of it) grindes our soules with the remembrance of some precedent sins; makes us reflect upon, accuse and condemn our own selves. [r] *Sin lies at doore, &c.* I know there be many other causes assigned by Zanchius, [s] Musculus, and the rest; as incredulity, infidelity, presumption, ignorance, blindness, ingratitude, discontent; those five grand miseries in Aristotle, ignominy, need, sickness, enmity, death, &c. but this of conscience is the greatest, [t] *instar ulceris corpus jugiter percellens.* This scrupulous conscience (as [u] Peter Forestus cals it) which tortures so many, that either out of a deep apprehension of their unworthiness, and consideration of their owne dissolute life, *accuse themselves and aggravate every small offence, when there is no such cause, misdoubting in the mean time Gods mercies, they fall into these inconveniences.* The poets call them [v] Furies, Diræ, but it is the conscience alone which is a thousand witnesses to accuse us; [w] *Nocte dieque suum gestant in pectore testem.* A continual testor to give in evidence, to empanel a jury to examine us, to cry guilty; a prosecutor with hue and cry to follow, an apparitor to summon us, a bayliffe to carry us, a serjeant to arrest, an attourney to plead against us, a gaoler to torment, a judge to condemn, still accusing, denouncing, torturing and molesting. And as the statue of Juno, in that holy city neer Euphrates in [x] Assyria, will look still towards you; sit where you will in her temple, she stares full upon you; if you go by, she follows with her eye; in all sites, places, conventicles, actions, our conscience will be still ready to accuse us. After many pleasant dayes and fortunate adventures, merry tides, this conscience at last doth arrest us. Well he may escape temporal punishment, [y] bribe a corrupt judge, and avoid the censure of law, and flourish for a time; for [z] *who ever saw* (saith Chrysostome) *a covetous man troubled in minde when he is telling of his mony, an adulterer mourn with his mistress in his armes? we are then drunk with pleasure, and perceive nothing:* yet as the prodigal son had dainty fare, sweet musick at first, merry company, jovial entertainment, but a cruel reckoning in the end, as bitter as wormwood, a fearful visitation commonly followes. And the divel that then told thee that it was a light sin, or no sin at all, now aggravates on the other side, and telleth thee, that it is a most irremissible offence, as he did by Cain and Judas, to bring them to despair; every small circumstance before neglected and contemned, will now amplifie it self, rise up in judgement and accuse; the dust of their shooes, dumb creatures, as to Lucians tyrant, *lectus et candela*, the bed and candle did bear witness, to torment their soules for their sins past. Tragicall examples in this kinde are too familiar and common: Adrian, Galba, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Caracalla, were in such horrour of conscience for their offences committed, murders, rapes, extortions, injuries, that they were weary of their lives, and could get no body to kill them. [a] Kennetus, king of Scotland, when he had murdered his nephewe Malcolme, King Duffes son, prince of Cumberland, and with counterfeit tears and protestations, dissembled the matter a long time, [b] *at last his conscience accused him, his unquiet soule could not rest day or night: he was terrified with fearful*

[q] Pierius. [r] Gen. 4. [s] 9 causes Musculus makes. [t] Plutarch. [u] Alios misere castigat plena scrupulis conscientia, nodum in scirpo quærunt, et ubi nulla causa subest, misericordiæ divinæ diffidentes, se orco destinant. [v] Cœlius lib. 6. [w] Juvenal. [x] Lucian de Deâ Syriâ. Si adstiteris, te aspicit; si transeas, visu te sequitur. [y] Prima hæc est ultio, quod se Judice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis Gratia fallacis prætoris vicerit urnam. Juvenal. [z] Quis unquam vidit avarum ringi, dum lucrum adest? adulterum, dum potitur voto, lugere in perpetrando scelere? voluptate sumus ebrii, proinde non sentimus, &c. [a] Buchanan. lib. 6. Hist. Scot. [b] Animus conscientiâ sceleris inquietus nullum admisit, quietus, sed semper vexatus noctu et interdiu per somnum visis horrore plenis pertremefactus, &c.

dreams, visions, and so miserably tormented all his life. It is strange to read what [c] Comineus hath written of Lewes the 11. that French king; of Charles the 8; of Alphonsus king of Naples, in the fury of his passion, how he came into Sicily, and what prankes he plaid. Guicciardine, a man most unapt to believe lyes, relates, how that Ferdinand his fathers ghost (who before had died for grief,) came and told him, that he could not resist the French king, he thought every man cried France, France; the reason of it (saith Comineus) was because he was a vile tyrant, a murderer, an oppressour of his subjects; he bought up all commodities, and sold them at his owne price; sold abbies to Jewes and falkoners; both Ferdinand his father, and he himselfe, never made conscience of any committed sin; and to conclude, saith he, it was impossible to do worse then they did. Why was Pausanias the Spartan tyrant, Nero, Otho, Galba, so persecuted with spirits in every house they came, but for their murders which they had committed? [d] Why doth the divel haunt many mens houses after their deaths, appear to them living, and take possession of their habitations, as it were, of their pallaces, but because of their severall villanies? why had Richard the 3 such fearful dreames, saith Polydor, but for his frequent murders? Why was Herod so tortured in his minde? because he had made away Mariamne his wife. Why was Theodoricus the king of the Gothes so suspitious, and so affrighted with a fish head alone, but that he had murdered Symmachus, and Boethius his son-in-law, those worthy Romans? Cælius *lib.* 27. *cap.* 22. See more in Plutarch, in his tract *De his qui sero a Numine puniuntur*, and in his book *De tranquillitate animi, &c.* Yea, and sometimes GOD himselfe hath a hand in it, to shew his power, humiliate, exercise, and to trye their faith, (divine temptation, Perkins cals it, *Cas. cons. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *sect.* 1.) to punish them for their sins. God the avenger, as [e] David terms him, *ultor a tergo Deus*, his wrath is apprehended of a guilty soule, as by Saul and Judas, which the poets expressed by Adrastia, or Nemesis:

> Assequitur Nemesisque virûm vestigia servat,
> Ne male quid facias. ———

And she is, as [f] Ammianus, *lib.* 14. describes her, *the queen of causes, and moderator of things*, now she puls downe the proud; now she reares and encourageth those that are good; he gives instance in his Eusebius; Nicephorus, *lib.* 10. *cap.* 35. *eccles. hist.* in Maximinus and Julian. Fearfull examples of Gods just judgement, wrath and vengeance, are to be found in all histories; of some that have been eaten to death with rats and mice, as [g] Popelius the second king of Poland, ann. 830. his wife and children; the like story is of Hatto Archbishop of Mentz, ann. 996, so devoured by these vermine, which howsoever Serrarius the Jesuite, *Mogunt. rerum lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. impugne by 22 arguments; Tritemius, [h] Munster, Magdeburgenses, and many others relate for a truth. Such another example I finde in Geraldus Cambrensis *Itin. Cam. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. and where not?

And yet for all these terrours of conscience, affrighting punishments which are so frequent, or whatsoever else may cause or aggravate this fearfull malady in other religions, I see no reason at all why a papist, at any time should despair, or be troubled for his sins; for let him be never so dissolute a catiffe, so notorious a villain, so monstrous a sinner, out of that treasure of indulgences and merits of which the Pope is dispensator, he may have free pardon and plenary remission of all his sins. There be so many general pardons for ages to come, 40000 yeers to come, so many jubilies, so frequent gaol-deliveries out of purgatory for all soules, now living, or after dissolution of the body, so many particular masses daily said in severall churches, so many altars consecrated to this purpose, that if a man have either mony or

[c] De bello Neapol. [d] Thyreus de locis infestis part. 1. cap. 2. Neros mother was still in his eys. [e] Psal. 44. 16. [f] Regina causarum et arbitra rerum, nunc erectas cervices opprimit, &c. [g] Alex. Gegulnus catal. reg. Pol. [h] Cosmog. Munster. et Magde.

friends, or will take any paines to come to such an altar, hear a mass, say so many pater-nosters, undergo such and such penance, he cannot doe amiss; it is impossible his minde should be troubled, or he have any scruple to molest him. Besides that *Taxa Cameræ Apostolicæ*, which was first published to get mony in the dayes of Leo decimus that sharking pope, and since divulged to the same ends, sets down such easie rates and dispensations for all offences, for perjury, murder, incest, adultery, &c. for so many grosses or dollers (able to invite any man to sin, and provoke him to offend, me thinks, that otherwise would not) such comfortable remission, so gentle and parable a pardon, so ready at hand, with so smal cost and suit obtained, that I cannot see how he that hath any friends amongst them (as I say) or mony in his purse, or will at least to ease himselfe, can any way miscarry or be misaffected, how he should be desperate, in danger of damnation or troubled in minde. Their ghostly fathers can so readily apply remedies, so cunningly string and unstring, winde and unwinde their devotions, play upon their consciences with plausible speeches and terrible threats, for their best advantage settle and remove, erect with such facility and deject, let in and out, that I cannot perceive how any man amongst them should much or often labour of this disease, or finally miscarry. The causes above named must more frequently therefore take hold on others.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Symptomes of Despair. Feare, sorrow, suspition, anxiety, horrour of conscience, fearfull dreames and visions.*

As shoomakers doe when they bring home shooes, still cry, leather is dearer and dearer; may I justly say of those melancholy symptomes: these of despair are most violent, tragicall and grievous, far beyond the rest; not to be expressed but negatively, as it is privation of all happiness, not to be endured; *for a wounded spirit who can bear it?* Pro. 18. 14. What therefore [i] Timanthes did, in his picture of Iphigenia, now ready to be sacrificed, when he had painted Chalcas mourning, Ulysses sad, but most sorrowfull Menelaus, and shewed all his art in expressing variety of affections, he covered the maids father, Agamemnons head with a vaile, and left it to every spectator to conceive what he would himselfe; for that true passion and sorrow in *summo gradu*, such as his was, could not by any art be deciphred. What he did in his picture, I will do in describing the symptomes of despair. Imagine what thou canst, feare, sorrow, furies, griefe, pain, terrour, anger, dismal, ghastly, tedious, irksome, &c. it is not sufficient, it comes far short; no tongue can tell, no heart conceive it. 'Tis an epitome of hell, an extract, a quintessence, a compound, a mixture of all ferall maladies, tyrannical tortures, plagues and perplexities. There is no sickness almost but physick provideth a remedy for it; to every sore, chirurgery will provide a salve: friendship helpes poverty; hope of liberty easeth imprisonment; suit and favour revoke banishment; authority and time weare away reproach: but what physick, what chirurgery, what wealth, favour, authority can relieve, bear out, asswage, or expel a troubled conscience? A quiet minde cureth all them, but all they cannot comforte a distressed soule: who can put to silence the voyce of desperation? All that is single in other melancholy, *horribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum*, concur in this; it is more then melancholy in the highest degree; a burning feaver of the soule; so made, said [j] Jacchinus, by this misery; feare, sorrow and despair he puts for ordinary symptomes of melancholy. They are in great pain and horrour of mind, distraction of soule, restless, full of continual feares, cares, torments, anxieties; they can neither eat, drinke, nor sleep for them, take no rest,

[k] Perpetua impietas, nec mensæ tempore cessat, Exagitat vesana ques, somnique furentes.

Neither at bed, nor yet at bord, Will any rest despair afforde.

[i] *Plinius* cap. 10. l. 35. Consumptis affectibus, Agamemnonis caput velavit, ut omnes, quam possent, maximum mœrorem in virginis patre cogitarent. [j] Cap. 15. in 9 Rhasis. [k] Juv. Sat. 13.



Feare takes away their content, and dries the bloud, wasteth the marrow, alters their countenance, even in their *greatest delights, singing, dancing, dalliance*, they are still (saith [l] Lemnius) tortured in their soules. It consumes them to nought: *I am like a pelican in the wilderness* (saith David of himselfe, temporally afflicted) *an owle because of thine indignation*, Psal. 102, vers. 9, 10, and Psal. 55. 4. *My heart trembleth within mee, and the terrours of death have come upon mee; feare and trembling are come upon mee, &c. at deaths doore*, Psal. 107. 18. *Their soule abhors all manner of meats.* Their [m] sleep is (if it be any) unquiet, subject to fearful dreames and terrours. Peter in his bonds, slept secure, for he knew God protected him; and Tully makes it an argument of Roscius Amerinus innocency, that he had not killed his father, because he so securely slept. Those martyres in the primitive church were most [n] chearfull and merry in the midst of their persecutions; but it is far otherwise with these men, tossed in a sea, and that continually, without rest or intermission, they can think of naught that is pleasant; [o] *their conscience will not let them be quiet*, in perpetual feare, anxiety; if they be not yet apprehended, they are in doubt still that they shall be ready to betray themselves, as Cain did, he thinkes every man will kill him: *And roare for griefe of heart*, Psal. 38. 8. as David did, as Job did, 3. 20, 21, 22, &c. *Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life to them that have heavie hearts? Which long for death, and if it come not, search it more then treasures, and rejoyce when they can find the grave.* They are generally weary of their lives, a trembling heart they have, a sorrowful minde, and little or no rest. *Terror ubique tremor, timor undique et undique terror.* Feares, terrours, and affrights in all places, at all times and seasons. *Cibum et potum pertinaciter aversantur multi, nodum in scirpo quæritantes, et culpam imaginantes ubi nulla est*, as Wierus writes *de Lamiis, lib.* 3. *c.* 7. they refuse, many of them, meat and drinke, cannot rest, aggravating still, and supposing grievous offences where there are none. Gods heavie wrath is kindled in their soules: and notwithstanding their continual prayers and supplications to Christ Jesus, they have no release or ease at all, but a most intolerable torment, and insufferable anguish of conscience, and that makes them, through impatience, to murmure against God, many times, to rave, to blaspheme, turne atheists, and seek to offer violence to themselves. Deut. 28. 67. *In the morning they wish for evening, and for morning in the evening, for the sight of their eys which they see, and feare of hearts.* [p] Marinus Marcennus in his Comment on Genesis, makes mention of a desperate friend of his, whom amongst others he came to visit, and exhort to patience, that broke out into most blasphemous atheisticall speeches, too fearfull to relate. When they wished him to trust in God; *Quis est ille Deus* (*inquit*) *ut serviam illi? quid proderit, si oraverim? si præsens est, cur non succurrit? cur non me carcere, inediâ, squalore confectum liberat? quid ego feci? &c. absit a me hujusmodi Deus.* Another of his acquaintance brake out into like atheisticall blasphemies; upon his wives death raved, cursed, said and did he cared not what. And so for the most part it is with them all. Many of them in their extremity, thinke they hear and see visions, out-crys, confer with divels, that they are tormented, possessed, and in hell fire, already damned, quite forsaken of God, they have no sense or feeling of mercy, or grace, hope of salvation: their sentence of condemnation is already past, and not to be revoked, the divel will certainly have them. Never was any living creature in

[l] Mentem eripit timor hic; vultum, totumque corporis habitum immutat, etiam in deliciis, in tripudiis, in symposiis, in amplexu conjugis carnificinam exercet. lib. 4. cap. 21. [m] Non sinit conscientia tales homines recta verba proferre, aut rectis quenquam oculis aspicere; ab omni hominum cœtu eosdem exterminat, et dormientes perterrefacit. Philost. lib. 7. de vitâ Apollonii. [n] Eusebius, Nicephorus eccles. hist. lib. 4. c. 17. [o] Seneca lib. 18. epist. 106. Conscientia aliud agere non patitur, perturbatam vitam agunt, nunquam vacant, &c. [p] Artic. 3. ca. 1. fol. 230. Quod horrendum dictu, desperabundus quidam me presente cum ad patientiam hortaretur, &c.

such torment before, in such a miserable estate, in such distress of minde, no hope, no faith, past cure, reprobate, continually tempted to make away themselves. Something talkes with them, they spit fire and brimstone, they cannot but blaspheme, they cannot repent, beleeve, or thinke a good thought; so far carryed, *ut cogantur ad impia cogitandum etiam contra voluntatem*, said [q] Felix Plater; *ad blasphemiam erga Deum, ad multa horrenda perpetranda, ad manus violentes sibi inferendas, &c.* and in their distrtcaed fits and desperate humors, to offer violence to others, their familiar and dear friends sometimes, or to meer strangers, upon every small or no occasion: for he that cares not for his owne, is master of another mans life. They think evill against their wills; that which they abhor themselves, they must needs thinke, doe, and speake. He gives instance in a patient of his, that when he would pray, had such evill thoughts still suggested to him, and wicked [r] meditations. Another instance he hath, of a woman that was often tempted to curse God, to blaspheme and kill her selfe. Sometimes the divel (as they say) stands without and talks with them, sometimes he is within them, as they thinke, and there speakes and talks to such as are possessed: so Apollidorus, in Plutarch, thought his heart spake within him. There is a most memorable example of [s] Francis Spira, an advocate of Padua, ann. 1545, that being desperate, by no counsell of learned men could be comforted; he felt (as he said) the pains of hell in his soule, in all other things he discoursed aright; but in this most mad. Frismelica, Bullovat, and some other excellent physicians, could neither make him eat, drinke, or sleep; no perswasion could ease him. Never pleaded any man so well for himselfe, as this man did against himselfe, and so he desperately died. Springer a lawyer hath written his life. Cardinal Crescence died likewise so desperate at Verona, still he thought a black dog followed him to his beath-bed, no man could drive the dog away. Sleidan. *com.* 23. *cap. lib.* 3. Whilst I was writing this treatise, saith Montaltus, *cap.* 2. *de mel.* [t] *a nun came to me for helpe, well for all other matters, but troubled in conscience for five yeers last past; she is almost mad, and not able to resist; thinkes she hath offended God, and is certainly damned.* Felix Plater hath store of instances of such as thought themselves damned, [u] forsaken of God, &c. One amongst the rest, that durst not go to church, or come near the Rhine, for feare to make away himselfe, because then he was most especially tempted. These and such like symptomes, are intended and remitted, as the malady itselfe is more or less; some will hear good counsel, some will not; some desire helpe, some reject all, and will not be eased.

Subsect. V.—*Prognostiques of Despair, atheism, blasphemy, violent death, &c.*

Most part these kinde of persons [v] make away themselves, some are mad, blaspheme, curse, deny God: but most offer violence to their own persons, and sometimes to others. *A wounded spirit who can bear?* Prov. 18. 14. As Cain, Saul, Achitophel, Judas, blasphemed and died. Bede saith, Pilate died desperate eight yeers after Christ. [w] Felix Plater hath collected many examples. [x] *A merchants wife that was long troubled with such temptations*, in the night rose from her bed, and out of the windowe broke her neck into the street: another drowned himselfe, desperate as he was, in the Rhine; some cut their throats, many hang themselves. But this needs no illustration. It is controverted by some, whether a man so offering violence to himselfe,

[q] Lib. 1. obser. cap. 3. [r] Ad maledicendum Deo. [s] Goulart. [t] Dum hæc scribo, implorat opem meam monacha, in reliquis sana, et judicio recta, per 5 annos melancholica; damnatam se dicit, conscientiæ stimulis oppressa, &c. [u] Alios conquerentes audivi se esse ex damnatorum numero, Deo non esse curæ, aliaque infinita quæ proferre non audebant, vel abhorrebant. [v] Musculus, Partritius, ad vim sibi inferendam cogit homines. [w] 3 De mentis alienat. observ. lib. 1. [x] Uxor mercatoris, diu vexationibus tentata, &c.



dying desperate, may be saved aye or no? If they dye so obstinately and suddenly, that they cannot so much as wish for mercy, the worst is to be suspected, because they dye impenitent. [y]If their death had been a little more lingring, wherein they might have some leasure in their hearts to cry for mercy, charity may judge the best; divers have been recovered out of the very act of hanging and drowning themselves, and so brought *ad sanam mentem*, they have been very penitent, much abhorred their former fact, confessed that they have repented in an instant, and cryed for mercy in their hearts. If a man put desperate hands upon himself, by occasion of madness or melancholy, if he have given testimony before of his regeneration, in regard he doth this not so much out of his will, as *ex vi morbi*, we must make the best construction of it, as [z]Turkes doe, that thinke all fools and mad men go directly to heaven.

SUBSECT. VI.—*Cure of Despair by physicke, good counsell, comforts, &c.*

EXPERIENCE teacheth us, that though many dye obstinate, and wilful in this malady, yet multitudes again are able to resist and overcome, seek for helpe and finde comfort; are taken *e faucibus Erebi*, from the chops of hell, and out of the divels pawes, though they have by [a]obligation given themselves to him. Some out of their owne strength, and Gods assistance; *though he kill me* (saith Job) *yet will I trust in him;* some out of good counsell, advice, and physicke. [b]Bellovacus cured a monke by altering his habit and course of life: Plater many by physicke alone. But for the most part they must concur: and they take a wrong course that thinke to overcome this ferall passion by sole physicke: and they are as much out, that thinke to work this effect by good advice alone; though both be forcible in themselves, yet *vis unita fortior*, they must go hand in hand to this disease ——*alterius sic altera poscit opem*. For physicke, the like course is to be taken with this as in other melancholy: diet, ayr, exercise, all those passions and perturbations of the minde, &c. are to be rectified by the same meanes. They must not be left solitary, or to themselves, never idle, never out of company. Counsell, good comfort is to be applyed, as they shall see the parties inclined; or to the causes, whether it be loss, feare, griefe, discontent, or some such ferall accident, a guilty conscience, or otherwise by frequent meditation, too grievous an apprehension, and consideration of his former life: by hearing, reading of scriptures, good divines, good advice and conference, applying Gods word to their distressed soules, it must be corrected and counter-poysed. Many excellent exhortations, paræneticall discourses are extant to this purpose, for such as are any way troubled in minde: Perkins, Greenham, Hayward, Bright, Abernethy, Bolton, Culmannus, Hemmingius, Cælius Secundus, Nicholas Laurentius, are copious in this subject; Azorius, Navarrus, Sayrus, &c. and such as have written cases of conscience amongst our pontificial writers. But because these mens workes are not to all parties at hand, so parable at all times, I will for the benefit and ease of such as are afflicted, at the request of some [c]friends, recollect out of their voluminous treatises, some few such comfortable speeches, exhortations, arguments, advice, tending to this subject, and out of Gods word, knowing, as Culmannus saith upon the like occasion, [d]*how unavailable and vaine mens counsells are to comfort an afflicted conscience, except Gods word concur and be annexed, from which comes life, ease, repentance, &c.* Presupposing first that which Beza, Greenham, Perkins, Bolton, give in charge, the parties to whom counsell is given be sufficiently prepared, humbled for their sins, fit for comfort, confessed, tryed how they are more or less

[y] Abernethy. [z] Busbequius. [a] John Major vitis patrum. Quidam negavit Christum, per chirographum post restitutus. [b] Trincavellius lib. 3. consil. 46. [c] My brother George Burton; Mr. James Whiteball, rector of Checkly in Staffordshire, my quondam chamber fellow, and late fellow student in Christ Church. Oxon. [d] Scio quam vana sit et inefficax humanorum verborum penes afflictos consolatio, nisi verbum Dei audiatur, a quo vita, refrigeratio, solatium, pœnitentia.

afflicted, how they stand affected, or capable of good advice, before any remedies be applied. To such therefore as are so throughly searched and examined, I address this following discourse.

Two main antidotes, [e] Hemmingius observes, are opposite to despair; good hope out of Gods word, is to be embraced; perverse security and presumption, from the divels treachery are to be rejected; *illa salus animæ, hæc pestis;* one saves, the other kils, *occidit animam*, saith Austin, and doth as much harm as despair itself. [f] Navarrus, the casuist, reckons up ten special cures out of Anton. 1 *part. Tit.* 3. *cap.* 10. 1. God. 2. Physicke 3. [g] Avoiding such objects as have caused it. 4. Submission of himselfe to other mens judgements. 5. Answer of all objections, &c. All which Cajetan, Gerson, *lib. de vit. spirit.* Sayrus, *lib.* 1. *cas. cons. cap.* 14. repeat and approve out of Emanuel Roderiques, *cap.* 51 & 52. Greenham prescribes six special rules; Culmannus seven. First, to acknowledge all helpe to come from God. 2. That the cause of their present misery is sin. 3. To repent, and be heartily sorry for their sins. 4. To pray earnestly to God they may be eased. 5. To expect and implore the prayers of the church, and good mens advice. 6. Physicke. 7. To commend themselves to God, and rely upon his mercy: others otherwise, but all to this effect. But forasmuch as most men, in this malady, are spiritually sicke, void of reason almost, over-born by their miseries, and too deep an apprehension of their sins, they cannot apply themselves to good counsell, pray, beleeve, repent; we must, as much as in us lies, occur and helpe their peculiar infirmities, according to their severall causes and symptomes, as we shall finde them distressed and complain.

The main matter which terrifies and torments most that are troubled in minde, is the enormity of their offences, the intolerable burthen of their sins, Gods heavie wrath and displeasure so deeply apprehended, that they account themselves reprobates, quite forsaken of God, already damned, past all hope of grace, uncapable of mercy, *diaboli mancipia*, slaves of sin, and their offences so great they cannot be forgiven. But these men must know there is no sin so hainous which is not pardonable in it selfe; no crime so great but by Gods mercy it may be forgiven. *Where sin aboundeth, grace aboundeth much more*, Rom. 5. 20. And what the Lord said unto Paul in his extremity, 2 Cor. 12. 9. *My grace is sufficient for thee, for my power is made perfect through weakness*, concernes every man in like case. His promises are made indefinite to all believers; generally spoken to all, touching remission of sins, that are truly penitent, grieved for their offences, and desire to be reconciled; Matth. 9. 12. 13. *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*, that is, such as are truly touched in conscience for their sins. Again, Matt. 11. 28. *Come unto me all ye that are heavie laden, and I will ease you.* Ezek. 18. 27. *At what time soever a sinner shall repent him of his sins, from the bottom of his heart, I will blot out all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord.* Isay, 43. 25. *I, even I am he that put away thine iniquity for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins. As a father* (saith David, Psal. 103. 13.) *hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that feare him;* and will receive them again as the prodigall son was entertained, Luke 15. if they shall so come with tears in their eys, and a penitent heart. *Peccator agnoscat, Deus ignoscit. The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slowe to anger, of great kindness*, Psal. 103. 8. *He will not alwayes chide, neither keepe his anger for ever.* 9. *As high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is his mercy towards them that feare him.* 11. *As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our sins from us.* 12. Though Cain cry out in the anguish of his

[e] Antid. adversus desperationem. [f] Tom. 2. c. 27. num. 282. [g] Aversio cogitationis a re scrupulosa, contraventio scrupulorum.

soule, My punishment is greater then I can bear, 'tis not so; *Thou liest Cain* (saith Austin); *Gods mercy is greater then thy sins. His mercy is above all his workes*, Psal. 145. 9. able to satisfie for all mens sins, *antilutron*, 1 Tim. 2. 6. His mercy is a *panacea*, a balsome for an afflicted soule, a soveraign medicine, an alexipharmacum for all sin, a charm for the divel; his mercy was great to Solomon, to Manasses, to Peter, great to all offenders, and whosoever thou art, it may be so to thee. For why should God bid us pray (as Austin infers) *Deliver us from all evil, nisi ipse misericors perseveraret*, if he did not intende to helpe us? He therefore that [h] doubts of the remission of his sins, denies Gods mercy, and doth him injury, saith Austin. Yea, but thou replyest, I am a notorious sinner; mine offences are not so great as infinite. Hear Fulgentius, [i] *Gods invincible goodness cannot be overcome by sin; his infinite mercy cannot be terminated by any: the multitude of his mercy is equivalent to his magnitude.* Hear [j] Chrysostome, *Thy malice may be measured, but Gods mercy cannot be defined; thy malice is circumscribed, his mercies infinite.* As a drop of water is to the sea, so are thy misdeeds to his mercy; nay, there is no such proportion to be given: for the sea though great, yet may be measured, but Gods mercy cannot be circumscribed. Whatsoever thy sins be then, in quantity or quality, multitude or magnitude, feare them not, distrust not. I speak not this, saith [k] Chrysostome, *to make thee secure and negligent, but to cheer thee up.* Yea, but thou urgest again, I have little comfort of this which is said, it concerns me not: *Inanis pœnitentia quam sequens culpa coinquinat;* 'tis to no purpose for me to repent and doe worse then ever I did before, to persevere in sin, and to return to my lusts as a dog to his vomit, or a swine to the mire: [l] to what end is it to ask forgiveness of my sins, and yet daily to sin again and again, to do evil out of an habit? I daily and hourly offende in thought, worde, and deed; in a relapse by mine owne weakness and wilfulness; my *bonus Genius*, my good protecting angel is gone, I am faln from that I was, or would be, worse and worse, *my latter end is worse then my beginning. Si quotidie peccas, quotidie*, saith Chrysostome, *pœnitentiam age*, If thou daily offend, daily repent: [m] *if twice, thrice, an hundred, an hundred thousand times; twice, thrice, an hundred thousand times repent.* As they doe by an old house that is out of repaire, still mend some part or other; so doe by thy soule, still reform some vice, repaire it by repentance; call to him for grace and thou shalt have it; *for we are freely justified by his grace*, Rom. 3. 24. If thine enemy repent, as our Saviour enjoyned Peter, forgive him 77 times; and why shouldst thou thinke God will not forgive thee? Why should the enormity of thy sins trouble thee? God can doe it, he will doe it. *My conscience* (saith [n] Anselm) *dictates to me, that I deserve damnation, my repentance will not suffice for satisfaction; but thy mercy, O Lord, quite overcomes all my transgressions.* The gods once (as the poets fain) with a gold chain would pull Jupiter out of heaven, but they all together could not stirr him, and yet he could draw and turne them as he would himselfe; maugre all the force and fury of these infernal fiends and crying sins, *his grace is sufficient.* Confer the debt and the payment; Christ and Adam; sin and the cure of it; the disease and the medicine; confer the sicke man to the physician, and thou shalt soon perceive that his power is infinitely beyond it. God is better able, as [o] Bernard informeth us, *to helpe, then sin to do us hurt; Christ is better able to save, then the divel to destroy.* [p] If he be a skilful physician, as Ful-

[h] Magnam injuriam Deo facit, qui diffidit de ejus misericordiâ. [i] Bonitas invicti non vincitur; infiniti misericordia non finitur. [j] Hom. 3. de pœnitentiâ. Tua quidem malitia mensuram habet; Dei autem misericordia mensuram non habet. Tua malitia circumscripta est, &c. Pelagus, etsi magnum, mensuram habet; Dei autem, &c. [k] Non ut desidiores vos faciam, sed ut alacriores reddam. [l] Pro peccatis veniam poscere, et mala de novo iterare. [m] Si bis, si ter, si centies, si centies millies, toties pœnitentiam age. [n] Conscientia mea meruit damnationem, pœnitentia non sufficit ad satisfactionem: sed tua misericordia superat omnem offensionem. [o] Multo efficacior Christi mors in bonum, quam peccata nostra in malum. Christus potentior ad salv. ndum, quam dæmon ad perdendum. [p] Peritus medicus potest om infirmitates sanare; si misericors, vult.

gentius addes, *he can cure all diseases; if mercifull, he will. Non est perfecta bonitas a quâ non omnis malitia vincitur*, his goodness is not absolute and perfect, if it be not able to overcome all malice. Submit thy selfe unto him, as Saint Austin adviseth, [q] *he knoweth best what he doth; and be not so much pleased when he sustains thee, as patient when he corrects thee; he is omnipotent, and can cure all diseases when he sees his owne time.* He lookes down from heaven upon earth, that he may hear the *mourning of prisoners, and deliver the children of death*, Psal. 102, 19, 20. *and though our sins be as red as scarlet, he can make them as white as snow*, Isay, 1. 18. Doubt not of this, or aske how it shall be done; he is all-sufficient that promiseth; *qui fecit mundum de immundo*, saith Chrysostome, he hath made a faire world of nought, can do this and much more for his part; doe thou onely beleeve, trust in him, rely on him, be penitent and heartily sorry for thy sins. Repentance is a soveraign remedy for all sins, a spirituall wing to ereare us, a charm for our miseries, a protecting amulet to expell sins venome, an attractive loadstone to draw Gods mercy and graces unto us. [r] *Peccatum vulnus, pœnitentia medicinam;* sin made the breach, repentance must helpe it; howsoever thine offence came by errour, sloath, obstinacy, ignorance, *exitur per pœnitentiam*, this is the sole meanes to be relieved. [s] Hence comes our hope of safety, by this alone sinners are saved, God is provoked to mercy. *This unlooseth all that is bound, enlightneth darkness, mends that is broken, puts life to that which was desperately dying:* makes no respect of offences, or of persons. [t] *This doth not repell a fornicator, reject a drunkard, resist a proude fellow, turn away an idolater, but entertains all, communicates it selfe to all.* Who persecuted the church more then Paul, offended more then Peter? and yet by repentance (saith Chrysologus) they got both *magisterium et ministerium sanctitatis*, the magistery of holiness. The prodigall son went far, but by repentance he came home at last. [u] *This alone will turn a woolf into a sheep, make a publican a preacher, turn a thorne into an olive, make a deboshed fellow religious*, a blasphemer sing *Halleluia*, make Alexander the copper-smith truly devout, make a divel a saint; [v] *and him that polluted his mouth with calumnies, lying, swearing and filthy tunes and tones, to purge his throat with divine psalms.* Repentance will effect prodigious cures, make a stupend metamorphosis. *An hauk came into the ark, and went out again an hauk; a lyon came in, went out a lyon; a bear, a bear; a woolf, a woolf; but if an hauk come into this sacred temple of repentance, he will go forth a dove*, (saith [w] Chrysostome) *a woolf go out a sheep, a lyon a lamb.* [x] *This gives sight to the blind, legs to the lame, cures all diseases, confers grace, expels vice, inserts vertue, comforts and fortifies the soule.* Shall I say, let thy sin be what it will, do but repent, it is sufficient? [y] *Quem pœnitet peccâsse, pœne est innocens.* 'Tis true indeed and all sufficient this; they do confess, if they could repent, but they are obdurate, they have cauterized consciences, they are in a reprobate sense, they cannot thinke a good thought, they cannot hope for grace, pray, beleeve, repent, or be sorry for their sins, they finde no griefe for sin in themselves, but rather a delight, no groaning of spirit, but are carryed headlong to their owne destruction, *heaping wrath to themselves against the day of wrath*, Rom. 2. 5. 'Tis a grievous case this I do yeeld, and yet not to be despaired of; God of his bounty and mercy cals all to repentance, Rom. 2. 4. thou maist be called at length, restored, taken to his grace as the thiefe upon the

[q] Omnipotenti medico nullus languor insanabilis occurrit: tu tantum doceri te sine, manum ejus ne repelle: novit quid agat; non tantum delecteris cum fovet, sed toleres cum secat. [r] Chrys. hom. 3. de pœnit. [s] Spes salutis per quam peccatores salvantur, Deus ad misericordiam provocatur. Isidor. Omnia ligata tu solvis, contrita sanas, confusa lucidas, desperata animas. [t] Chrys. hom. 5. Non fornicatorem abnuit, non ebrium avertit, non superbum repellit, non aversatur idolatram, non adulterum, sed omnes suscipit, omnibus communicat. [u] Chrys. hom. 5. [v] Qui turpibus cantilenis aliquando inquinavit os, divinis hymnis animum purgabit. [w] Hom. 5. Introivit hic quis accipiter, columba exit; introivit lupus, vix egreditur, &c. [x] Omnes languores sanat, cæcis visum, claudis gressum, gratiam confert, &c. [y] Senera.

cross, at the last hour, as Mary Magdalen and many other sinners have been, that were buryed in sin. God (saith [a] Fulgentius) *is delighted in the conversion of a sinner, he sets no time; prolixitas temporis Deo non præjudicat, aut gravitas peccati*, deferring of time or grievousness of sin doe not prejudicate his grace; things past and to come are all one to him as present, 'tis never too late to repent. [a] *This heaven of repentance is still open for all distressed soules;* and howsoever as yet no signes appear, thou maist repent in good time. Hear a comfortable speech of S[t]. Austin; [b] *Whatsoever thou shalt doe, how great a sinner soever, thou art yet living; if God would not helpe thee, he would surely take thee away; but in sparing thy life, he gives thee leasure, and invites thee to repentance.* Howsoever as yet, I say, thou perceivest no fruit, no feeling, findest no likelihood of it in thy selfe, patiently abide the Lords good leasure, despaire not, or thinke thou art a reprobate; he came to call sinners to repentance, Luke 5. 32. of which number thou art one; he came to call thee, and in his time will surely call thee. And although as yet thou hast no inclination to pray, to repent, thy faith be cold and dead, and thou wholy averse from all divine functions, yet it may revive; as trees are dead in winter but flourish in the spring: these vertues may lye hid in thee for the present, yet hereafter shew themselves, and peradventure already bud, howsoever thou dost not perceive it. 'Tis Satans policy to plead against, suppress and aggravate, to conceal those sparkes of faith in thee. Thou dost not beleeve thou saist, yet thou wouldst beleeve if thou couldst, 'tis thy desire to beleeve; then pray, [c] *Lord help my unbeliefe;* and hereafter thou shalt certainly beleeve: [d] *dabitur sitienti*, it shall be given to him that thirsteth. Thou canst not yet repent, hereafter thou shalt; a blacke cloud of sin as yet obnubilates thy soule, terrifies thy conscience, but this cloud may conceive a rain-bow at the last, and be quite dissipated by repentance. Be of good cheer; a child is rationall in power, not in act; and so art thou penitent in affection, though not yet in action. 'Tis thy desire to please God, to be heartily sorry; comfort thy selfe, no time is overpast, 'tis never too late. A desire to repent, is repentance it selfe, though not in nature, yet in Gods acceptance; a willing minde is sufficient, *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness*, Mat. 5. 6. He that is destitute of Gods grace, and wisheth for it, shall have it. *The Lord* (saith David, Psal. 10. 17) *will hear the desire of the poor*, that is, of such as are in distress of body and minde. 'Tis true thou canst not as yet grieve for thy sin, thou hast no feeling of faith, I yeeld; yet canst thou grieve thou dost not grieve? It troubles thee, I am sure, thine heart should be so impenitent and hard, thou wouldst have it otherwise; 'tis thy desire to grieve, to repent and beleeve. Thou lovest Gods children and saints in the mean time, hatest them not, persecutest them not, but rather wishest thy selfe a true professor, to be as they are, as thou thy selfe hast been heretofore: which is an evident token thou art in no such desperate case. 'Tis a good signe of thy conversion, thy sins are pardonable, thou art, or shalt surely be reconciled. *The Lord is neer them that are of a contrite heart*, Luke 4. 18. [e] A true desire of mercy in the want of mercy, is mercy it selfe; a desire of grace in the want of grace, is grace it selfe; a constant and earnest desire to beleeve, repent, and to be reconciled to God, if it be in a touched heart, is an acceptation of God, a reconciliation, faith and repentance it selfe. For it is not thy faith and repentance, as [f] Chrysostome truly teacheth, that is available, but Gods mercy that is annexed to it; he accepts the will for the deed: so that I conclude to

[a] Delectatur Deus conversione peccatoris; omne tempus vitæ conversioni deputatur; pro præsentibus habentur tam præterita quam futura. [a] Austin. Semper pœnitentiæ portus apertus est ne desperemus. [b] Quicquid feceris, quantumcunque peccaveris, adhuc in vitâ es, unde te omnino si sanare te nollet Deus, auferret; parcendo clamat ut redeas, &c. [c] Matth. 6. 23. [d] Rev. 22. 17. [e] Abernethy, Perkins. [f] Non est pœnitentia, sed Dei misericordia annexa.

feel in ourselves the want of grace, and to be grieved for it, is grace it selfe. I am troubled with feare my sins are not forgiven, *careless objects;* but Bradford answers, they are; *for God hath given thee a penitent and beleeving heart, that is, an heart which desireth to repent and beleeve; for such a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deed) for a truly penitent and beleeving heart.*

All this is true thou replyest, but yet it concerns not thee; 'tis verified in ordinary offenders, in common sins, but thine are of an higher strain, even against the Holy Ghost himselfe, irremissible sins, sins of the first magnitude, written with a pen of iron, engraven with the point of a diamond. Thou art worse then a Pagan, Infidel, Jewe, or Turke, for thou art an apostate and more, thou hast voluntarily blasphemed, renounced God, and all religion, thou art worse then Judas himselfe, or they that crucified Christ: for they did offende out of ignorance, but thou hast thought in thine heart there is no God. Thou hast given thy soule to the divel, as witches and conjurers doe, *explicite* and *implicite*, by compact, band, and obligation (a desperate, a fearfull case) to satisfie thy lust, or to be revenged of thine enemies; thou didst never pray, come to church, hear, reade, or doe any divine duties with any devotion, but for formality and fashion sake, with a kinde of reluctancie; 'twas troublesome and painfull to thee to performe any such thing, *præter voluntatem*, against thy will. Thou never mad'st any conscience of lying, swearing, bearing false witness, murder, adultery, bribery, oppression, thefte, drunkenness, idolatrie, but hast ever done all duties for feare of punishment, as they were most advantageous, and to thine owne ends, and committed all such notorious sins, with an extraordinary delight, hating that thou shouldest love, and loving that thou shouldest hate. In stead of faith, feare and love of God, repentance, &c. blasphemous thoughts have been ever harboured in his minde, even against God himselfe, the blessed Trinitie: the [g] Scripture false, rude, harsh, immethodicall: heaven, hell, resurrection, meer toyes and fables, [h] incredible, impossible, absurd, vaine, ill contrived; religion, policie and humane invention, to keep men in obedience; or for profit, invented by priests and law-givers to that purpose. If there be any such supream power he takes no notice of our doings, hears not our prayers, regardeth them not, will not, cannot helpe; or else he is partiall, an excepter of persons, authour of sin, a cruell, a destructive God, to create our soules, and destinate them to eternall damnation; to make us worse then our dogs and horses. Why doth he not govern things better, protect good men, root out wicked livers? why do they prosper and flourish? as she raved in the [i] tragedy——*pellices cœlum tenent*, there they shine, *Suasque Perseus aureas stellas habet.* where is his providence? how appears it?

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pomponius nullo; quis putet esse Deos?

Why doth he suffer Turkes to overcome Christians, the enemy to triumph over his church, Paganisme to domineer in all places as it doth, heresies to multiply, such enormities to be committed, and so many such bloudy wars, murders, massacres, plagues, ferall diseases? why doth he not make us all good, able, sound? why makes he [j] venomous creatures, rockes, sands, deserts, this earth it selfe the muckhill of the world, a prison, an house of correction? [k] *Mentimur regnare Jovem, &c.* with many such horrible and execrable conceits, not fit to be uttered; *terribilia de fide, horribilia de Divinitate.* They cannot, some of them, but thinke evil; they are compelled *volentes nolentes*, to blaspheme, especially when they come to

[g] Cæcilius Minutio. Omnia ista figmenta male sanæ religionis, et inepta solatia a poetis inventa, vel ab *aliis* ob commodum, superstitiosa mysteria, &c. [h] These temptations and objections are well answered in John Downams Christian warfare. [i] Seneca. [j] Vid. Campanella cap. 6. Atheis. Triumphat. et c. 2. ad argumentum 12. ubi plura. Si Deus bonus, unde colum, &c. [k] Lucan.

church and pray, reade, &c. such fowl and prodigious suggestions come into their hearts.

These are abominable, unspeakable offences, and most opposite to God, *tentationes fœdæ et impiæ;* yet in this case, he or they that shall be tempted and so affected, must know, that no man living is free from such thoughts in part, or at some times; the most divine spirits have been so tempted in some sort; evil custome, omission of holy exercises, ill company, idleness, solitariness, melancholy, or depraved nature, and the divel is still ready to corrupt, trouble, and divert our soules; to suggest such blasphemous thoughts into our phantasies, ungodly, profane, monstrous and wicked conceits. If they come from Satan, they are more speedy, fearfull and violent, the parties cannot avoid them: they are more frequent, I say, and monstrous when they come; for the divel he is a spirit, and hath meanes and opportunitie to mingle himselfe with our spirits, and sometimes more slily, sometimes more abruptly and openly, to suggest such divelish thoughts into our hearts. He insults and domineers in melancholy distempered phantasies and persons especially; melancholy is *balnæum diaboli*, as Serapio holds, the divels bath, and invites him to come to it. As a sicke man frets, raves in his fits, speakes and doth he knows not what, the divel violently compels such crazed soules, to thinke such damned thoughts against their wils; they cannot but do it: sometimes more continuate, or by fits, he takes his advantage, as the subject is less able to resist; he aggravates, extenuates, affirmes, denies, damnes, confounds the spirits, troubles heart, braine, humors, organs, senses, and wholly domineers in their imaginations. If they proceed from themselves, such thoughts, they are remiss and moderate, not so violent and monstrous, not so frequent. The divel commonly suggests things opposite to nature, opposite to God and his word, impious, absurd, such as a man would never of himselfe, or could not conceive, they strike terrour and horrour into the parties owne heart. For if he or they be asked whether they do approve of such like thoughts or no, they answer (and their owne soules truely dictate as much) they abhor them as hell and the divel himselfe, they would fain thinke otherwise if they could; he hath thought otherwise, and with all his soule desires so to thinke again; he doth resist, and hath some good motions intermixt now and then: so that such blasphemous, impious, unclean thoughts, are not his owne, but the divels; they proceed not from him, but from a crazed phantasie, distempered humors, blacke fumes which offend his braine; [1] they are thy crosses, the divels sins, and he shall answer for them; he doth enforce thee to doe that which thou dost abhor, and didst never give consent to: and although he hath sometimes so slily set upon thee, and so far prevailed, as to make thee, in some sort, to assent to such wicked thoughts, to delight in them, yet they have not proceeded from a confirmed will in thee, but are of that nature which thou dost afterwards reject and abhor. Therefore be not overmuch troubled and dismaid with such kinde of suggestions, at least if they please thee not; because they are not thy personall sins, for which thou shalt incur the wrath of God, or his displeasure: contemne, neglect them, let them go as they come, strive not too violently, or trouble thy selfe too much, but as our Saviour said to Satan in like case, say thou, *Avoid Satan*, I detest thee and them. *Satanæ est mala ingerere*, (saith Austin) *nostrum non consentire:* as Satan labours to suggest, so must we strive not to give consent, and it will be sufficient: the more anxious and solicitous thou art, the more perplexed, the more thou shalt otherwise be troubled, and entangled. Besides, they must know this, all so molested and distempered, that although these be most execrable and grievous sins, they are pardonable yet, through Gods mercy and goodness

[1] Perkins.

they may be forgiven, if they be penitent and sorry for them confesseth, Rom. 7. 19. *He did not the good he would which he would not doe; 'tis not I, but sin that dwelleth in n* but Satans suggestions, his craft and subtilty, his malice: then if thou be penitent and grieved, or desirous to be so, t shall not be laid to thy charge. Gods mercy is above all si doe not finally contemne, without doubt thou shalt be saved. *against the Holy Ghost, but he that wilfully and finally re and contemneth him and his word to the last, without which tion; from which grievous sin, God of his infinite mercy a* hold of this to be thy comfort, and meditate withall on God pray, to repent, to be renewed in minde, *keep thine heart w* Prov. 4. 23. resist the divel and he will flye from thee, pc unto the Lord with sorrowful Hannah, *pray continually*, as as David did, Psal. 1. *meditate on his law day and night.*

Yea, but this meditation is that that mars all; and many men far worse, misconceiving all they reade or hea overthrow. The more they search and reade Scriptures, c the more they puzle themselves; as a bird in a net, the r tangled and precipitated into this preposterous gulf. *M but few are chosen*, Mat. 20. 16. and 22. 14. with such lik ture misinterpreted, strike them with horrour; they doubt they be of this number or no. Gods eternall decree absolute reprobation, and such fatall tables they form to and impinge upon this rocke of despair. How shall th their salvation, by what signes? *If the righteous scarcel shall the ungodly and sinners appear?* 1 Pet. 4. 18. W Solomon, whether he be elect? This grindes their soules discern they are not reprobates? But I say again, how they are? From the divel can be no certainty, for he i beginning: If he suggest any such thing, as too frequen him as a deceiver, an enemy of humane kind; dispute not credit to him, obstinately refuse him, as S^t. Anthony did whom the divel set upon in severall shapes; or as the coll by him. For when the divel tempted him with the wea and told him he could not be saved, as being ignorant i religion: and urged him moreover to know what he t thought of such and such points and mysteries: the cc beleeved as the church did; but what (said the divel agai beleeve? as I doe (said the collier) and what's that thou church doth, &c. when the divel could get no other an If Satan summon thee to answer, send him to Christ: he protector against cruell death, raging sin, that roarin righteousness, thy saviour, and thy life. Though he say the number of the elect, a reprobate, forsaken of God, hol —— *hic murus aheneus esto*, let this be as a bulwark, defend thee, stay thy selfe in that certainty of faith; let th CHRIST will protect thee, vindicate thee, thou art one of triumph over the law, vanquish death, overcome the divel, If he say thou art none of the elect, no beleever, reject hi last thought otherwise, and maist so be resolved again; this perswasion cannot come from the divel, and mu grounded from thy selfe: men are lyars, and why shoul

* *Heminingius.* Nemo peccat in Spiritum Sanctum, nisi qui finaliter et volu cumque et ejus verbum extr— —vasit, sine quo nulla salus; a quo peccato li *Christus.* Amen.



A denying Peter, a persecuting Paul, an adulterous cruell David, have been received; an apostate Solomon may be converted; no sin at all but impenitency can give testimony of finall reprobation. Why shouldest thou then distrust, misdoubt thy selfe, upon what ground, what suspition? This opinion alone of particularity? Against that, and for the certainty of election and salvation on the other side, see Gods good will towards men; hear how generally his grace is proposed to him, and him, and them, each man in particular, and to all. 1 Tim. 2. 4. *God will that all men be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth.* 'Tis an universall promise, *God sent not his Son into the world to condemne the world, but that through him the world might be saved.* John 3. 17. He then that acknowledgeth himselfe a man in the world, must likewise acknowledge he is of that number that is to be saved: Ezek. 33. 11. *I will not the death of a sinner, but that he repent and live:* But thou art a sinner, therefore he wills not thy death. *This is the will of him that sent me, that every man that beleeveth in the Son, should have everlasting life,* John, 6. 40. *He would have no man perish, but all come to repentance,* 2 Pet. 3. 9. Besides remission of sins is to be preached, not to a fewe, but universally to all men. *Goe therefore and tell all nations, baptizing them, &c.* Matth. 28. 19. *Goe into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature,* Mark 16. 15. Now there cannot be contradictory wils in God; he will have all saved, and not all; how can this stand together? be secure then, beleeve, trust in him, hope well and be saved. Yea that's the main matter, how shall I beleeve or discern my security from carnall presumption? my faith is weake and faint; I want those signes and fruits of sanctification, [n] sorrow for sin, thirsting for grace, groanings of the spirit, love of Christians as Christians, avoiding occasion of sin, endeavour of new obedience, charity, love of God, perseverance. Though these signes be languishing in thee, and not seated in thine heart, thou must not therefore be dejected or terrified: the effects of the faith and spirit are not yet so fully felt in thee; conclude not therefore thou art a reprobate, or doubt of thine election; because the elect themselves are without them, before their conversion. Thou maist in the Lords good time be converted, some are called at the 11th hour: Use, I say, the meanes of thy conversion, expect the Lords leasure, if not yet called, pray thou maist be, or at least wish and desire thou maist be.

Notwithstanding all this which might be said to this effect, to ease their afflicted mindes, and what comforte our best divines can afford in this case, Zanchius, Beza, &c. this furious curiosity, needless speculation, fruitless meditation about election, reprobation, free-will, grace, such places of scripture preposterously conceived, torment still, and crucifie the soules of too many, and set all the world together by the eares. To avoid which inconveniences, and to settle their distressed mindes, to mitigate those divine aphorismes, (though in another extream some) our late Arminians have revived that plausible doctrine of universal grace, which many fathers, our late Lutheran and moderne Papists do still maintain, that we have free will of our selves, and that grace is common to all that will beleeve. Some again, though less orthodoxicall, will have a far greater part saved then shall be damned, (as [o] Cælius Secundus stifly maintains in his book, *De amplitudine regni cœlestis*, or some impostour under his name) *beatorum numerus multo major quam damnatorum.* [p] He calls that other tenent of speciall [q] *election and reprobation, a præjudicate, envious and malitious opinion, apt to draw all men to desperation. Many are called, few chosen, &c.* He opposeth some opposite parts of scripture to it. *Christ came into the world to save sinners, &c.* And

[n] Abernethy. [o] See whole books of these arguments. [p] Lib. 3. fol. 122. Præjudicata opinio, invidiosa, et apta ad impellendos animos in desperationem. [q] See the Antidote in Chamiers, tom. 3. lib. Downame Christian warfare, &c.

foure especiall arguments he produceth; one from Gods power. If more be damned then saved, he erroneously concludes, [r] the divel hath the greater soveraigntie: for what is power but to protect? and majestie consists in multitude. *If the divel have the greater part, where is his mercy, where is his power? how is he* Deus Optimus Maximus, misericors? &c. *where is his greatness, where his goodness?* He proceeds, [s] *We account him a murderer that is accessary onely, or doth not helpe when he can; which may not be supposed of God without great offence; because he may doe what he will, and is otherwise accessary, and the authour of sin. The nature of good is to be communicated, God is good, and will not then be contracted in his goodness: for how is he the Father of mercy and comforte, if his good concern but a few? O envious and unthankfull men to think otherwise!* [t] *Why should we pray to God that are Gentiles, and thanke him for his mercies and benefits, that hath damned us all innocuous for Adams offence, one mans offence, one small offence, eating of an apple; why should we acknowledge him for our governour that hath wholly neglected the salvation of our soules, contemned us, and sent no prophets or instructors to teach us, as he hath done to the Hebrewes?* So Julian the apostate objects. Why should these Christians (Cælius urgeth) reject us and appropriate God unto themselves? *Deum illum suum unicum, &c.* But to return to our forged Cælius. At last he comes to that, he will have those saved that never heard of, or beleeved in Christ, *ex puris naturalibus*, with the Pelagians, and proves it out of Origen and others. *They* (saith [u] Origen) *that never heard Gods word, are to be excused for their ignorance: we may not thinke God will be so hard, angry, cruell or injust as to condemne any man* indictâ causâ. They alone (he holdes) are in the state of damnation that refuse Christs mercy and grace, when it is offered. Many worthy Greekes and Romans, good moral honest men, that kept the law of Nature, did to others as they would be done to themselves, are as certainly saved, he concludes, as they were that lived uprightly before the law of Moses. They were acceptable in Gods sight, as Job was, the Magi, the queene of Sheba, Darius of Persia, Socrates, Aristides, Cato, Curius, Tully, Seneca, and many other philosophers, upright livers, no matter of what religion, as Cornelius, out of any nation, so that he live honestly, call on God, trust in him, feare him, he shall be saved. This opinion was formerly maintained by the Valentinian and Basiledian heretiques; revived of late in [v] Turkie, of which sect Rustan Bassa was patron, defended by [w] Galeatius Martius, and some ancient fathers; and of later times favoured by [x] Erasmus, by Zuinglius *in exposit. fidei ad Regem Galliæ*, whose tenet Bullinger vindicates, and Gualter approves in a just apology, with many arguments. There be many Jesuites that follow these Calvinists in this behalfe; Franciscus Buchsius Moguntinus, Andradius *Consil. Trident.* many schoolmen that out of the Rom. 2. 14, 15. are verily perswaded that those good workes of the Gentiles did so far please God, that they might *vitam æternam promereri*, and be saved in the end. Sesellius, and Benedictus Justinianus in his Comment on the first of the Romans, Mathias Ditmarsh the polititian, with many others, hold a mediocrity, they may be *salute non indigni*, but they will not absolutely decree it. Hofmannus, a Lutheran Professour of Helmstad, and many of his followers, with most of our church, and papists are stiffe against it. Franciscus Collius hath fully censured all opinions in his five Books *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, and amply

[r] Potentior est Deo diabolus, et mundi princeps, et in multitudine hominum sita est majestas. [s] Homicida, qui non subvenit quum potest; hoc de Deo sine scelere cogitari non potest, utpote quum quod vult licet. Boni natura communicari. Bonus Deus, quomodo misericordiæ pater, &c. [t] Vide Cyrillum lib. 4. adversus Julianum. Qui poterimus illi gratias agere, qui nobis non misit Mosen et prophetas, et contempsit bona animarum nostrarum? [u] Venia danda est iis qui non audiunt ob ignorantiam. Non est tam iniquus judex Deus ut quenquam indictâ causâ damnare velit. Ii solum damnantur, qui oblatam Christi gratiam rejiciunt. [v] Busbequius Lonicerus Tur. hist. To. 1. l. 2. [w] Clem. Alex. [x] Paulus Jovius elog. vir. illust.

dilated this question, which who so will may peruse. But to return to my authour; his conclusion is, that not only wicked livers, blasphemers, reprobates, and such as reject Gods grace, *but that the divels themselves shall be saved at last,* [y] as Origen long since delivered in his workes; and our late [z] Socinians defend Ostorodius, *cap.* 41. *institut. Smaltius, &c.* Those termes of all and for ever in scripture, are not eternall, but only denote a longer time, which by many examples they prove. The world shall end like a comœdy, and we shall meet at last in heaven, and live in bliss together; or else in conclusion, *in nihil evanescere.* For how can he be merciful that shall condemne any creature to eternall, unspeakable punishment, for one small temporary fault, all posterity, so many myriades, for one and an other mans offence, *quid meruistis oves?* But these absurde paradoxes are exploded by our church; we teach otherwise. That this vocation, predestination, election, reprobation, *non ex corruptâ massâ, prævisâ fide,* as our Arminians, or *ex prævisis operibus,* as our papists, *non ex præteritione,* but Gods absolute decree *ante mundum creatum,* (as many of our church holde) was from the beginning, before the foundation of the world was laid, or *homo conditus,* (or from Adams fall, as others will, *homo lapsus objectum est reprobationis*) with *perseverantia sanctorum,* we must be certain of our salvation; we must fall but not finally, which our Arminians will not admit. According to his immutable, eternall, just decree and counsell of saving men and angels, God cals all, and would have all to be saved according to the efficacy of vocation: all are invited, but onely the elect apprehended: the rest that are unbeleeving, impenitent, whom God in his just judgement leaves to be punished for their sins, are in a reprobate sense; yet we must not determine who are such, condemne our selves or others, because we have an universal invitation; all are commanded to beleeve, and we know not how soon or late before our end we may be received. I might have said more of this subject, but forasmuch as it is a forbidden question; and in the preface or declaration to the articles of the church, printed 1633, to avoid factions and altercations, we that are universitie divines especially, are prohibited *all curious searche, to print or preach, or drawe the article aside by our owne sense and comments, upon pain of ecclesiasticall censure,* I will surcease, and conclude with [a] Erasmus, of such controversies: *Pugnet qui volet; ego censeo leges majorum reverenter suscipiendas, et religiose observandas, velut a Deo profectas; nec esse tutum, nec esse pium, de potestate publicâ sinistram concipere aut serere suspicionem. Etsi quid est tyrannidis, quod tamen non cogat ad impietatem, satius est ferre, quam seditiose reluctari.*

But to my former taske. The last main torture and trouble of a distressed minde, is not so much this doubte of election, and that the promises of grace are smothered and extinct in them, nay quite blotted out, as they suppose, but withall Gods heavy wrath, a most intolerable pain and griefe of heart seizeth on them. To their thinking, they are already damned; they suffer the paines of hell, and more then possibly can be expressed; they smell brimstone, talk familiarly with divels, hear and see chimeras, prodigious, uncouth shapes, bears, owls, antiques, black dogs, fiends, hideous outcries, fearfull noises, shreeks, lamentable complaintes, they are possessed, and through [b] impatience they roare and howle, curse, blaspheme, deny God, call his power in question, abjure religion, and are still ready to offer violence unto themselves, by hanging, drowning, &c. Never any miserable wretch from the beginning of the world, was in such a wofull case. To such persons I oppose Gods mercy and his justice; *judicia Dei occulta, non injusta:* his secret counsell and just judgement, by which he spares some, and sore afflicts

[y] Non homines sed et ipsi dæmones aliquando servandi. [z] Vid. Pelsii Harmoniam art. 22. p. 2. [a] Epist. Erasmi de utilitate colloquior. ad lectorem. [b] Vastatâ conscientiâ sequitur sensus iræ divinæ. (Hemingius) fremitus cordis, ingens animæ cruciatus, &c.

others again in this life: his judgement is to be adored, trembl
searched or enquired after by mortall men; he hath reasons r
selfe, which our frailty cannot apprehend. He may punish al
that justly, for sin; in that he doth it in some, is to make a wa
that they repent and be saved; to heal them, to trye them, c
tience, and make them call upon him; to confess their sins and
as David did, Psal. 119. 137. *Righteous art thou, O Lord, a*
judgements. As the poor publican, Luke 18. 13. *Lord have*
a miscrable sinner. To put confidence and have an assured
Job had 13. 15. *Though he kill me I will trust in him: Ure,*
Domine, (saith Austin) *modo serves animam,* kill, cut in pieces
(O Lord) to save my soule. A small sickness, one lash of afflic
serie, many times, will more humiliate a man, sooner convert,
to know himselfe, then all those parænetical discourses, the
philosophy, law, physicke and divinity, or a world of instance
So that this, which they take to be such an insupportable p
dent signe of Gods mercie and justice, of his love and good
nisi periissent, had they not thus been undone, they had fina
Many a carnall man is lulled asleep in perverse securitie, foolis
stupified in his sins, and hath no feeling at all of them. *I have*
and what evill shall come unto me, Ecclus. 5. 4. and *tush,*
know it? And so in a reprobate sense goes downe to hell.
thius aurem vellit, God pulls them by the eare, by affliction, h
to heaven and happiness; *Blessed are they that mourne, f*
comforted, Matth, 5. 4. a blessed and an happy state, if cos
is, to be so troubled. *It is good for me that I have been aff*
before I was afflicted I went astray; but now I keepe thy
tion workes patience, patience hope. Rom. 5. 4. and by suc
calamities we are driven from the state of securitie. So t
school or academy, wherein the best schollers are prepared t
ments of the Deity. And though it be most troublesome an
time, yet know this, it comes by Gods permission and pr
spectator of thy groanes and teares, still present with thee,
thy head are numbred, not one of them can fall to the gr
express will of God: he will not suffer thee to be tempte
he corrects us all [c] *numero, pondere, et mensurâ;* the Lord
the smoaking flaxe, or breake the bruised reed. *Tentat* (sa
obruat, sed ut coronet, he suffers thee to be tempted for thy
mother doth handle her child sicke and weake, not reject it
derness observe and keepe it, so doth God by us, not forsake
or relinquish us for our imperfections, but with all pitty and
port and receive us: whom he loves he loves to the end. R
hath elected, those he hath called, justified, sanctified, an
not then thou hast lost the spirit, that thou art forsaken of
come with heaviness of heart, but as David said, *I will n*
walk in the shadowes of death. We must all go, *non a c*
but from the crosse to the crowne, by hell to heaven, as th
Vertues temple in the way to that of Honour: we must
miserie in this life. 'Tis no new thing this, Gods best ser
children have been so visited and tryed. Christ in the gard
God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? his son by nat
adoption and grace. Job in his anguish said, *The arrowe*
God were in him, Job. 6. 4. *His terrours fought agains*

[c] Austin.

dranke up his spirit, cap. 13. 26. He saith, *God was his enemie, writ bitter things against him,* (16. 9.) *hated him.* His heavy wrath had so seized on his soule. David complains, *His eys were eaten up, sunk into his head,* Ps. 6. 7. *His moisture became as the drought in summer, his flesh was consumed, his bones vexed:* yet neither Job nor David did finally despair. Job would not leave his hold, but still trust in him, acknowledging him to bee his good God. *The Lord gives, the Lord takes, blessed be the name of the Lord,* Job 1. 21. *Behold I am vile, I abhor my selfe, repent in dust and ashes,* Job 40. 4. David humbled himself, Psal. 31. and upon his confession received mercie. Faith, hope, repentance, are the soveraign cures and remedies, the sole comforts in this case; confess, humble thy self, repent, it is sufficient. *Quod purpura non potest, saccus potest,* saith Chrysostome: the king of Ninives sackcloth and ashes did that which his purple robes and crowne could not effect; *Quod diadema non potuit, cinis perfecit.* Turn to him, he will turn to thee: The Lord is neer those that are of a contrite heart, and will save such as be afflicted in spirit, Psal. 34. 18. *He came to the lost sheep of Israel,* Mat. 15. 24. *Si cadentem intuetur, clementiæ manum protendit,* he is at all times ready to assist, *Nunquam spernit Deus pœnitentiam, si sincere et simpliciter offeratur,* he never rejects a penitent sinner, though he have come to the full height of iniquity, wallowed and delighted in sin; yet if he will forsake his former wayes, *libenter amplexatur,* he will receive him. *Parcam huic homini,* saith [d] Austin, (*ex personâ Dei*) *quia sibi ipsi non pepercit; ignoscam quia peccatum agnovit.* I will spare him because he hath not spared himselfe; I will pardon him, because he doth acknowledge his offence; let it be never so enormous a sin *his grace is sufficient,* 2 Cor. 12. 9. Despair not then, faint not at all, be not dejected, but rely on God, call on him in thy trouble, and he will hear thee, he will assist, helpe, and deliver thee: *Draw neer to him, he will draw neer to thee,* Jam. 4. 8. Lazarus was poor and full of boyles, and yet still he relied upon God; Abraham did hope beyond hope.

Thou exceptest, these were chiefe men, divine spirits, *Deo chari,* beloved of God, especially respected; but I am a contemptible and forlorne wretch, forsaken of God, and left to the merciless fury of evil spirits. I cannot hope, pray, repent, &c. How often shall I say it! thou maist performe all these duties, christian offices, and be restored in good time. A sicke man loseth his appetite, strength and ability, his disease prevaileth so far, that all his faculties are spent, hand and foot performe not their duties, his eys are dimme, hearing dull, tongue distasts things of pleasant rellish, yet nature lies hid, recovereth again, and expelleth all those fœculent matters by vomit, sweat, or some such like evacuations. Thou art spiritually sicke, thine heart is heavy, thy minde distressed, thou maist happily recover again, expell those dismal passions of feare and griefe: God did not suffer thee to be tempted above measure; whom he loves (I say) he loves to the end; hope the best. David in his misery prayed to the Lord, remembring how he had formerly dealt with him; and with that meditation of Gods mercy confirmed his faith, and pacified his own tumultuous heart in his greatest agony. *O my soule, why art thou so disquieted within me, &c.* Thy soule is eclipsed for a time, I yeeld, as the sun is shadowed by a cloude; no doubt but those gratious beames of Gods mercie will shine upon thee again, as they have formerly done; those embers of faith, hope and repentance, now buried in ashes, will flame out afresh, and be fully revived. Want of faith, no feeling of grace for the present, are not fit directions; we must live by faith, not by feeling; 'tis the beginning of grace to wish for grace: we must expect and tarry. David, a man after Gods own heart, was so troubled himselfe; *Awake, why sleepest thou? O Lord, arise,*

[d] Super Psal. 82. Convertar ad liberandum eum, quia conversus est ad peccatum suum puniendum.

cast me not off; wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest mine affliction and oppression? My soule is bowed downe to the dust. Arise, redeem us, &c. Psal. 44. 22, 23, 24. He prayed long before he was heard, *expectans expectavit;* endured much before he was relieved. Psal. 69. 3. he complaines, *I am weary of crying, and my throat is dry, mine eys fail, whilst I wait on the Lord;* and yet he perseveres. Be not dismayed, thou shalt be respected at last. God often workes by contrarieties; he first kils and then makes alive; he woundeth first and then healeth; he makes man sow in teares that he may reap in joye; 'tis Gods method. He that is so visited, must with patience endure, and rest satisfied for the present. The paschal lamb was eaten with sowre hearbs; we shall feel no sweetness of his bloud, till we first feel the smart of our sins. Thy paines are great, intolerable for the time; thou art destitute of grace and comfort; stay the Lords leasure, he will not (I say) suffer thee to be tempted above that thou art able to bear, 1 Cor. 10. 13. but will give an issue to temptation. He works all for the best to them that love God, Rom. 8. 28. Doubt not of thine election, it is an immutable decree; a mark never to be defaced; you have been otherwise, you may and shall be again. And for your present affliction, hope the best, it will shortly end. *He is present with his servants in their affliction*, Ps. 91. 15. *Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all*, Psal. 34. 19. *Our light affliction which is but for a moment, worketh in us an eternall weight of glory*, 2 Cor. 4. 17. *Not answerable to that glory which is to come; though now in heaviness*, saith 1 Pet. 1. 6. *you shall rejoyce.*

Now, last of all, to those externall impediments, terrible objects, which they hear and see many times, divels, bugbears, and mormeluches, noysome smels, &c. These may come, as I have formerly declared in my precedent discourse of the Symptomes of Melancholy, from inward causes; as a concave glass reflects solid bodies, a troubled braine for want of sleepe, nutriment, and by reason of that agitation of spirits to which Hercules de Saxoniâ attributes all symptomes almost, may reflect and shew prodigious shapes, as our vaine feare and crased phantasie shall suggest and fain, as many silly weake women and children in the dark, sicke folks, and frantick for want of repast and sleepe, suppose they see that they see not. Many times such terriculaments may proceed from natural causes, and all other senses may be deluded. Besides, as I have said, this humour is *balneum diaboli*, the divels bath, by reason of the distemper of humours, and infirm organs in us: he may so possess us inwardly to molest us, as he did Saul and others, by Gods permission; he is prince of the ayr, and can transform himself into severall shapes, delude all our senses for a time, but his power is determined; he may terrify us, but not hurt. God hath given *his angels charge over us, he is a wall round about his people*, Psal. 91. 11, 12. There be those that prescribe physic in such cases; 'tis Gods instrument and not unfit. The divel workes by mediation of humours, and mixt diseases must have mixt remedies. Levinus Lemnius *cap.* 57. *&* 58. *exhort. ad vit. ep. instit.* is very copious in this subject, besides that chiefe remedy of confidence in God, prayer, hearty repentance, &c. of which for your comfort and instruction reade Lavater *de spectris, part.* 3. *cap.* 5. *&* 6. Wierus *de præstigiis dæmonum lib.* 5. to Philip Melancthon, and others; and that christian armour which Paul prescribes; he sets downe certain amulets, hearbs, and pretious stones, which have marvelous virtues, all *profligandis dæmonibus*, to drive away divels and their illusions. Saphyres, chrysolites, carbuncles, &c. *quæ mirâ virtute pollent ad lemures, stryges, incubos, genios aerios arcendos, si veterum monumentis habenda fides.* Of hearbs, he reckons us penniroyal, rue, mint, angelica, piony. Rich. Argentine de præstigiis dæmonum cap. 20. addes *hypericon* or St. Johns wort, *perforata herba*, which by a divine vertue drives away divels,

and is therefore called *fuga dæmonum*: all which rightly used by their suffitus, *dæmonum vexationibus obsistunt, afflictas mentes a dæmonibus relevant, et venenatis fumis*, expell divels themselves, and all divelish illusions. Anthony Musa, the emperour Augustus his physician, *cap.* 6. *de Betoniâ*, approves of betony to this purpose; [e] the ancients used therefore to plant it in churchyards, because it was held to be an holy hearb and good against fearfull visions; did secure such places it grew in, and sanctified those persons that carried it about them. *Idem fere Mathiolus in Dioscoridem.* Others commend accurate musicke, so Saul was helped by Davids harpe. Fires to be made in such roomes where spirits haunt, good store of lights to be set up, odors, perfumes, and suffumigations, as the angel taught Tobias; brimstone and *bitumen, thus, myrrha*, briony root, with many such simples which Wecker hath collected *lib.* 15. *de secretis cap.* 15. ℞ *sulphuris drachmam unam, recoquatur in vitis albæ aquâ, ut dilutius sit sulphur; detur ægro; nam dæmones sunt morbi* (saith Rich. Argentine *lib. de præstigiis dæmonum cap. ult.*) Vigetus hath a far larger receipt to this purpose, which the said Wecker cites out of Wierus. ℞ *sulphuris, vini, bituminis, opoponacis, galbani, castorei, &c.* Why sweet perfumes, fires and so many lights should be used in such places, Ernestus Burgravius, *lucerna vitæ et mortis*, and Fortunius Lycetus assignes this cause, *quod his boni Genii provocentur, mali arceantur;* because good spirits are well pleased with, but evil abhor them. And therefore those old Gentiles, present Mahometans, and Papists have continual lamps burning in their churches, all day and all night, lights at funerals and in their graves; *lucernæ ardentes ex auro liquefacto*, for many ages to endure (saith Lazius) *ne dæmones corpus lædant;* lights ever burning, as those Vestall virgins, Pythonissæ maintained heretofore, with many such, of which reade Tostatus in 2 *Reg. cap.* 6. *quæst.* 43. Thyreus *cap.* 57. 58. 62. &c. *de locis infestis;* Pictorius Isagog. *de dæmonibus*, &c. see more in them. Cardan would have the party affected winke altogether in such a case, if he see ought that offends him, or cut the ayr with a sword in such places where they walke and abide; *gladiis enim et lanceis terrentur*, shoot a pistole at them, for being aerial bodies, (as Cœlius Rhodiginus, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 29, Tertullian, Origen, Psellas, and many holde) if stroken, they feel paine. Papists commonly injoyne and apply crosses, holy water, sanctified beads, amulets, musicke, ringing of bells, for to that end are they consecrated, and by them baptized, characters, counterfeit reliques, so many masses, peregrinations, oblations, adjurations, and what not? Alexander Albertinus a Rocha, Petrus Thyreus, and Hieronymus Mengus, with many other pontificiall writers, prescribe and set downe severall formes of exorcismes, as well to houses possessed with divels, as to dæmoniacal persons; but I am of [f] Lemnius minde, 'tis but *damnosa adjuratio, aut potius ludificatio*, a meer mockage, a counterfeit charme, to no purpose. They are fopperies and fictions, as that [g] absurde story is amongst the rest, of a penitent woman seduced by a magitian in France, at St. Bawne, exorcised by Domphius, Michaelis, and a company of circumventing friers. If any man (saith Lemnius) will attempt such a thing, without all those jugling circumstances, astrologicall elections of time, place, prodigious habits, fustian, big, sesquipedal words, spels, crosses, characters, which exorcists ordinarily use, let him follow the example of Peter and John, that without any ambitious swelling termes, cured a lame man, Acts 3. *In the name of Christ Jesus rise and walke.* His name alone is the best and only charme against all such diabolicall illusions, so doth Origen advise: and so Chrysostome. *Hæc erit tibi*

[e] Antiqui soliti sunt hanc herbam ponere in cœmeteriis, ideo quod, &c. [f] Non desunt nostrâ ætate sacrificuli, qui tale quid attentant, sed a cacodæmone irrisi pudore suffecti sunt et re infectâ ablerunt. [g] Done into English by W. B. 1613.

baculus, hæc turris inexpugnabilis, hæc armatura. Nos qui
mus, plures fortasse expectabunt, saith St. Austin; many mer
counsell and opinion what's to be done in this behalfe; I ca
quam ut verâ fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur, ad Deum u
let them fly to God alone for helpe. Athanasius in his book *L*
prescribes as a present charme against divels, the beginning
Exsurgat Deus, dissipentur inimici, &c. But the best reme
God, to call on him, hope, pray, trust, relye on him, to co
wholly to him. What the practice of the primitive church was
et quis dæmonia ejiciendi modus, read Wierus at large, *lib. 5.*
meles. cap. 38 *et deinceps.*

Last of all: If the party affected shall certainly know this
proceeded from too much fasting, meditation, precise life, c
Gods judgements, (for the divel deceives many by such meane
extream he circumvents melancholy it self, reading some books
ing rigid preachers, &c. If he shall perceive that it hath begu
great loss, grievous accident, disaster, seeing others in like ca
terrible object, let him speedily remove the cause, which to
disease [h] Navarrus so much commends, *avertat cogitationem*
by all opposite meanes, art, and industry, let him *laxare*
honest recreations, refresh and recreate his distressed soule; l
thoughts, by himselfe and other of his friends. Let him rea
tracts or subjects, hear no more such fearful tones, avoid such
by all meanes open himselfe, submit himselfe to the advice of
and divines, which is *contraventio scrupulorum,* as [i] he ca
speake to whom the Lord hath given the tongue of the learn
minister a word to him that is [j] weary, whose words are as
Let him not be obstinate, head-strong, peevish, wilful, self-
this malady they are) but give eare to good advice, be ruled
and no doubt but such good counsell may prove as prosperou
the angel was to Peter, that opened the iron gates, loosed h
him out of prison, and delivered him from bodily thraldome
his afflicted minde, relieve his wounded soule, and take him o
hell it selfe. I can say no more, or give better advice to
way distressed in this kinde, then what I have given and
this for a corollary and conclusion, as thou tenderest thine
this, and all other melancholy, thy good health of body an
this short precept, give not way to solitariness and idleness.
be not idle.

SPERATE MISERI,
CAVETE FŒLICES.

Vis a dubio liberari? vis quod incertum est evadere?
dum sanus es; sic agens, dico tibi quod securus es, quod
eo tempore quo peccare potuisti. Austin.

[h] Tom. 2. cap. 27. num. 282. [i] Navarrus. [j] Is. 50. 4.

THE TABLE.

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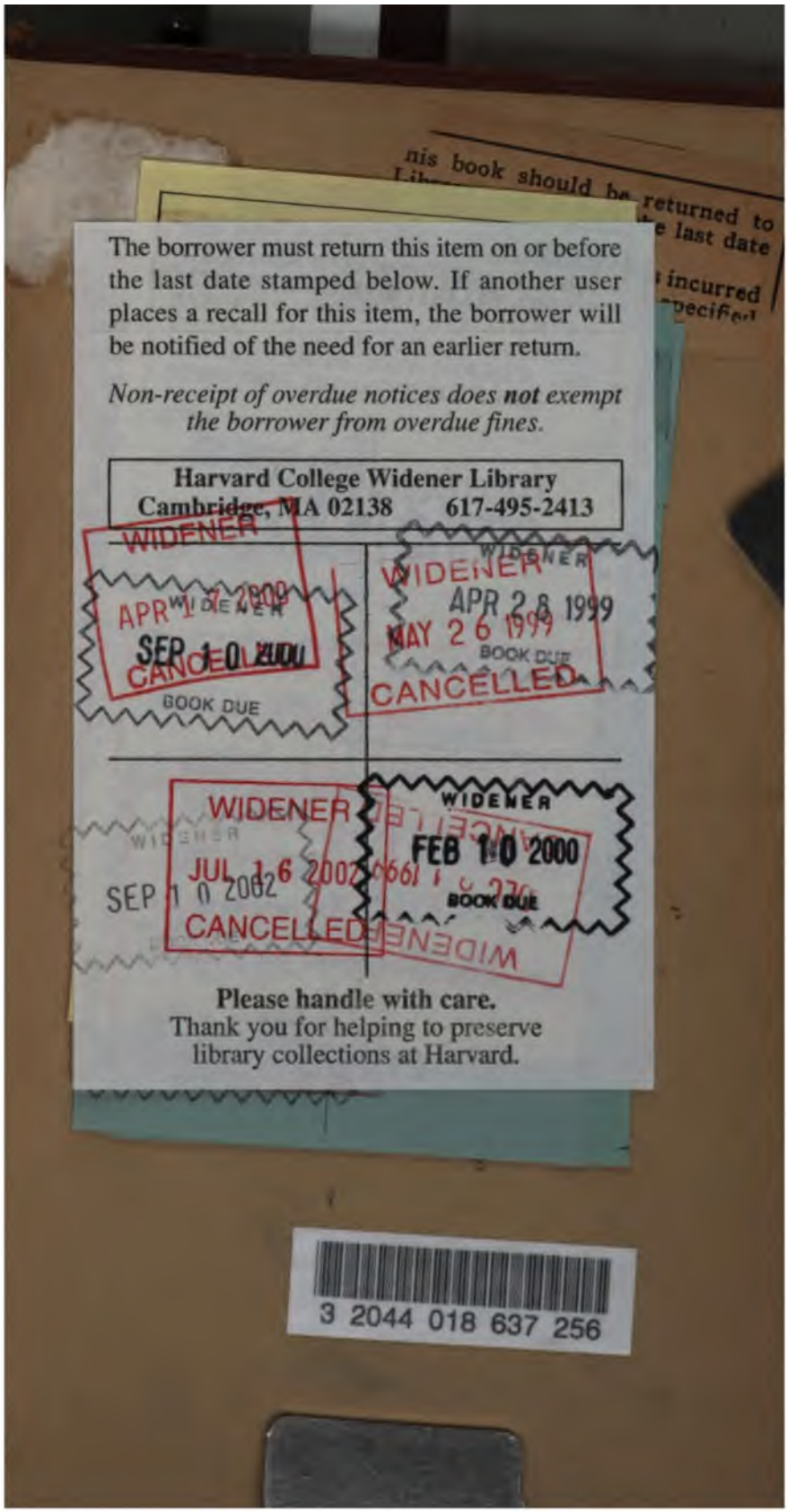
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